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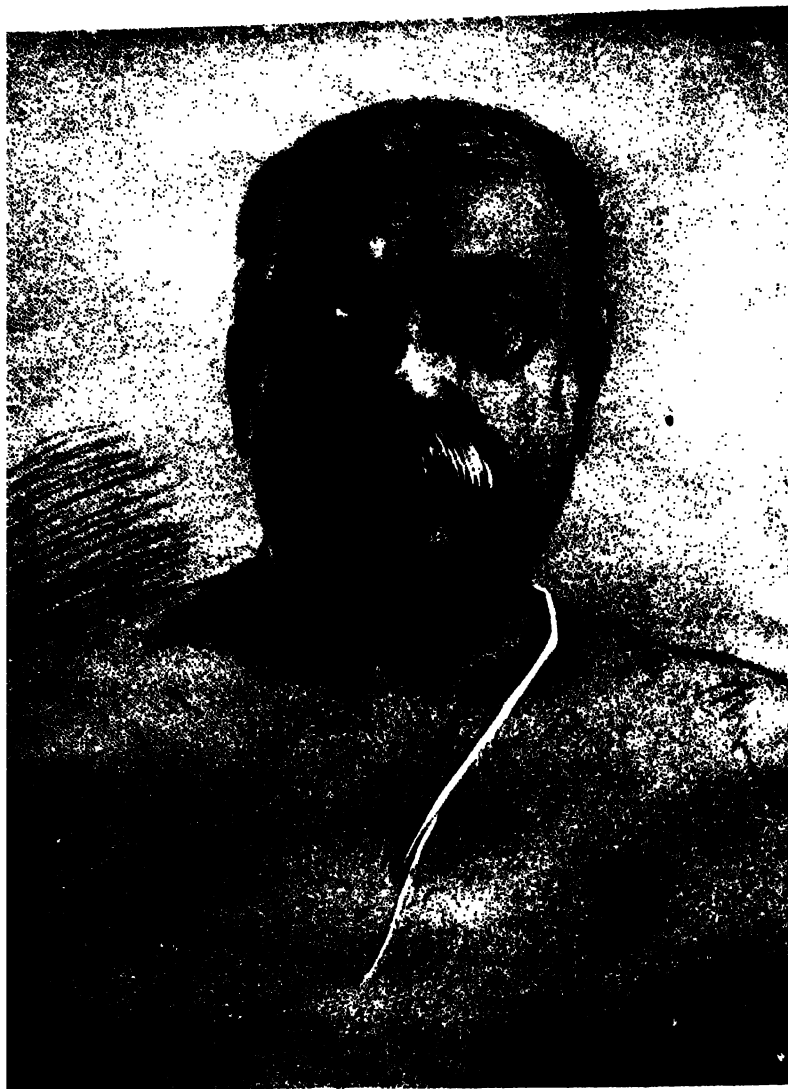
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The Calcutta Review



“THE BENGAL TIGER”

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1923

PAGES FROM THE PAST

I.—A FORGOTTEN CONTROVERSY

Among the many paintings by Robert Home which are in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is a portrait of Sir George Hilario Barlow, Baronet and K. C. B., one of the few members of the Indian Civil Service who have filled the office of Governor-General. It is to be feared that he is little remembered to-day: yet he was in his time one of the central figures of a hot controversy. The inner history of the storm which arose over the question of his confirmation in the appointment, is told in the Diary of Joseph Farington, a Royal Academician who lived and took notes in the time of King George the Third, and whose fascinating scraps of contemporary gossip have lately become available to the general public through the enterprise of that great London newspaper, the *Morning Post*.

When the news reached England of the death at Ghazipore of Lord Cornwallis on October 5, 1805, it was known that Sir George Barlow, the Senior Member of Council, had, in accordance with precedent, assumed temporary charge of the administration. The question arose: was he to be made *pucca*, or was a successor to Lord Cornwallis to be sent out from

home? The Court of Directors supported the claims of Barlow. He had entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1779 and had taken a prominent part in carrying out the Permanent Settlement of Bengal during the first term of office of Lord Cornwallis (1780-1793). In 1801 he became Member of Council, and in the following year was designated as provisional Governor-General, in the event of a vacancy. There was, therefore, every justification for the support extended to him by the Hon'ble Court. Historians, however, have not dealt very kindly with his reputation. Although he might be, and was, a capable departmental official, he made, we are assured, an exceedingly bad head of the Government. He has been described as the "meanest of the Governor-Generals." A man of mediocre abilities and unpopular manners, his narrowness of view was rendered the more dangerous, we are told, by the extreme personal dislike which he inspired.

The picture thus presented is not attractive: but the ruling party at the India House were concerned only with the fact that Barlow subordinated his own feelings, whatever they might be, to the paramount necessity of travelling along the lines laid down for him in Leadenhall Street. While Lord Wellesley was in power, he had shown himself to be a zealous subordinate of his: but he now set his face in the opposite direction. In order to appreciate the antipathy to Wellesley's policy, which had become so marked in England, it must be borne in mind that the treasury was empty. The exploits of Wellesley yielded "little other profit except brilliant gazettes," said Cornwallis: and the saying was not without its truth. The extension of British dominion was bound to bring its financial reward in the end: but the Company's shareholders were more occupied with the present shrinkage in their dividends. Cornwallis was, therefore, sent out for the second time with orders to pursue a very different policy—so different that Charles Metcalfe described it as "disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace without tranquillity."

Barlow did not hesitate to follow along the same road. He quarrelled with Lake and drove him to resign his office of Commander-in-chief: but he made his position at the India House secure by concentrating upon the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England. So successful was he in this direction that he was able to convert the financial deficit into a surplus. What more could his honourable masters desire?

At first it seemed as though the Directors would carry their candidate. Lord Minto had become President of the Board of Control, in succession to Castlereagh when a new Government was formed upon the death of Pitt on January 23, 1806: and he concurred with the Hon'ble Court in supporting the confirmation of Barlow. The matter appeared to be settled when after an interval of ten days, the Cabinet thought fit to upset the arrangement which had been arrived at. Lord Grenville the new Prime Minister was a warm admirer of Wellesley and would not hear of the continuance in office of Barlow. He and his colleagues proposed the Earl of Lauderdale. The Directors strongly objected: and a heated discussion ensued. The Ministry exercised for the first time a right vested in them by Pitt's Act of 1784. On May 27, 1806, Farington makes the following entry in his Diary:

"Mr. Alexander, a King's Council, told Lysons that yesterday the Cabinet Council recalled Sir George Barlow from India out of spite to the Directors of the India Company who will not appoint Lord Lauderdale Governor-General."

The tension grew, for the Ministers were unable to offer any convincing reasons for their action which was strongly suspected to spring from a desire to appropriate a valuable piece of patronage. Two days later Farington records:

"May 29, 1806.—Called on Dance (the Royal Academician). He talked of the luxury of the times in the midst of our difficulties and said it resembled Old Rome.—To get what each can for Himself or His associates is now the great object. The appointment of Lord Lauderdale by Government a proof of it."

* The constitutional question was warmly debated in both Houses of Parliament: but there were other grounds for the opposition to Lord Lauderdale. He was a free-trader which meant in those days an enemy of the Company's monopoly: and he was, if possible, something worse.

On June 8, 1806, Farington dines with Sir Martin Folkes, a high Tory Baronet of the "Die-hard" type and thus sets down the purport of the after-dinner conversation:

"(He condemned) the appointment of Lord Lauderdale to be Governor-General of India and said that it was indecent to nominate Him. He said He could never forget that in the difficult times of this country during the French Revolution Lord Lauderdale avowed the strongest democratic principles—that He stiled Himself Citizen Lauderdale—wanted to be made Sheriff of London,—and professed himself to be the friend of Brissot (the Girondin) etc.—He said Mr. Coke (of Holkham) had been to Mr. Fox on the subject and warned Him of the unpopularity that would attend persisting in such a measure—and asked Him 'whether there was not another man to be found for the situation but Ld. Lauderdale.' Sir Martin added that such proceedings as Mr. Fox now adopts, He would before He was minister, have been the first to condemn."

Sir Martin Folkes and his friend Sir Jacob Astley went on to speak "with disapprobation of the levity of some of the public men,—of the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the Exchequer dancing at entertainments."

Those were days when an individual suspected of democratic leanings was viewed with as much dread as a communist in these times. Farington reflects the feeling in several entries. He was himself charged with the crime: and chronicles the incident as follows:—

May 26, 1794.—Marchant [A. R. A.] called in the evening. Windham [Pitt's Secretary for war] told him to-day He saw me in the Gallery of the House of Commons on the Habeas Bill. He supposed I was a Democrat. Marchant said He was quite mistaken as I was a violent Aristocrat.

Elsewhere we read how in the year 1804 King George the Third refused his assent to the appointment of Smirke, the

painter, to be Keeper of the Royal Academy because of his democratic opinions.

As for Lord Lauderdale, he had gone astray, if at all, in excellent company. Farington records how he attended a great "publick meeting" of the Whigs of Westminster in Palace Yard on November 16, 1795. He says that he put himself under the protection of Smirke and His Son (the architect) and Banks (the sculptor and Royal Academician) telling them that he would be safe in their care, "as they were Crops and Democrats." The meeting is thus described :

The Hustings was raised ; immediately before the King's Arms Tavern, in Palace Yard. At a window of the tavern appeared the Duke of Bedford, Fox, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Derby, Grey, Whitbread, Sturt, etc., etc.—We took our station immediately opposite the Hustings.—A little after 12. the Hustings being prepared, The Duke of Bedford etc. came upon it. Much hallooing and clapping on their appearance. The Duke was dressed in a Blue coat and Buff waistcoat with a round Hat. His hair cropped and without powder.—Fox also cropped, and without powder, His hair grisly grey.—Fox first came forward to speak, Sheridan on his right hand and Tierney on his left. The Duke of Bedford immediately behind him.—After much acclamation, Fox addressed the multitude, stating the loss of the liberties of the people, if the Sedition [Bill] passed, and calling upon them to come forward and support a petition to the House of Commons against it.....

Fox was now (1806) Foreign Secretary and Sheridan Treasurer of the Navy: and Lord Lauderdale may well be forgiven if he thought that a place was his due also. He seems indeed to have looked upon his appointment as a foregone conclusion if we may judge from the details given in an entry on June, 19, 1806 :

"We (Farington and his friend Wilson) talked of Lord Lauderdale's appointment to India being prevented. He said His Lordship had acted with great indecency respecting it, having before the Directors had the question before them spoken confidently that He should go, and depending upon the power of Government had held the Directors cheap.—He went to Coll. Robinson several months ago for information of what Lord Cornwallis took with him, and on Coll. Robinson adding that Lord C. only took two

persons with him, Lord Lauderdale said that would not do for Him as He must take many of His Countrymen with Him.¹—Had Government persisted in the nomination the Directors were determined to petition the King upon it.—Elphinstone is a slave to His interest and views, and supported Lord L.'s nomination: so did Sir Francis Baring who wants a Peerage,—and Sir T. Metcalf who has always been attached to the Marquiss of Wellesley.

I asked Wilson what impression was upon His mind respecting Marquiss Wellesley. He said that He fully was of opinion that His conduct ought to be enquired into."

Baring, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone were all of them East India Directors. Sir Francis Baring, a Hanoverian by descent, was the founder of the great firm of merchant bankers,² and became a Director as early as 1779, serving the office of Chairman in 1792-1793. He was created a baronet in 1793 and continued to be a member of the Court until his death in 1810. His son and successor, Sir Thomas Baring, found his way to Bengal in the Company's service. He remained there from 1790 to 1796, became Collector of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs,³ and married the daughter of Charles Sealy of Calcutta. Another son married the daughter of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, well-known as the friend and

¹ An early invasion of Calcutta by Scotsmen was evidently threatened.

² He amassed great wealth. Farington records in his Diary on June, 25, 1806:—

The Estate in Hampshire, [Stratton, Micheldever] which Sir Francis [Baring] bought from the late Duke of Bedford is reckoned to produce £8,000 a year. Dance [the architect] has nearly finished the alterations of the House which belongs to it at an expenso of £25,000. One of the rooms is furnished with pictures painted by Opie, Northcote and Peters, which were bought at the sale of Boydells Shakespere Gallery.

From a later entry on October, 9, 1806, we learn that "[Sir Thomas] Lawrence set out on Sunday last for Sir Francis Barings in Hampshire to paint three portraits."

³ A Collectorship was in those days an exceedingly profitable post. On May 16, 1804, Farington writes:—

"[Sir George Beaumont] told me that George Webb had been appointed to one of the Collectorships in Bengal which Dance has been informed is worth £10,000 a year.—He is now 28 years old."

George Webb, who was appointed a writer in September 14, 1794, and died at Moorshedabad on November 24, 1813, was gazetted as Collector of Burdwan on March. 18 1803 and remained there until February, 25, 1804, when he became Resident at the Court of Delhi.

confidant of Hastings. The peerage did not come into the family until 1866, when it was conferred on the third baronet, Sir Francis Thornhill Baring who was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1839 to 1841. Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe had risen to the rank of major in the Company's service. His name appears in the list of Directors in the East India Register of 1794 (his period of office extending in fact from 1789 to 1812), and he received a baronetcy in 1802. He was the father of Charles Theophilus [Lord] Metcalfe, who came out to Calcutta as a writer in 1801 and left India in 1838, after acting as Governor-General from March 1835 to March 1836. The Hon'ble William Fullarton Elphinstone, the third of those named, was the son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone. He served as a Director from 1791 to 1824, and was Deputy Chairman in 1813, and Chairman no less than three times—in 1804, 1806 and 1814. Like Captain Joseph Cotton and Captain John Shepherd (who was Chairman when Lord Ellenborough was recalled) he came to the Board from the mercantile service of the Company, having previously commanded an East Indiaman and accomplished the three voyages which supplied the traditional fortune.¹ His son Major-General Elphinstone was in command at Kabul when Sir William Macnaghten was murdered there, on December 23, 1841, and died in captivity after the disastrous retreat. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the most famous bearer of the name, was a son of the eleventh Lord, and was acting at the time as Resident at Nagpur, after having been present at Assaye and Argaum and earning there the rare praise of Arthur Wellesley. He was Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, and the thirteenth Lord Elphinstone was Governor successively of Madras (1837-1842) and Bombay (1853-1860).

¹ It was quite usual for the Commander of an Indiaman to make from £8,000 to £10,000 a voyage: and instances were not unknown of a sum of £30,000 for the "double voyage," that is, from London to India, thence to China, and home.

The dispute ended eventually (as such disputes usually do) in a compromise. The Directors were unwilling to force a conflict with the Cabinet and felt that they had gained their point, as indeed they had, when the Ministry withdrew the name of Lord Lauderdale. Sir George Barlow was similarly sacrificed and consoled with a red riband. Farington records on October 30, 1806 :—

Sir G. H. Barlow was created a Knight of the Bath yesterday.—Sir Philip Francis also.

In the year following Barlow was appointed to the Governorship of Madras ; in which office he quarrelled with the military and the civilians and even provoked a mutiny on the part of the officers, with the result that he was recalled in 1812.

The new Governor-General, in whose nomination all parties concurred, was Lord Minto himself. As Sir Gilbert Elliot he had joined with Burke in the impeachment of Warren Hastings and Impey, and could claim exemption from the revolutionary tendencies imputed to Lord Lauderdale, for on the outbreak of the French Revolution he had declared emphatically against the policy of Fox. From 1794 to 1796 he had been Viceroy of Corsica : but he was not in the least anxious to repeat the part on a larger scale in Calcutta. "I accepted...the situation," he wrote, "which so far from seeking I thought a few weeks ago no human persuasion could have led me to undertake." In spite of his old antagonism to Fox, the feelings towards him of Grenville and his colleagues had so far been softened by the lapse of time that they were able cordially to approve his appointment ; while the Directors took it for granted that he would emulate Cornwallis and Barlow rather than the difficult and dangerous Wellesley. Minto, being a cautious Scotsman, steered a middle course : and though he waged no important wars in India and adhered steadily to the policy of non-intervention, he organised successful expeditions to the Isle of

Bourbon and Java, and certainly left the stage clear for another forward step.

Robert Home painted a portrait of Lord Minto, as he did of Barlow : and it is to be seen like the other in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As for the disappointed Lauderdale, the absence of that republican Earl from the statuary on the Maidan need not be deplored from an artistic point of view. Farington, visiting the studio of Nollekens, R.A., the miser-sculptor, on May 17, 1806, examined his busts : "and among others one of Lord Lauderdale." "How like a cut-throat it looks," said one of the party, who was no other than a clerk in holy orders.

H. E. A. COTTON

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

It was inevitable that the United States, on account of the peculiar circumstances of its origin as an independent nation and its geographical separation and remoteness from Europe, should have developed a civilization, a political and social philosophy and a system of government different in many respects from those of the old world. This is not saying that they are necessarily superior to those of Europe although there are, of course, Americans who think they are better, for national egotism, blindness to one's own shortcomings and belief in the perfection of one's own institutions is a national trait which is by no means uncommon.

No people have a monopoly of political wisdom or virtue ; all governments have their defects as well as their elements of strength, and there is probably not one that could bear the cross-examination of a criminal lawyer. With high standards of private morality the Americans have sometimes tolerated wrong-doing in their public life with a leniency which has often been the subject of remark. Their self-confidence in the capacity of the masses to govern themselves wisely is almost unbounded, and their belief in the infallibility of public opinion is a part of the national faith.

Their optimism verges upon fatalism. Americans are not lacking who seem to think that their country is under the special care of Providence and that in some way He will save them from the consequences of their extravagance, wastefulness and other sins of omission and commission. Lord Bryce in his penetrating but sympathetic analysis of their national faults and virtues has dwelt upon what he characterizes as the "fatalistic attitude of the Americans," that is, a sort of complacent belief that they have been predestined to achieve what other nations have failed to achieve and that it will be achieved in spite of themselves.

If I were to attempt to enumerate some of the political ideas and traditions which the Americans have always cherished I would be compelled to place at the head of the list their deep-rooted, almost sacrosanct belief in the inherent virtue and justice of democracy. In the immortal Declaration which proclaimed their independence as a nation the principle was affirmed that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This principle, although not strictly adhered to in the government of their colonial possessions and territorial dependencies, has been consistently followed and constantly enlarged in those parts of the federal Union which have been organized into "states." There are exceptions to every general principle and the Americans were wise enough to know that the doctrine of the "consent of the governed" was not and could not be a principle of universal application under all circumstances and conditions.

In saying that belief in the justice and excellence of democracy is a fundamental principle of American political philosophy I do not mean to imply that it is exclusively American. America has long since ceased to be the only land of democracy; some of the states of Europe are democracies to-day and their peoples cherish democratic ideals with hardly less fervour than do the Americans. But it may be justly claimed for them that it was they who first proclaimed a deep and abiding faith in its principles, who first introduced it on a large scale, who demonstrated its practicability and furnished the world with a concrete example of a people who actually governed themselves. When real democracy was unknown in practice elsewhere, when statesmen and political writers characterized it as utopian and predicted that it would break down if attempted, the Americans boldly entered upon the "great experiment" with confidence, and launched their barque upon the unknown sea of democracy. For a long time they sailed alone; other nations looked on with a certain

curiosity, always with a certain doubt and scepticism as to the outcome. As late as forty years ago English scholars like Maine and Lecky predicted that the American experiment would ultimately fail because democracy necessarily meant the rule of the ignorant mass, and because the teachings of both reason and experience were against the success of government under such conditions. But sceptical as Lecky was he ventured to prophesy that "the future destinies of the English race necessarily rest with the mighty republic which has arisen beyond the Atlantic." So de Tocqueville, sympathetic as he was toward the American democracy in which he found so much to admire, could not conceal his feeling of scepticism as to the outcome. Yet he had the vision to see that democracy was destined ultimately to spread far beyond the frontiers of America and he predicted that all European states would follow the same law of development and in the end become democratic. Most of the dangers which seemed to him to threaten the American democracy, happily it has escaped and many of the evils of democracy which he believed to be inherent and incurable never arose in fact or had only a transient existence.

I venture the belief that the Americans displayed a certain wisdom at the outset which saved them from the error which some nations fell into when they introduced democracy. Instead of establishing universal suffrage suddenly and on a large scale the Americans began modestly; they introduced a limited suffrage and gradually extended it as the political capacity of the people was demonstrated. In the beginning, also, the number of elective offices was comparatively few; nowhere did it include the judges of the courts or any functionaries except the principal executive officers. Likewise, the referendum was at first employed only for the ratification of constitutions and constitutional amendments and not at all for purposes of ordinary legislation. The more radical institutions of democracy such as the

initiative, the recall and the primary election were not introduced until comparatively recent times. In short, democracy as first introduced in America, was of a very moderate and conservative type and it did not involve any very severe tax upon the time or political capacity of the electorate. From these modest beginnings the principle of democracy was extended, so that by 1832 de Tocqueville was able to say that America was the most democratic country on the face of the earth and this position it has held until the present day.

If we compare the American system of democracy with that of Great Britain and France we shall be struck by several marked differences. One of the most important of them is to be found in the extraordinarily large number of elective offices in the United States or rather in the state governments, for the national, or "federal" government, as it is popularly called, is not organized on a democratic basis, only two of its functionaries (the President and the Vice-President) being chosen by popular vote. All others are appointed by the President or the heads of the executive departments. As I have said, the founders of the Republic believed in a moderate form of democracy; the notion that all offices should be filled by popular election did not commend itself to them; that idea was a later development. The fact that the national government is far less democratic in its organization than the state governments has often been criticised as a glaring "inconsistency" somewhat as the French system of centralization has been criticized by Frenchmen as inconsistent with their democratic-republican constitution. Mainly because of the difficulty with which the federal constitution may be amended the original undemocratic organization of the Federal government has remained untouched, except that the election of Senators was taken from the state legislatures in 1909 and entrusted to the people. Americans are not lacking, however, who would make the members of the President's cabinet elective by the people and there are some ultra democrats who advocate popular

election of the federal judges and the employment of the referendum for purposes of national legislation.

The state constitutions were more elastic and when the new and militant democracy of Jackson's day gained the ascendancy they were speedily altered and the more important officers, executive and judicial were made elective by the people. This principle of popular election has reached such limits that the "burden of the ballot" has become a serious one for the American elector. At a general election in some of the larger states to-day the ballot employed is as large in size as a saddle blanket and sometimes contains the names of five hundred or six hundred candidates. The ordinary elector finds himself hopelessly confused and bewildered in the presence of such a task; the great majority of the names on such a ballot are unknown to him; under such circumstances the exercise of the electoral function is very much like a game of chance. In the face of such a situation many electors cast votes only for the candidates who are known to them; but the great majority take a chance and vote a "straight ticket" for all candidates belonging to the party of which they themselves are members, the task being facilitated by the arrangement of the names of the candidates in party columns at the head of each of which is a party symbol for the enlightenment of the ignorant electors.

More and more, thoughtful Americans have come to realize that elections under such conditions do not represent the intelligent choice of the electorate; that only "professional politicians" can vote ballots of such dimensions as I have described, and that it is a perversion of true democracy to attempt to elect so many officials by popular vote. At present, an extensive propaganda is being conducted throughout the country by an organization known as the "short ballot society" which is advocating a reduction in the number of elective officials and a corresponding reduction in the dimensions of the ballot. It advocates popular election of policy-determining functionaries only and appointment by the governor or other high

executive officials of those whose duties are merely clerical or ministerial. This movement has already achieved some success and in a number of states there has been a substantial reduction in the number of elective offices. Further, progress along this line is inevitable. In democratic France they elect only the representatives in parliament and in the local councils. They have what amounts to universal manhood suffrage but they do not consider that true democracy requires election by the people of judges and administrative officers. A French elector would have to live several hundred years to have an opportunity to vote for as many public officials as an American elector may vote for at a single election. And it is largely the same in England where, apart from representatives in parliament and in the local councils, there are no public officials elected by the people.

The American democracy is not only distinguished from others by reason of the large number of elective offices but also by the frequency of elections. Short tenures was a part of the political philosophy of the Jacksonian Democrats—short tenures not only for legislative representatives and executive functionaries but even for the judges of the courts. Representatives in Congress are elected for two years; in many of the states the governors and members of the legislatures are elected for the same brief term; and in a few of the New England states the term is only one year, for in that part of the country the ancient maxim “where annual elections end, tyranny begins,” still persists. As a result, we have national or state elections every two years, and sometimes both, and to these must be added a multiplicity of local elections for various purposes. There is hardly an American community in which the voters are not called on several times each year to participate in an election of some kind.

If I may venture to criticise the American conception of democracy I would say that we have made the mistake

of assuming that responsibility and efficiency are obtainable through popular election of the mass of executive functionaries, through short tenures, frequency of elections and rotation in office. But we have not found this to be true in the conduct of private business undertakings and no such principles are followed in practice in the management of them.

The electoral function has been greatly enlarged and the burden of politics increased in recent years by the development of other new democratic devices, and particularly the introduction of the "primary" election for the nomination of party candidates for office, the introduction of the initiative—a procedure by which the people may draft projects of laws and vote on their adoption, and the extraordinary development of the referendum. In most of the states to-day each political party selects its candidates for office not through the agency of a representative convention, as was formerly the practice, but by a popular election known as a "primary." It thus happens that every electoral campaign involves two long-drawn-out and expensive contests each followed by a popular election—one at which the party candidates are selected and the other at which the final choice from among the candidates thus nominated is made.

The development and extension of the referendum has added still more to the ballot's burden. At first employed only for the adoption of constitutions and the ratification of constitutional amendments, it has been gradually extended to the processes of ordinary legislation and the determination of a great variety of questions of public policy. Some state constitutions require a referendum to be taken on certain bills passed by the legislature and a still larger number allow it upon petition of a comparatively small number of electors. It also exists in the municipal and other local governments where it is frequently obligatory in the case of municipal ordinances involving financial expenditures, the incurring of

debts, the establishment of new municipal undertakings, the granting of franchises to public utility companies and many others. It is rare at a state or local election to-day that the electors are not called on to pass judgment on a number of legislative propositions submitted to them by way of referendum and not infrequently such questions are referred to the electorate at special elections held for this purpose alone. Not infrequently the number of propositions submitted to the electors at one time is so large as to require a ballot of huge dimensions the size of which is made still larger by the necessity of providing space for the names of several hundred candidates. Thus in the state of California in 1914, forty-eight proposed laws were submitted to the electorate on a single ballot; in Oregon the same year thirty-seven proposals were referred to the electors and in Colorado thirty-two. During the last twenty years fifteen hundred constitutional amendments and over seven hundred ordinary laws, to say nothing of thousands of local measures, have been made the object of a referendum in the various states of the Union. The confusion and perplexity which the task of passing judgment upon such a multiplicity of proposals at one time causes the voter, is often increased by his ignorance of the measures upon which he is called to legislate, for not infrequently proposed measures are submitted which are technical in character and which are not understood by any very considerable number of electors. Under such circumstances many electors refrain from voting at all on such measures or vote against them. Happily, in some states "publicity pamphlets" explaining the purpose of referendal measures and sometimes containing arguments for and against each are placed in the hands of the electors in advance of the election for their information. The educational value of this device constitutes one of the chief merits of this method of legislation and at the same time it serves in some degree as a safeguard against unintelligent voting.

The principle of the referendum is sound and logical enough in a democracy and subject to certain limitations and restrictions as to the number and character of the propositions to which it is applied it is not necessarily dangerous, but there are many Americans who feel that it has been carried to undue lengths in certain parts of the country and that it threatens to undermine the system of representative government. Fortunately, the results have not been as bad as you might expect; there have been instances in which the results were regrettable but on the whole such instances have not been numerous. With an electorate, well-informed on public questions, equipped with an abundance of experience in self-government and intensely interested in politics the Americans have, in the main, employed the referendum wisely and conservatively and it has resulted in the enactment of little extreme, radical or unwise legislation. The truth is, the Americans are far more conservative than is generally supposed by Europeans. More than the people of any other country, perhaps, they are owners of property, and especially of landed property. They are, therefore, naturally opposed to radical legislation which would imperil the value of their property or entail a heavy augmentation of taxes. They are a bit fond of trying experiments in government but there is little disposition among them to overturn established institutions or to upset the existing order.

It is clear from the foregoing observations that the American conception of democracy is founded on an almost unbounded belief in the political capacity of the people—the belief that the masses are entirely competent to choose their hundreds of public officials, executive and judicial as well as legislative; that they are fully competent to determine important questions of public policy and that they are capable of passing intelligent judgment on legislative measures and even of legislating directly themselves. Manifestly, such a theory of democracy would break down in practice among a

people who did not possess a very high degree of political experience and capacity. I venture to say that the Americans do in fact possess this to an unusual degree. It is the result of an extensive system of public education which has provided the facilities of a school almost at the door of every citizen; from the existence of a widely diffused press which is eagerly read by all classes; from long and wide participation of the masses in public affairs; and from an intense and passionate popular interest in politics. Many foreign observers have dwelt upon this fact. De Tocqueville in his day was impressed by the evidences which he saw of it; the English writer Bagehot has remarked that it was the genius of the Americans for politics and their regard for laws, which he added, "infinitely surpassed" that of the English, that has saved American democracy from coming to a "bad end"; and Viscount Bryce, a keen but sympathetic critic of American democracy, has paid the Americans the compliment of saying that they have "a practical aptitude for politics, a clearness of vision and a capacity for self-control never equalled by any other nation."

Unquestionably the American democracy, as any other democracy which is organized on the principle of the capacity of the masses to govern themselves, has necessarily involved a certain loss of efficiency, economy and even of responsibility. A democracy which is hostile to long tenures, and which believes in the principle of rotation in office naturally does not look with special favour upon the professional expert service which results from permanency of tenure. Now trained experts are as much a necessity in a democracy as elsewhere and yet there is a disposition in America to regard a government by professionally trained men as bureaucratic in spirit. Most Americans are quite willing to admit that their system of short tenures, rotation in office, the absence of professional qualifications for eligibility to the public service and the extensive participation of the people in the actual conduct

of the government has necessarily entailed a certain loss of skill and efficiency. They would readily admit, for example, that judged from the point of view of mere administrative efficiency, the old Prussian bureaucracy with its highly trained, experienced, popularly irresponsible corps of functionaries was superior to our system of "popular" government. But they do not consider that administrative efficiency is the sole, or even the principal, test of good government; to them government is not merely a machine but it should serve as a sort of training school for citizenship. They emphasize the educational value of popular participation in government, the stimulation of popular interest in public affairs and the development of habits of loyalty and love of country, which come only from allowing the people a large share in the administration of their government. They believe that these advantages would be sacrificed under a bureaucratic system such as that of Prussia.

If I may be permitted to criticize the American system of democracy I would be inclined to say that it attempts too much; it tries to attend to too many details which by reason of their number and variety the electorate is not competent to deal with intelligently and carefully. We elect more public officials—especially petty local functionaries—than the electorate is capable of doing wisely. Better results would be obtained, in my judgment, if the task of the electorate were confined to the choice of only the more important officials whose duties have to do with the determination of public policies. In my opinion, also, the principle of the referendum has been carried too far—it is too often invoked on measures which could be more wisely determined by representatives. An intelligent electorate is entirely competent to pass judgment on simple questions of policy in which there is wide-spread public interest but it is no reflection on their intelligence to say that by reason of the very

character of the referendum itself they cannot exercise wisely the general power of legislation.

Again, as I have said, we have too many elections in America ; too many political campaigns with their distracting and often demoralizing influences ; too many calls on the electorate to devote their time, thought and money to the business of politics. A foreigner who should visit America at certain times of the year might very naturally conclude that politics is the chief business of the country. If it were possible to determine the cost in money, time, effort, and loss from the demoralization and disturbance to business, in operating our burdensome and highly expensive democratic machine, many Americans, I fancy, would be surprised and shocked. There are no means of estimating the precise cost of a Presidential election in the United States but it would probably be a conservative guess to say that from first to last the total cost in money, time, and effort to the American people of the last Presidential election was not less than 20,000,000 dollars. In France it costs little or nothing to elect a President and there is no evidence that it is done less satisfactorily than it is in America.

Only a rich country could bear so tremendous an expense. The Americans love the game of politics as they love base ball. It is the great national sport in which everybody takes a lively interest. They contribute their money to the party treasuries as generously and with the same satisfaction, that they give to the church or to charity. Delegates to party conventions cheerfully bear the expense of journeying across the continent and of living for weeks at expensive hotels merely to serve their party or their political favourites and for the pleasure which they derive from participation in the game.

Nevertheless, I do not wish to be understood as expressing the opinion that the immense sums of money, or any considerable part of it, thus expended is employed for illegitimate or improper purposes. On the contrary, I am sure that

only a comparatively small portion of it is employed to-day for purposes that can properly be said to be immoral or illegal. Most of it is expended for the publication and dissemination of campaign literature, for hiring assembly halls, for paying the expenses of speakers and party workers, for organizing and financing political clubs, and for other similar purposes. The fact is, the expenditure of large sums has been made necessary by the enactment of "primary" laws under which candidates are selected by direct vote of the people. Where such laws are in force—and they are found in most of the states—candidates are obliged to get in direct touch with the voters and make personal appeals to them. Those who are fortunate enough to obtain a nomination from their party are then obliged, as I have said, to go through a second campaign which precedes the final election. This necessarily imposes a heavy burden upon the candidate's purse, his strength and his time. In a large and populous state like Illinois or New York months are required to visit every part of the state and the expense is very heavy; for presidential candidates who have the entire country as their field of operation the necessary outlay is of course much larger.

Happily, however, the cost in time, money and effort is not all waste. Political campaigns and elections have a certain educational value; participation of the people in politics awakens and stimulates interest in public affairs; it tends to make democracy a training school for citizenship; it develops among the people an interest in and an attachment to their government which is lacking among peoples who have no share in the management of their political affairs. It has contributed toward the development among the Americans of an unusual political capacity and has made it possible for them to operate a cumbersome and unwieldy political machine which a people with less political aptitude could never have worked with success. Great as the cost which our democratic processes necessitate, great as the sacrifices

and burdens which it entails and imposes, the Americans believe, rightly or wrongly, that the advantages, educational, civic and political which result from it, outweigh the cost and the loss of efficiency.

Proceeding further with my analysis of American democracy I may observe that Americans are strongly attached to the principle of government by the majority. The readiness with which they accept the verdict of the majority and submit to its will is one of the traits which has frequently impressed foreign students of our democracy. The Americans go through long and fiercely contested election campaigns sometimes marked by bitterness and passion, they assail their opponents as an army attacks the enemy but when the election is over the defeated party accepts its defeat good-naturedly, and submits gracefully to the will of the victors. This is one of the first duties which the American citizen learns; submission to the will of the majority is a habit with him; he knows that it is one of the foundation-stones of popular government.

It is a deep-rooted principle of American democracy however, that the minority has rights which the majority is bound to respect and it is probably safe to say that nowhere else are those rights more effectively safeguarded and protected by the Constitution. De Tocqueville saw in the possible "tyranny of the majority" the capital fault of American democracy. "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed," he said, "it will be due to the unlimited power of the majority." But this prophecy, like others, has not yet come true and there are no signs that it ever will. In fact, there has been little disposition on the part of majorities in America to tyrannize over minorities. By reason of the large number of rich men in the country—a veritable aristocracy of wealth—America has offered a peculiarly tempting field for the exploitation of the rich through oppressive and confiscatory taxation, but so far, nothing of this sort has been

attempted. Property rights are regarded with a certain sacredness in America and hardly anywhere else are they more securely protected by the Constitution against invasion by the majority.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that American democracy is founded on a deep-rooted, almost religious, belief in the twin virtues of liberty and equality. America is an example of a commonwealth which has made liberty one of its principal ends, if not its chief object. There are few if any other countries, in which the domain of liberty is so wide or where it is more effectively safeguarded and protected by constitutional barriers. America as the land of liberty and of equality is the first thing that impresses the foreigner upon his arrival; it is this as much as anything else that has drawn millions from other lands to our shores and made America the crucible of the nations. Liberty of speech, of assembly, of association, of press, of religion, of teaching, of economic pursuit and of contract exist to a degree hardly known in many other countries.

The American conception of liberty differs in another respect from that which has prevailed in some other countries. In America liberty is understood to embrace political rights and privileges including the right of local self-government, and not merely immunity from interference on the part of the state. That is to say, it has a positive as well as a negative side. To an American a régime of liberty which does not include the right of self-government and a wide right of participation in government is not worthy of the name. With him, in short, liberty and democracy are inseparable. Finally, as I have said, American liberty differs from that of most other countries in that it has been constitutionalised. American constitutions are instruments of liberty as well as of government. Through the declarations of rights which are an integral part of every constitution and through the numerous limitations which they impose on the legislative and executive authorities

they create a definite sphere of liberty for the individual and upon which the government cannot lawfully encroach. The domain of liberty, therefore, is not only wider in most respects than that of other countries but it is generally better secured and protected by constitutional safeguards.

To the principle of equality the Americans are even more deeply attached. It was affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, it is proclaimed in many of the state constitutions where it is declared that "no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive privileges," and our whole system of law and of government is based on it. Lord Bryce has paid the Americans the compliment of saying that they have the most complete liberty in the world, because it is blended with equality. It was the great theme of de Tocqueville who saw in America the classic land of equality. In certain countries of Europe there has always been, and even now is, a governing class—a class of men whom birth, wealth or education have raised above their fellows, who shape public opinion and who occupy the more important positions in the government. There is now no such class in America, if there ever was. America has never known an aristocracy in the English or German sense; there are no artificial barriers which separate one part of the population from the other; there is no office or honour within the gift of the nation to which the poorest and humblest citizen may not aspire and to which he cannot in fact attain if he possesses brains and character, as the remarkable life of Abraham Lincoln so well illustrated.

The Americans do not believe in legislation to prevent one man from owning more property or acquiring more wealth than another. They detest the Bolshevik philosophy which aims at reducing society to the level of the proletariat. They know that equality must be reconciled with liberty and they know that the attempt to make men equal in all respects would involve the destruction of liberty.

It is one of the glories of American democracy that until now the country has been remarkably free from the class struggles and dissensions such as have afflicted some European countries. There have been more labour strikes, perhaps, than in most other countries but they have never degenerated into dangerous civil struggles. There is no proletariat in the strict sense of the word in America ; there is not even a labour party of sufficient consequence to deserve the name ; socialism itself has made little headway because the economic condition of the working classes is probably better than it is anywhere else, for they receive extraordinarily high wages and the larger number of them are owners of homes ; and most of the political rights which socialists in other countries demand, the working men of America already enjoy. There is therefore little *raison d'être* for such a party.

The chief obstacle perhaps which we have encountered in the operation of our extremely democratic machine is the presence of millions of foreigners—a large number of whom are labourers who have come from the countries of Southern Europe. America is in truth a gigantic crucible, a vast melting pot in which the outpourings of all countries have assembled and in which they must be fused and Americanized if the country is to remain American. Unaccustomed to self-government, ignorant of the English language, unfamiliar with American institutions and frequently labouring under the delusion that the liberty of America is but another name for license, they have created what is in some respects the greatest problem which faces our democracy. Dependent in large part for their knowledge of American institutions upon newspapers published in foreign languages—misled by the teachings of a few dangerous agitators who endeavour to persuade them that the American Government is no better than was that of the Czar, that the laws of the country are made by the enemies of the working classes, that American employers are robbers and exploiters, and the like, it is not surprising that some of the

foreign population should be radicals and revolutionaries, out of sympathy with our institutions and indeed enemies of the existing social, economic and political order. The Americans are now fully awake to the necessity of a thorough-going, intensive, nation-wide policy of Americanization through education by which these people may be assimilated, moulded into good citizens and their attachment to American institutions secured. The national and local governments as well as many civic, educational and commercial bodies have lately taken steps toward the accomplishment of this important and necessary task.

Aside from this cloud on the horizon—one which may be removed by a vigorous policy of Americanization—the American democracy does not appear to me to be confronted by any particular danger which threatens to undermine its foundations or shake its super-structure. The evils which Maine, Lecky, de Tocqueville and other foreign critics once foresaw, and which Maine in particular prophesied would ultimately lead to the downfall of the American democracy, have happily not proved serious—some of them in fact have never arisen at all. Other evils which they did not foresee have appeared, and others still will no doubt arise but there is nothing in the outlook to cause despair for the future. The one condition which seems essential to the continued success and permanence of the American democracy, as of democracy everywhere, is an intelligent, alert and well-instructed citizenship. It is the good fortune of America to possess this, the greatest of national assets, in a rare degree and the intense interest of her people in public education—an interest which amounts almost to a passion—justifies the belief that if our democracy should ever perish as others have done in the past, it will not be the result of ignorance or incapacity.

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—II

(3)

D. G. RITCHIE

DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

In the writings of D. G. Ritchie social and political interests predominate. "Pre-eminently a thinker," says his biographer Professor Latta, "he abhorred thinking *in vacuo* and his peculiar strength lay in his combination of philosophic insight with a living interest in human affairs, past, present and future." Like T. H. Green, under whose influence his philosophical principles were formed, he took deep interest in practical politics and the ideal of social well-being and progress dominated his thought and action. He was strongly of opinion that practical action must be based upon principles and that questions of ethics and politics must, ultimately, be viewed from the standpoint of general philosophy. In his study of practical problems Ritchie sought to combine the point of view of Idealism with that of Darwinism. Idealistic evolutionism is the name he was disposed to give to the theory to which he was led "by the teaching of Thomas Hill Green on the one side and by the influence of scientific friends on the other."

"Of an absolutely simple and unaffected nature," says Miss E. S. Haldane, "Ritchie pursued the truth he set himself to seek with an entire devotion." He was a very systematic thinker and sought to deduce all his conclusions from what he took to be first principles. In him, as in Green, the thinker was completely fused with the citizen. "His social optimism," says Professor Latta, "made him an ardent and incessant worker, restlessly intent on thoroughness of thinking, impatient of abstractions and hasty generalisations,

and scrupulous in his endeavour to attain accuracy of statement and reference as regards even the minutest details. But there was no harshness in his sense of duty. It was rather a buoyant and optimistic belief springing from his living interest in human well-being and progress. For him the whole duty of man lay not in doing good things but in doing them well, and from this deep moral conviction there passed into his life a courtesy, gentleness and frankness that seemed instinctive in its readiness and ease."

The end of conduct, according to Ritchie, is self-realisation and not happiness. "It is a terrible irony to say happiness is the end we ought to pursue. It is a hopeless pursuit. If happiness is the end we may well despair and make pessimism our creed." The self that has to be realised is not the self as finite and individual. It is a social self, "first the family, clan or tribe, then the city or nation, finally humanity." For practical purposes, the best thing is to treat self-realisation as the good of a community.

It is as members of society working hand in hand for the furtherance of the common good that individuals can develop their nature and be truly individual. Self and other selves mutually interpenetrate and interpret each other. The very differentiation of a man as an individual implies his co-existence with other individuals and his dependence upon the whole to which he and they equally belong. Virtues and duties, therefore, have no meaning apart from the institutions of society which give them concrete form. To suppose that morality is independent of society is the error of intuitionism in ethics. Its defect is its individualistic character. Man is not a lonely being cut off from his fellows and his moral ideas are not to be found ready-made within his mind. They grow along with the development of customs and institutions and are inseparably connected with them. To say this is not to deny the validity of the moral principles. Origin has nothing to do with validity. The anxiety of the

intuitionists to show that duties are independent of social factors and conditions is largely due to the mistaken belief that the value of a thing is determined by its origin. When we have given an historical account of the origin of a subject, we have not explained its worth and meaning. Duties do not cease to be binding on us because it can be shown that they are the outcome of social development. In prescribing absolute moral laws, intuitionism fails to perceive that the moral ideal is progressive and ignores the importance of customs, usages and institutions. It tends "to fossilise the principles of conduct at the particular stage of social development which commends itself to the particular intuitionist."

The theory of natural rights is in politics the analogue of intuitionism in ethics. Just as duties are supposed to be independent of society, so are rights conceived as belonging to men antecedently to their membership of a community. The intuitionist and the apostle of natural rights have both an individualistic bias. Society is regarded as made by men joining together for the purpose of safeguarding their pre-existing natural rights. It is not seen that "the person with rights and duties is the product of a society, and the rights of the individual must therefore be judged from the point of view of a society as a whole and not the society from the point of view of the individual" (*Natural Rights*, p. 102). Only persons have rights, but personality apart from society has no meaning. It is as animals and not as spiritual beings that we are distinct from one another. "What is the life of each of us apart from the influence of others and the relations in which it stands to the lives of others? The person can only exist in a developed political society which gives him rights and duties." 90504

Although Ritchie strongly insists on the sociality of man as a moral being, he is far from maintaining that rights and duties are finally determined by any actual society. We can always appeal from society as it is to an ideal society.

In order to know what moral duties are in their finished form, we must call up a vision of a perfect society and its conditions and requirements. But the ideal society is not something distinct from the actual. In it the meaning of the existing society is completely realised. The standard of conduct is set not by society as it is but by what it ought to be. Moral order, therefore, implies moral progress which "consists (1) in an enlargement in the list of virtues but still more (2) in an extension of the range of persons to whom obligations are due." The power of reflection which men have as self-conscious beings makes moral progress possible. They can form some idea of a better state of things by pondering over what they see around them and, from the point of view of the new ideal awakened in their minds, can criticise existing arrangements and institutions. "The healthiest society—as things go in an imperfect world—will be that which is most capable of criticising *and of mending itself*." This necessary task of criticism and reform is done by men who "can act in defiance of custom and even of law in working out some aim of their own choosing, which is not that of those around them." The social rebel, therefore, is a benefactor to mankind. But those who rebel against society may be of two kinds. "He may be the precursor of some new and better society, in the name of which he condemns an existing but corrupt and decaying set of institutions," or he may be the deliberately selfish, self-seeking man for whom a life of self-gratification becomes possible because others are not as bad as he. "Society consisting only of fallible and imperfect beings is apt to commit mistakes, and it may now and then confuse the two kinds of rebels, and crucify a true prophet between two ordinary criminals, though the ratio of true prophets to ordinary criminals is not as a rule so high."

The state is the highest form of social union and is supreme over all corporations and associations of men for the

promotion of special interests. Its end is the realisation of the common well-being and all its action "must be such as will give individuals so far as is possible the opportunity of realising their physical, intellectual and moral capacities." The ideal of ethics and politics alike is social. To the socialistic ideal in politics, individualism is opposed. The end of the state, according to it, is to give the fullest possible scope to the freedom of the individual, to give him liberty to work out his destiny in his own way and not to interfere between fully grown persons. The sole duty of the state, therefore, is to see to it that none in the exercise of his freedom interferes with the freedom of others. Much of the prejudice against state interference, Ritchie points out, is due to the misconception of the relation between the state and the individual. The state is supposed by men, even by thinking men, to be an alien power imposing its authority upon them from without, and naturally the result of its action comes to appear as the curtailment of their freedom. It is not seen that the state is the organic whole of which its members are constituent factors and that its action is no more inconsistent with their freedom than is the life and activity of the whole body inconsistent with the functioning of any of its members. The objection to state interference as such is, therefore, irrational. The only proper question to ask is whether the result of the interference of the state is the development of the capacities of the individual and the furtherance of his well-being or the reverse. In the latter event alone the action of the state is condemnable.

The liberty of the individual exists not in spite of but because of state action. The only liberty which is possible and defensible is the liberty of self-realisation by means of activities that contribute to the common good. It involves the association of men with each other, not their separation and isolation. "If freedom be put forward as the end of the state and therefore of the whole political endeavour of mankind, this cannot mean the mere negative liberty of being left alone,

and, unless we suppose changes in human nature for which past and present experience gives us no warrant, such absolute want of control would mean a return to the lowest savagery and a tedious process of building up again the overthrown fabric of order and civilisation" (*Philosophical Studies*, p. 51). To suppose that the evolution of society ends in complete individualism is a great mistake. Beyond and above the opposite extremes of social cohesion without individual liberty and individual liberty of the negative sort without social cohesion, there is a higher type of society "in which all that is most precious in individualism must be retained along with the stability of social conditions which individualism has destroyed." In the negation of modern individualism, it is impossible to rest. That individual freedom is essential to man if he is to make the most of himself few will deny; but freedom is a reality only in a strong state. It is the correlative and not the contradictory of the solidarity and organisation of the state. "Abolish the state and we should have, not individualism, but, after a period of anarchy, the patriarchal stage or some other 'natural' grouping of a more rudimentary kind. Society would begin over again from its lowest elements; and only with the rise of the state could it escape from 'savagery and barbarism'" (*Philosophical Studies*, p. 56).

Ritchie takes pains to show that the theory of natural selection lends no support whatever to individualism and the political doctrine of *laissez faire*. While fully appreciating the value of this theory, he points out its limitations and its inapplicability to human affairs without essential modifications. Men are thinking beings and are not subject to the biological law of evolution in the same way as the lower animals. Natural selection is no doubt at work among them, but its nature is altered by the power of thought and the range of its operation is restricted. Civilised human beings do not, like the animals or the primitive savage, fight out the struggle for existence to the bitter end but do their best to put limits to

the struggle. Co-operation more and more replaces rivalry and unchecked competition and spontaneous variation gives place to the deliberate alteration of customs and institutions. The growth of human societies is not due to the mere operation of natural laws but to efforts consciously made by men. For the betterment of society, therefore, ideas are of more value than any hypothetical inheritance of acquired characteristics. But "ideas can only be productive of their full benefit, if they are fixed in institutions." Floating opinions, individual beliefs are of very little use. Just because "it is 'not proven' that acquired characteristics are transmitted, we cannot trust for the improvement of the race to the moralisation of stray individuals now (however desirable and necessary that is in itself) : We must reform institutions so that the new individuals shall be born into healthy surroundings." For the progress of the human race, Ritchie relies more on "social inheritance--the transmission of ideas, sentiments, practices through the medium of tradition and imitation" than on the biological law of heredity. He regards it as essential that men from their early years should be brought up in the midst of such laws, customs and institutions as will stimulate good and arrest evil tendencies. "The moral significance of the organisation of society can hardly be overestimated. It is little use preaching kindness and consideration for others and hoping that sympathetic feelings will gradually become innate, if the society into which individuals are born be openly and confessedly a ceaseless struggle and competition. For eighteen centuries a gospel of peace and brotherhood has been preached and *talked* ; but the child plays with a toy gun and the youth sees the successful millionaire held up as his model for imitation--the man who boasts that he is "self-made," and who, as the American remarked, has by this boast "taken a great responsibility off the Almighty." (*Darwinism and Politics*, p. 54.)

To the state, we must turn as the one power capable of so organising society and its institutions as to make

them helpful to the free development of human personality. Ritchie was a strong socialist in his aims and ideal, but he did not accept in its entirety any of the current socialistic doctrines. He was a firm believer in state action as the only means of creating conditions favourable for the attainment of social well-being and had little patience with the view that unrestricted competition between individuals is the best means of promoting it. "Open competition might give results of some value if everyone were to start fair, run on his own legs and carry equal weight, but open competition between one man in a sack with a bundle on his shoulders, another on a good horse, and a third in an express train is a farce and a somewhat cruel one, when the race is being run for dear life." Those who insist that without struggle nothing good can be attained by man may be reminded that "there is a struggle from which we can never altogether escape—the struggle *against* nature, including the blind forces of human passion. There will always be enough to do in this ceaseless struggle to call forth all the energies of which human nature at its very best is capable." To remove the inequalities of life, to give equal opportunities of self-realisation to all, to reform institutions that stand in the way of the perfection of character and the happiness of individuals, to mitigate the severity of the struggle for existence so that every one may have some amount of leisure to cultivate the higher faculties of the mind, to turn mutual conflict into mutual help—these are the supreme end of state action. Men are not by nature equal. But the ideal is that so far as external arrangements of life can make them so, they ought to be equal. It is, of course, not possible to satisfy every one's wishes "but what we have to consider is the well-being and progress of society as a whole. We can only seek to provide the surrounding conditions which we hope will produce such effects." "The fact of natural inequalities can be no excuse for maintaining artificial

inequalities which have very little connection with them. The great democratic ideal is to remove all unnatural and artificial barriers between man and man and to diffuse education and culture throughout the community in such a way as to "make social intercourse easy between all its members, between those who are engaged, say, in directing some great industrial enterprise and those who cook food or clean rooms." The ideal to be constantly kept before the mind is that of a society composed of as many free, cultivated and equal members as possible and "it is well to repeat such a watchword as equality and fraternity, lest we should forget our ideal and, amid some degree of personal comfort, become ashamed of it." The need for eminent men in the various walks of life will never cease but "we need all the eminence, intellectual, moral and artistic that we can get—not that the eminent individual may amass a fortune or receive the fatal gift of the peerage (as for those that care for such things—verily they have their reward) but that he may exercise his gifts, as all the world's greatest men would wish to exercise them, for the benefit of his fellow men" (*Darwinism and Politics*, p. 50.)

The reason for the evil repute of state action, Ritchie thinks, is due to its being generally unmethodical and haphazard. "The real and significant distinction is not that between "state interference" and "*laissez faire*" but between intelligent and scientific, *i.e.*, systematic and far-sighted state action on the one side and that peddling kind of playing at an occasional and condescending providence in small matters, which is often much worse than doing nothing at all." (*Ibid*, p. 28.) Nevertheless, "even a partial state action may often be welcomed as a recognition that the state has duties towards its weaker members, however inefficiently it may discharge them." The state is supreme over all minor organisations and no limit can be put to its action except that which is determined by the nature of its end. How far the

state should intervene and how much should be left to the discretion and enterprise of private individuals is a question not to be decided by any *a priori* doctrine of "man *versus* the state," but by what is expedient and practicable under the circumstances. In principle, Ritchie is not disposed to withhold any power from the state. He recognises its right of interference with individual freedom even in purely personal matters, provided that such interference is necessary for the common good. "I do consider that it *is* the business of the state (supposing a well-organised state) to regulate, if possible, the birth and certainly the education of children so as to give them a fair chance of growing up into the best possible men and women."

But when is a state well-organised? When, answers Ritchie, its constitution is democratic and the people have a voice in the administration of its affairs. It is essential, he thinks, that governments should depend on the consent of the governed. Ritchie is a staunch supporter of the democratic form of government which, in his view, has the great advantage that "no measure can be carried which has not a very strong public opinion behind it—an advantage most completely secured by the very democratic and yet very conservative device of the *referendum*. Democratic government may be less enlightened, less scientific, and in some ways more stupidly conservative than the government of an intelligent and benevolent monarch; but it has this enormous advantage, that its laws cannot permanently run counter to very widespread public sentiment." (*Studies in Political and Social Ethics*, p. 46.) But if the state is to fulfil the important functions which, in Ritchie's view, belong to it, can we afford to have an unenlightened, unscientific and stupidly conservative government merely because it is democratic? Can a state be strong, efficiently organised and beneficent in its activities, if its affairs are managed according to the will of the majority which happens to be

momentarily prevalent? Ritchie speaks of the desirability of the segregation of the decadents and failures from the vigorous portion of the community and of preventing them from producing children. Will the majority, consisting for the most part of precisely such failures, ever allow this? The foundation of the state is no doubt the general will but, as thinkers have pointed out, the general will is not the same thing as the will of all, and the discovery of it is not an easy task.¹ It is only wise, disinterested and courageous men of experience, capable of rising above the passions and prejudices of the hour and of taking a long view of things, that can truly interpret the real will of the people. The end of the state is to remove obstacles to the development of the capacities of men, but the greatest of such obstacles is man's own selfishness, short-sightedness, slothfulness and ignorance. If the end is to be attained, the management of the affairs of the state must be in the hands of wise and able men, men of the stamp of Plato's philosopher king whom the ballot box cannot discover. Those who come to the top at popular elections are, not infrequently, mere windbags and demagogues practised in the art of ingratiating themselves into the favour of the unthinking mob. "The professional politician," says Dr. A. Freeman, "whom democracy has brought into being differs entirely from other professional men. He is totally unqualified" (quoted by Dean Inge, *Edinburgh Review*, No. 177, p. 27). The result is that the state fails to get the guidance of wise and competent men without which its prosperity and well-being cannot be attained. "No democratic system," says Professor C. R. L. Fletcher, "can secure the representation of the *intelligence of the nation*. The nomination boroughs afforded the only chance for young men of ability without family connections to enter Parliament. Burke, both Pitts, Canning and Gladstone were all nominees of great men. The last of these maintained in the hearing of the present writer that

¹ The distinction will be explained in the next article.

England was never better governed than in the last age of the old unreformed Parliament. People are too apt to forget that all real, substantial reforms proceed from intelligence alone, that intelligence is always in a minority and that democracy sacrifices not only intelligence but all the reforms that can only proceed therefrom in order to maintain itself and to split political power into fragments more and more minute." (*An Introductory History of England*, 3d ed., pp. 332-38.)

The curse of democracy is the demagogue. Its great problem is to secure the services of good and capable men of principle, but that problem remains unsolved. Under it, so far, trimmers and opportunists alone have prospered. "Democratic institutions," Ritchie tells us, "is defensible in so far as they offer (or can be made to offer) the best means of obtaining a genuine aristocracy or government by the best." Judged by this criterion, democracy must be pronounced to be a failure. Most assuredly, it has failed to obtain "a genuine aristocracy or government by the best." Politicians who have to depend for their tenure of power on the results of triennial, quadrennial or quinquennial elections, held under conditions well known to all, can seldom afford to be guided by their honest and independent judgment of what is really for the good of the people. They are tempted to curry favour with the mob, to play to the gallery. Under the influence of the democratic system of government, men, who in other circumstances might have been sagacious rulers, are inevitably turned into demagogues. The higher leadership, of which Lord Haldane speaks in one of his latest works, becomes a mockery. "We have to teach our people," says Lord Haldane, "if we would maintain the great station of our own country among the other nations of the earth, that they must see things steadily and see them whole. If we are to do this we must make sure that our statesmen, our local leaders, our teachers and our preachers have themselves something of the mind

that is really synoptic and are in some degree fitted to speak of eternity as well as of time." (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 421). Are party politics and electioneering campaigns very favourable to the growth of the power to "see things steadily and as a whole?" "Can a politician busy collecting votes afford to have a 'mind that is really synoptic' and 'to speak of eternity as well as of time?'"

None in these days will deny that the duty of the state is to further the interests of all and not of any particular class of the community. But this does not mean that every one is to have the same amount of influence in the management of affairs. Universal suffrage will not cure the stupidity of men. It will not make them unselfish enough to subordinate their private interests to the common good, wise enough to be guided by reason and not by the passions of the moment. To lay stress only on the infinite worth of man is a mistake. As Pascal says, "it is dangerous to let him see too clearly his greatness without his meanness. If he boasts himself I abase him : if he abases himself I exalt him. I contradict him continually till he comprehends what an incomprehensible monster he is." Old time autocracy perhaps unduly abased him, but is not modern democracy equally unduly exalting him? If democracy means a form of state-organisation in which there is no privileged class, no favoured treatment of vested interests and no artificial inequality, but in which every one finds an opportunity to make the most of himself and to contribute to the common good and all offices are open to qualified men irrespectively of their class or creed, no right-thinking person can have anything to say against it; but if by it is meant government according to the fickle will of the thoughtless multitude, incapable of seeing an inch beyond their nose, conducted by their delegates pledge-bound to do their bidding, it can only be adopted by a people whom the gods have marked out for destruction. A state under such a government is never stable and orderly and there is very little of a central

co-ordinating authority in it. It is a government powerless to govern and at the mercy of every turbulent faction. No government that attempts to carry out, not in an amateurish fashion, but persistently, adequately and scientifically such socialistic schemes as Ritchie favoured, can afford to be always on the look out for popular mandates. Germany is in evil repute now and the fashion is to cry her down. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing fails like failure. But it was in monarchical Germany that experiments of state socialism were most successfully carried out. "She," observed an English newspaper when she was not yet defeated, "has a most admirable organisation which pervades every sphere of life, from the provision of education to the conservancy of streets, from arrangements for the aged and infirm to those for the convenience of railway passengers. Never was a country better ordered, better cared for materially or more comfortable." No democratically governed country is ever likely to show better results.

It will, no doubt, be said that patriotic and intelligent citizens cannot be content with good government: they must have self-government. But self-government does not mean the exercise of political power by everybody, nor is it distinguishable from good government. It is not synonymous with democracy. Reason is man's real self and the government whose organisation is in conformity with the requirements of reason in the given situation is at once good government and self-government. It does not matter in the least whether I have a hand in the constitution of it or in the performance of its functions. It is only the vanity and self-will of man that prevent him from seeing this. It is, no doubt, a requirement of reason that in the administration of public affairs the influence of the general will should be effective, but in order to ensure this a "responsible" ministry removable by the vote of Parliament or manhood suffrage is not necessary. In certain

circumstances, such institutions, with proper safeguards, may be desirable but they are not indispensable. A democratic organisation of society has no necessary connection with democracy as a form of government. It may, on the contrary, be best attained through government by an aristocracy of worth and talent. For the purpose of government with the consent of the governed, a general harmony of the spirit of administration with the trend of public opinion is all that is required.

Active and intelligent citizenship does not become impossible because a man has not the right to vote at an election once in five years. For this what is necessary is doing honestly and with devotion the work which falls to one's lot as a member of the social organism. Far greater service may be rendered to the state by the silent worker than by the noisy agitator. Ritchie is not without misgivings about the worth of universal suffrage. "It is more important," he declares, "that offices should be open to all than all should have votes. Giving all a vote may be merely an escape from the fear of revolution : universal suffrage has nothing glorious about it. Taken strictly it means the absurdity that all men's opinions are of equal value" (*Philosophical Studies*, p. 338). Is not the revolutionary temper largely the outcome of centuries of false teaching? Would not the condition of the world have been better and happier to-day if men and women had heard more of the duties and less of the rights of man? The assertion of individual rights in season and out of season has created an atmosphere congenial to the growth of the self-seeking spirit only. The result is that the avowed socialist is at heart only an anarchist and democratically governed communities, instead of being firmly-compacted and well-organised bodies, are apt to be incohesive, inefficient and chaotic.

On questions of world politics, Ritchie has some very wise remarks to make. He points out the impossibility of a

state remaining self-contained and isolated in these days of rapid communication and international dealings. The actual state which is only one among many states must, therefore, be in a position to safeguard its interests, to protect its commerce and to repel attacks from outside. This means the possibility of war and the necessity of being prepared for it. Ritchie regards the ideal of abolishing war for ever as altogether utopian, so long at least as human nature remains what it is. It is easy to say that all war is wrong, but, unfortunately, in this wicked world, peace has often to be maintained by the use of force. If it is right to use force to put down individual crime, why should it be wrong to have recourse to it in order to maintain the peace of the world? It is useless to preach pacificism in season and out of season and to talk of disarmament as the one sure means of preventing wars for ever. The world is not full of quakers or of the followers of Tolstoi and it is necessary to remember that "there are always people, especially the champions of reactionary and antiquated types of rule, who will recognise no argument unless it is backed up by sufficient force." As a proof of this, we may refer to the origin of the late war. The verdict of the impartial historian must be that it was due as much to the pacificism of England as to the militarism of Germany. If England had performed the elementary duty of being prepared for self-defence, if she had given clear and timely warning to Germany that in the event of unprovoked aggression she would be found at the side of France, the peace of the world would not have been disturbed. President Wilson is an unimpeachable authority on this point. "We know for a certainty," said he, at a meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on March 5, 1919, "that if Germany had thought for a moment that Great Britain would go in with France and Russia, she never would have undertaken the enterprise."

For the preservation of peace, Ritchie relies more on the federation of the world than on arbitration or disarmament. "Arbitration is a valuable remedy, but it is not a panacea, and the cause of arbitration is only injured by the notion that it can be made a substitute for war in any and every case." The breaking up of the world into a large number of petty and discordant states, such as has happened as the direct and the indirect result of the war, he regards as a set back in the progress of the world. "We have no right to assume with some political theorists, that a great number of comparatively small independent nations, leaving the barbarous and the savage races of the world to "work out their own development," represents either the highest type of human society or a possible type. May not a few great "empires" in which self-governing federated communities control the less advanced races, represent a higher stage, more likely to be stable less exposed to war and preparing the way for a federation of the world." (*Studies in Political and Social Ethics*, p. 158). Ritchie lived in days when the world had not begun to suffer from an acute attack of sentimentalism and the cant about the right of small nations was not generally heard. There is no special merit, he points out, in being a small nation. "The sympathy so often expressed for the weaker or smaller state; simply because weaker or smaller, is æsthetic rather than ethical." The absorption of a small nation in some larger, more powerful and more civilised state is from the point of view of the progress of humanity to be encouraged and not condemned. This may be an unpopular view at the present moment, but it is true. Ritchie did not hold up his hands in pious horror at the very mention of the name 'empire'. In the best sense of the term, he was an imperialist. A powerful federation of self-governing communities, enjoying local autonomy but ready to subordinate sectional interests to the wider interests of the whole was his ideal. "The armed peace of the German Empire," he wrote in 1901, "may not be an

ideal condition of society ; but it is infinitely better than the acute agony of the thirty years war or the chronic maladies of the Holy Roman Empire—an empire which rested only on sentiment and had no armed force to support it and to keep the subject princes from fighting with each other."

HIRALAL HALDAR

PENELOPE

Let her be fair, but let her be

As constant as Penelope ;

Penelope whose faith was strong

Though her dear husband, absent long ;

Penelope whose bitter tears

Consoled her through the lonely years ;

Who overcame by artful wiles

Her suitors with their crafty smiles ;

Penelope whose heart held fast

Till brave Odysseus came at last.

•
If you would make One, Lord, for me,

Let her be like Penelope.

WAYNE GARD

QUIS CUSTODIT IPSOS CUSTODES ?

INTRODUCTION.

Every man in Benga! knows what a Policeman is, and what the name connotes. To the average literate middle class gentleman he is an arrogant, insolent and fierce creature who had better be avoided; to the illiterate villager he is the direct representative of the Sovereign, assuming powers which are unlimited because of unknown extent, and he deals with every case civil or criminal, on receipt of an adequate fee and may at his sweet will dispose of it in a manner which best suits his personal ends; to the European he is an indispensable public servant of unusual ability and integrity, the very personification of courtesy and dutifulness, the friend in need who bestows undivided attention on his comfort and convenience at railway stations, steamer ghats, and at all places where every one else is too busy or too blind to sift the black from the white; to the man of wealth and high social position he is a powerful instrument of oppression or vengeance kept in reserve to be used for his purpose when necessary; to the child he is an object of terror, and he is lulled to sleep or warned from doing naughty or mischievous acts by invoking the name of the policeman; in the imagination of a *pardanashin* female he appears as an incarnation of ferocity and brutality, and the appearance of a policeman in the vicinity of her house is taken as a premonitory sign of the ruin and oppression of some person, be he guilty or innocent; to the government official he is the detector of crimes, the protector of person, property and honour of a certain class of individuals, the friend of the innocent and the oppressed, the enemy of the enemies of society, the upholder of the power and supremacy of sovereignty, the saviour of government's

honour and prestige ; he is to the official a person more indispensable to society and more valuable than a judge or a teacher, a patriot or a philanthropist, a reformer or a journalist, and as such he deserves to be satisfied at all costs ; and lastly to the non-co-operator he is the root cause of all political discontent and unrest, his *bête noire*, the hated ruffian and the social pest which should be got rid of for the purification and progress of society.

Such is the variegated picture of the policeman drawn by different sorts of men and it is not difficult to judge that none of these pictures is true. Every individual looks at him through his peculiar glasses, and, hence, the policeman, in the abstract, is something which eludes definition and analysis. In reality he is a strange blend of all these varieties—he is a kaleidoscopic phenomenon, which is neither blue, nor green, nor yellow, nor orange, nor black, yet he is all, a chameleon-like creature which presents different colours at different moments and under different circumstances. This article is, however, not concerned with the character of the policeman as such but with what he costs to the Bengal tax-payer. Let the moralist or psychologist attempt to discover his motives and impulses, and how he feels when he drinks deep the cup of unrestrained power. But as students of finance we are not concerned with these abstractions. This paper attempts to investigate the financial results of the administration of the Police Department in Bengal with special reference to the following points : (1) whether the expenditure on Police is out of all proportions to the expenditure on other public service departments ; (2) whether the large expenditure on this service is interfering with the development of what have been most appropriately called the “nation-building” departments ; (3) whether the Bengal tax-payer should be further taxed to bear the ever-increasing cost of the Police service—and (4) whether, and, if so, in what directions economies are possible in the opinion of a layman

studying the problem from the point of view of the general financial condition of the country, its capacity to bear increased taxation, the public feeling in the country, and the responsibility of government to the people as custodians of its money; (5) whether the increase in expenditure is justified by the increased efficiency of the police as judged by their success in preventing and detecting crimes.

THE MATERIAL.—To enable us to discuss these points we have carefully analysed the Police expenditure of the province for the last thirty years, and have selected certain years as landmarks corresponding to certain events in the historical development of the department, such as the Report of the Police Commission, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the separation of Bihar and Orissa in 1912, etc. We have not thought it necessary to take as the subject of this paper, the *whole* police expenditure of Bengal but only the District executive force which absorbs nearly 70 per cent. of the total police grant. The figures up to the year 1920-21 have been taken from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India and those of 1921-22 and 1922-23 from the Civil Budget Estimates of Bengal for the year 1922-23. The other figures used in this article have been taken from various official sources, which need not be mentioned separately. The results of the analysis are exhibited in six statements:

Statement A shows the growth of police expenditure under the principal detailed heads from 1890-91 to 1922-23, omitting certain years which did not present any abnormal features.

Statement B shows for three leading stages, *viz.*, 1890, 1911 and 1922, the number and cost of superior and subordinate staff, as well as the expenditure on contingencies, allowances and miscellaneous establishment.

Statement C shows for the above three periods the number, grade, and cost of the superior and subordinate staff classified under Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors,

Assistant Sub-Inspectors (formerly head constables) and constables.

Statement D shows the increase of provincial revenue in new Bengal and the increase of expenditure under the civil departments such as General Administration, Law and Justice Education, Public Health, etc.

Statement E gives statistics of serious crimes showing the number of cases reported and convicted during five quinquennial periods ending 1915 and for the three years, 1916, 1917 and 1918.

Statement F has been inserted giving certain useful and relevant miscellaneous statistics required in the course of the investigation.

The figures in Statement B require some detailed explanation. It will be remembered that in the years 1890 (the year from which we start) and 1911, Bengal included the present province of Bihar and Orissa, and its area and population were 151,000 square miles and 75 millions respectively. After the separation of the latter territory in 1912 the area and population became 78,700 square miles and 45½ millions respectively. For the purpose of precise comparison between the figures of 1890, 1911, and 1922, the figures of the first two years have been reduced to the area and population of new Bengal. There are two variable factors in this process of reduction, *viz.*, area and population; and the figures of 1890 and 1911 have been reduced *first*, on the basis of equal population, and *secondly*, on the basis of equal area, and the *mean* has been adopted for the purpose of comparison with the figures of 1922.

The general conclusions which are deducible from Statement A are that, irrespective of the changes in the area and population due to territorial redistribution, the expenditure has grown as follows :

From 1890-91 to 1900-01	...	Rs. 7,76 thousands.
„ 1902-03 to 1911-12	...	„ 13,37 „

From 1912-13 to 1917-18	...	Rs. 28,42 thousands.
„ 1918-19 to 1922-23	...	„ 43,40 „
„ 1890-91 to 1922-23	...	„ 94,31 „

If the expenditure for 1890-91 be reduced to the area and population basis of 1922 in the same way as has been done in Statement B, the increase would exceed 111½ lakhs. Of the increase of 94.31 lakhs, 2.53 lakhs occurs under superior officers, 48.12 lakhs under police force (including inspectors, sub-inspectors, assistant sub-inspectors and constables), nearly 16 lakhs under contingencies and 11 lakhs under allowances. The general conclusions deducible from Statement B are summarised below :

		Increase in 1911 over 1890.	Increase in 1922 over 1911.	Increase in 1922 over 1890.
Superior officers	No. 14 per cent.	96 per cent.	130 per cent.	
	cost 15 „	16½ „	200 „	
Subordinate staff (including constables).	No. —7 „	100 „	90 „	
	cost 35 „	271 „	400 „	
Allowances contingencies and miscellaneous establishments.		127 „	364 „	953 „

The most astonishing, and we may say galloping, increase has therefore taken place under miscellaneous and incidental charges which have increased during the last thirty years from 3.50 lakhs to 36.86 lakhs, *i.e.*, more than *ten* times.

Analysing further the expenditure under this miscellaneous head for the three years 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23, we find that the following charges which are included under

contingencies and establishment, should logically be classified as travelling expenses :¹

Shown under " <i>contingencies</i> "		1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Railway warrants	...	2,78	2,93	2,90
Purchase of boats and stores				
for steamers	... ..	45	1,00	1,00
Fixed boat-hire and contin-				
gencies	... ..	27	35	1,97
TOTAL		3,50	4,28	5,87

Shown under "*Establishment*"

Launch, boat and elephant				
establishment	... ..	2,52	2,68	1,43
TOTAL		6,02	6,96	7,30

Making the necessary adjusting corrections the true expenditures under these heads are :

		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Allowances	... ..	24,40	21,96	22,60
Contingencies	... ..	11,57	12,48	12,74
Establishment	... ..	2,12	2,65	1,52

Taking these three heads together, it is clear that while the cost of superior staff has increased by 200 per cent. between 1890-91 and 1922-23, the incidental charges have increased during the same period by 953 per cent. It is difficult to criticise with effect the fairness or legitimacy of the latter charges ; but it would be perfectly just to say that the expenditure is out of all proportions to the cost of the staff.

In view of the disproportionately heavy expenditure on all branches of the police the question may legitimately be put to the exponents of "peace, order and good government" if they have succeeded in any measure in giving to the tax-payers of Bengal that increased peace, and increased

¹ A system of audit and accounts which permits such misleading and false classification is fundamentally unsound.

security of life and property which is legitimately their due. Has the quality of work of the police been commensurate with the quantity of money spent on salaries and allowances of the investigating and supervising staff? Have the crimes diminished in proportion to population owing to their vigilance and activities? Have their investigations resulted in the conviction of a larger and larger proportion of offenders?

To be in a position to answer these questions we have analysed the statistics of serious crimes reported and convicted in Bengal (*including Calcutta*) during the period 1891-1918 under the following heads:—offences against state and public tranquillity, murder, other serious offences against person, dacoity, cattle theft, ordinary theft, house trespass and house breaking with intent to commit offences (*vide* Appendix E). These figures have all been taken from the Statistical Abstract relating to British India published by the authority of Parliament. We have taken 5 quinquennial periods starting from 1891 and have worked out the averages for each of these periods; for the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 we have given only the annual figures.

From these statistics of crime we have tried to ascertain the number of serious crimes reported per 10,000 persons during the successive periods under investigation. The results are set out below:

TABLE I.

Period.	Number of serious crimes reported per 10,000 persons
Quinquennial Average	
1891-95 ...	... 10·6
1896-1900 ...	... 11·8
1901-1905 ...	... 13·4
1906-1910 ...	... 17·3
1911-1915 ...	... 15·6
1916 ...	... 20·7
1917 ...	... 21·1
1918 ...	... 20·4

From the same table of crimes (Appendix E) we have worked out percentages of convictions to cases reported during 1891-1918 with the following results:—

TABLE II.

Period.	Percentage of convictions to cases reported.	
Quinquennial average		
1891-95 22·6
1896-1900 20·8
1901-1905 16·8
1906-1910 17·1
1911-1915 15
1916 13·8
1917 13·3
1918 12·8

The *prima facie* conclusions which can be drawn from these two tables are that during the last 30 years (1) the number of serious crimes reported has increased by nearly 100 per cent.; and (2) the percentage of convictions to cases reported has diminished by nearly 45 per cent. In other words, the police have declined in both their primary functions, *viz.*, detection of crimes and investigation of crimes.

CRITICISMS AND PROPOSALS.—This paper is divided into two sections: the first deals with the financial aspect and the second with the administrative aspect of the police service.

From Statement B it will appear that while the cost of the whole rank and file of policemen has increased by 370 per cent. the incidental charges, which were expected to increase at most in the same ratio, have increased by 953 per cent., or by 158 per cent. in excess of the cost of the staff. The disproportion between the increase in numbers and salaries of superior and subordinate officers, though glaring, admits of satisfactory explanation, as the salaries of the latter have been enhanced in a larger ratio than those

of the former. But no rational explanation can be devised and advanced of the total lack of correspondence between the increase in the numerical strength of the whole staff and the increase in the incidental expenses. If due proportion were maintained between them the incidental charges should not exceed $16\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees in round figures.

The distribution of subordinate officers among the police stations and outposts, as well as the area which each officer has to serve does not appear to be unfair. The province covers 78,700 square miles, the number of subordinate officers is 1,347 and the number of police stations and outposts is 728. There is thus one police station to every 110 square miles, one officer to every 18 square miles and 6 officers to each thana. But the distribution though *prima facie* fair so far as numbers are concerned, is unfair so far as the rank of officers allotted to each thana goes. The postings of superior officers are made on an overzealous or over-cautious principle, and the higher ranks are capable of being thinned without any fear of loss of efficiency in the service.

It is unnecessary in our opinion to have three grades of superior officers, *viz.*, superintendents, assistant superintendents, and deputy superintendents. It would, in our opinion, serve the ends of efficient administration, if the posts of assistant superintendents were abolished and the supervising staff consisted only of superintendents and deputy superintendents. One of us has suggested in a previous article that there should be a superintendent in charge of a division of which there are five in Bengal, each district being placed in charge of a deputy superintendent. Similarly, there should be an inspector for each sub-division, the other police stations being placed in charge of sub-inspectors. Our reasons for this proposal are that the social and educational level of recruitment of sub-inspectors, inspectors and deputy superintendents having been raised and their salaries having been increased,

we should expect them to do higher duties and assume greater responsibilities commensurate with their qualifications, abilities and salaries. These proposals might be tabulated as follows :

Designation.	Existing staff.	Proposed staff.	Average salary. Rs.	SAVING (+) / per month. Rs.
Superintendents ...	38	5	1,162	+38,316
Assistants ...	49	...	587	+28,763
Deputies ...	23	40	350	-5,950
Inspectors ...	200	95	237	+24,885
Sub-Inspectors ...	1,742	1,912	105	-17,850
	<hr/> 2,052	<hr/> 2,052		<hr/> +68,194

The number of deputy superintendents and inspectors exceeds, in the proposal, the number of districts and sub-divisions, as some margin has been provided for leave vacancies as well as for training. It will be seen that the numerical staff remaining unaltered, the monthly saving in cost, without, we hope, loss of efficiency, would amount to Rs. 68,194 ; or, if we take into account savings in contingencies, travelling and other allowances payable to superior officers, about 10 lakhs of rupees a year.

The above proposals are advanced on the assumption that the deputy superintendents by virtue of their social position and educational attainments are fully capable of doing the duties, in times of necessity, which are usually performed by superintendents and that a large proportion of sub-inspectors is quite as competent as the inspectors. The proposals, therefore, without curtailing the numerical strength of the staff, merely suggest the devolution of higher duties on officers pertaining to the lower grades—a suggestion which is fully warranted by the raising of the social and educational plane of recruitment. If there is any doubt about the capacity of the deputy superintendents, it may be set at rest

by recruiting them by the same process which is applied in the case of the provincial service, the members of which are as capable and educated as the members of the higher ranks of the police service.

The prodigal expenditure under allowances and contingencies does not admit of detailed scrutiny by an outsider. Their very volume forbids detailed examination, invites criticism and excites surprise. It has been shown by *a priori* reasoning that their amount is out of all proportion to the expenditure on the whole staff and is not justified by the increase of staff. This head requires detailed scrutiny by an impartial authority and an independent auditor who must know that his functions are higher than those of passing charges sanctioned by the head of the department. It is a strange system of audit which permits steam launch and elephant establishments to be included under petty establishments, and purchase of boats and stores for steamers as well as the cost of railway warrants amounting in all to more than 5 lakhs of rupees to be treated as contingencies. It seems that the audit officers are completely under the hypnotic influence of the police department which passes all sorts of charges as fair or legitimate at the point of disowning all responsibility for the peace or protection of the district.

To obtain an idea of the relation between the total revenue of the province and the total police expenditure, reference is invited to Statement D from which it will be evident that the bulk of the increase of expenditure has occurred under General Administration and Law and Justice, (107½ lakhs), Education (46 lakhs) and Police, (105½ lakhs). It will also be evident that the increase in provincial revenue has not kept pace with the increase of expenditure under the principal service heads, which outstrips the revenue by 121½ lakhs. It would be invidious to give the palm to any particular department: but it is clear from the figures that while the Police department alone absorbs nearly 50 per cent. of the

increase, all the nation-building departments taken together spend only 40 per cent.

The excessive expenditure on this branch of the protective service is officially defended on the ground of necessity—which knows no law : and the current laws of the science of finance and political economy are sacrificed, with a clean conscience, before the altar of Necessity. It is, however forgotten, that the violation of certain laws—including moral laws—brings with it its inevitable retribution. Laws can, to be sure, be broken by authorities wielding immense, in some cases, unrestrained, powers, unrestrained even by all the wholesome and regulative forces of society ; but they cannot be broken with impunity. The connection between social industry and social income on the one hand, and taxation on the other, is so close and intimate that excessive or injudicious taxation destroys the stimulus to industry and trenches perilously on the social income, leaving ultimately the sources of public revenue dry or unfruitful. Taxation cannot be superimposed upon taxation without limit ; neither does it follow, that increase of taxes always produces a proportionate increase of revenue. The reason is that a heavy and ever-increasing burden of taxation seriously affects the springs of social wealth until the ratio between the produce of the tax and the rate of the tax ceases to be direct and becomes inverse. This marks the stage at which taxation ceases to be fruitful, because it becomes unbearable and exceeds the ability of the tax-payers. Bengal has arrived at this stage. Excessive expenditure, which is a twin brother of excessive taxation follows a law identical with the law applicable to the latter. No financier can disregard the great and inflexible law of economy which forbids the support of a costly administration by means of excessive taxation : neither can he wisely increase the expenditure to an indefinite extent without drying up the very sources from which taxes come. This is an inflexible

law : violate this law, and the inevitable consequences are the bankruptcy of the state, the economic ruin of the people, and the cessation of all healthy activities of the state, whose object is to remove vice, poverty, ignorance, superstition and similar other cankers of society. It is easier to move the legislative machinery for the purpose of increasing taxation and expenditure than to avert the ruin and bankruptcy that inevitably follow injudicious taxation and improvident expenditure.

The taxation of Bengal is singularly and obstinately irresponsive to the repeated demands for funds. Taxes here are very inelastic mainly for the reason that the system is unjust and anomalous. The largest source of revenue, *viz.*, land, is unproductive so far as the state is concerned, the zemindars intercepting nearly 80 per cent. of the collections from the tenants. They are at the same time exempt from a just and fruitful tax, namely, the income tax. One of the richest classes in the province, therefore, escapes the main obligation to pay for the support of the state. Moreover, income tax and customs now belong to the Central government. The Provincial government is therefore left with a few inexpansive heads such as stamps, excise, forests, registration, etc., which do not readily and cheerfully respond to the calls for development. The taxable classes, so far as Bengal is concerned, are therefore greatly restricted by the law of the land and by the award of the Financial Relations Committee. In these circumstances, it is nothing short of reckless finance to go on increasing expenditure and then whine and complain of the inadequacy of revenue, the difficulty of taxation and the necessity of cutting down expenditure on sanitation, agriculture and technical and general education, and to chastise public-spirited men who insist on larger and larger expenditure under these developmental heads. The Provincial government is in deficit to the extent of 60 to 70 lakhs of rupees ; and after the revival of

its full contribution to the Central government, this deficit will increase at a bound to 125 lakhs of rupees. We challenge any financier with the most fertile brain to discover the source or the sources from which this heavy deficit can be met, unless the government resorts to borrowing or abrogates the Regulation of 1793 regarding the permanent settlement of land revenue with the zemindars. The alternative remedy lies not in the *left* but in the *right* side of the accounts.

In discussing Police administration it is impossible to ignore altogether the large volume of public opinion regarding the manner in which policemen perform their duties. Dishonesty and corruption are associated with the name of the police. The charges are, in many instances, incapable of proof: but there happen many things in this world which some people see but which cannot be demonstrated to others who do not choose to see things for themselves, or who take an unduly bright and optimistic view of things. At the same time, it would be unfair to disregard the allegation which has become almost instinctive and widespread that another name for corruption and dishonesty is policeman. Attempts have been made by government in their annual resolutions to explain away the charges, but this instinctive feeling of the public against the policeman remains too strong to be dispelled. The public allege that the improvement that has been made in the morale of the police force is not commensurate with the large amount of public money that has been expended with that object, and they feel that further expenditure of public funds would be useless. There are 110 superior officers who, it is presumed, supervise the work of the force: but public conscience is so much dissatisfied with the character of this supervision that one wonders whether there is any supervision at all. Persons who have opportunities of carefully watching the work of the subordinate staff allege that the acts of many of these officers are so flagrantly perfunctory, so openly

corrupt and so shamelessly oppressive and provocative that they sometimes feel that they would prefer to be robbed by thieves and dacoits to being blackmailed, insulted and oppressed by the policeman. We do not believe that departmental supervision is the true remedy for this unsatisfactory state of things. The remedy lies in respecting and responding to public opinion and making impartial inquiries into individual complaints with a view and a determination to eradicate the vices. The morale of the subordinate staff who have been bred to immoral traditions is difficult of improvement so long as those traditions persist in the lower ranks. Increase of salaries, first projected to turn the policeman into an honest officer, and later to compensate him for the high cost of living, has been of no avail. In reality, if there was any justification for the all-round increase of salaries to the subordinate staff that justification lay in the improvement of their morale, and if they could be relied on to do their duty to the public, the need for the supervising staff would be less and not more. Experience, however, shows that dishonesty and corruption have not diminished either with the increase of pay or increase of supervision: and the reason is that if the subordinate officers are dishonest and corrupt and mean to be so, supervision would be futile. To ensure honest work therefore it is necessary to adopt three means: (1) a strong determination to stamp out dishonesty and corruption, (2) to set examples of honesty and integrity, and (3) to respect and respond to public opinion. None of these means is a question of funds.¹

The main functions of the police may broadly be divided under two heads—(1) the prevention of crimes and (2) the detection of crimes. The worth and utility of the police force to the citizen can only be judged by its success or otherwise

¹ One of the writers of this paper has personal knowledge of eight gambling saloons doing roaring business in a fair held about two months ago in an industrial town near Calcutta. It is incredible that the local police were unaware of this fact.

in preventing crimes and in bringing the criminal to justice. How then do the police forces of to-day compare with their predecessors in this the first branch of their activity? The first of the two tables given above makes it clear that during a period of a little over a quarter of a century the crimes reported rose from 10·6 to 20·4 per 10,000 persons. It demonstrates the correctness of the proposition that in spite of all that the government may say to the contrary, judged by the statistics of crimes the police have failed to discharge their most important duty of checking the growth of crimes even after 30 years of ceaseless efforts at improvement in the machinery of supervision, administration, and investigation. It appears that before the era of "improvements" with its Police Committees and Commissions, the arrestation of the growth of crimes was attended with a partial amount of success. One of the inferences relevant to the present issue drawn by the government of Bengal in 1890 on a review of the statistics of cognisable crimes during 1878-88 was, as expressed by them in a Resolution dated the 24th September, that "crime generally is not positively great in Bengal and *is decreasing relatively to the increase of population.*" There are many amongst us who long for the early nineties when the crimes were fewer in number and the expenditure too was kept within reasonable bounds. We realise that the prevalence of crimes in any country is dependent on such factors, as the disposition of the people, economic causes and lastly the machinery of detection. It is difficult to say whether a change has taken place in the disposition of the people during the last 50 years, and, if it has, to speculate as to the reasons which have brought about this change. But it is interesting to recall in this connection that it was precisely this disposition of the people which was put forward by the government as one of the reasons why Bengal did not require more than 40 lakhs of rupees for her entire police force in 1861. "The expenditure for Bengal was estimated at 49 lakhs of rupees

(by the Police Commission of 1860) an opinion being however at the same time expressed that the features of the Province and the *character and habits of its population* would probably not necessitate a larger expenditure than 40 lakhs which was sanctioned."¹

The second factor, *viz.*, economic causes, it may at once be admitted, is to some extent responsible for the increase of crimes. When the statistics reveal a steady increase of crimes during a period covering more than a quarter of a century it proves one of two things: either that the economic condition of the people has been steadily deteriorating, or that the machinery of detection is at fault, for it is self-evident that if a criminal knew that detection would follow close upon the commission of crime he would no more commit a crime than he would put himself into a lion's den. Whichever the conclusion may be, we have no cause to congratulate ourselves, either on increase of crimes or increase of expenditure.

It may, however, be argued that if the police have failed in their first duty they have at any rate made amends for this failure by their success in the second, *viz.*, detection of crimes. Indeed, it is not too much to expect that they should show some improvement in this branch of their activity at any rate, for the reforms carried out during 1905-1908 in accordance with the recommendations of the Police Commission of 1902-1903 were mainly directed towards strengthening the investigating staff.²

The government of Bengal in their Resolution on the administration of the police in 1906 and 1907 assured the public that "great improvements have been made in many departments. The strength of all ranks has been increased and simultaneously with the increase of numbers there have for years been continuous efforts at improvements in recruitment and training." The taxpayers who have borne the cost

¹ Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, Vol. I, p. 231.

² Report on the Administration of the Police, 1905-7.

of these improvements may legitimately inquire whether these improvements have left any visible marks on the quality of their work. It appears from the second of the two tables given above that the percentage of convictions to crimes reported fell steadily from 22·6 to 12·8 during 1891-1918.

It is clear that a larger number of crimes remains undetected now than in the early nineties. We venture to point out that the government themselves were conscious of this defect on the part of the police as early as 1907 but explained it away on the ground that the years 1906 and 1907 were transitional years.¹ It was argued that if improvements "are not equally visible in statistical results, it is perhaps because the changes are still far from complete and cannot have nearly produced their full effects." The same reason was reiterated four years later by the Inspector General of Police, who stated in connection with the criticism of the Police "that the measures taken for the improvement of the force in the past 10 years cannot be expected to bear full fruit until the officers recruited under these influences have matured and provided that the improvement aimed at in the class of recruit for investigating work can be maintained. The transitional stage in a long service force is necessarily prolonged." Ten years have elapsed since this was written and it seems that the "transitional stage" is prolonged to an indefinite time. The long looked-for improvements have yet to come.

At this stage a word may be said about the justice or otherwise of the principle of judging the work of the police by statistical results alone. The Police Commission of 1902-03 pointed out that although an exaggerated emphasis is sometimes laid on this aspect of the matter "there is also much justification for it." "No civilised government," they urged, "can dispense with statistics of crime and of the success of its officers in dealing with it, but such statistics must be used

¹ Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the administration of the Police, 1906 and 1907.

with judgment and discrimination." We are one with them in holding that "*a relatively high rate of criminality or low rate of detection does indicate that something is wrong.*" (Chap. X, Indian Police Commission Report, 1902-03). Whether this high rate of criminality or low rate of detection indicated above amounts to an "undoubted administrative failure" or not we leave it to the public to judge.

The Government of Bengal has time and again preached to the University of Calcutta a homily for economy and has even threatened its very existence if it disregards its injunctions, with persistent vehemence and somewhat irritating frequency. It has advised, with an air of superior wisdom, that the policy of the University should be regulated and kept within bounds by its financial resources and by the limitations which the Government of Bengal might choose to place upon its taxing powers. In other words, it says in effect: "Stop your beneficial activities, confine them to your current precarious income, do not increase your income by taxation, do not increase the salaries of your staff, and do not ask for aid from the public exchequer." This is a strangling process, which it would be interesting to apply to the Bengal Government and watch the results. It can commit no sin if it accuses the University of Calcutta of deplorable mismanagement of its finances, or of thoughtless waste of public funds, in pursuance of a reckless policy of imparting higher education to our youths, while it was playing ducks and drakes with public money in supreme disregard of the poverty and distress of the people and taxing its ingenuity to discover new sources of taxation in order that the demon of extravagance may enjoy to surfeit his carnival of gratification. The Bengal Government claims the right of taking the University to task, if it has, in its zeal for the promotion of higher education, spent a lakh or two in excess of its resources; but it evidently claims it has no accountability to the public or to any other higher tribunal for the manner it has misused

public funds in the name of maintaining King's peace! It were greatly to be desired that there would have been somebody to watch the watchers—some higher authority which could chastise the Bengal Government in the same coarse and undignified language in which it has needlessly chastised the University of Calcutta. The University's guilt is confined to the spending of money on fruitful and beneficial objects which improve the culture and expand the knowledge of the people; the guilt of Government consists in indulging in extravagance over a service whose reputation is at a discount in the public eye and is insidiously undermining the manhood of the country by excessive taxation on the one hand, and withholding developmental work on the other. The Police merely protects the material wealth of the country: the University not only protects its moral and intellectual wealth but produces new wealth and fructifies it a hundred-fold. Excessive expenditure on Police is unproductive and the unproductivity varies directly with the amount. The expenditure by the University produces intellectual wealth which is of eternal value to the country as it adds not only to its material property but to its power, prestige and reputation. If the Government of Bengal in a fit of generous impulse, took it into its head to risk a few lakhs of rupees for the University and help her to give birth, even in the course of a whole generation, to a man whose personality would transcend in brilliance and achievements the bureaucrats, the demagogues, the weather-cock politicians and the Self-Seeking followers of party leaders, the money will have repaid to the nation many times the amount of the travelling allowances paid to the police officers in 30 or 40 years.

SATISCHANDRA RAY

JITENDRA PRASAD NIYOGI

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE

STATEMENT A.

[In Thousands of Rupees.]

	1902-3	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1907-8	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1915-16	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22 (Revised Estimate.)	1922-23 (Budget Estimate.)
4,40	4,48	4,70	4,72	4,32	4,75	5,00	5,08	5,08	6,45	6,19	6,32	7,33	7,68	8,20	8,00
11,13	31,13	31,83	32,40	33,80	32,12	36,40	31,29	33,25	40,21	42,19	44,02	46,89	56,64	71,35	74,50
4,03	4,58	4,96	5,24	5,12	6,00	6,36	5,18	5,75	9,73	13,10	15,26	13,52	18,38	15,00	15,30
1,65	1,06	1,70	1,74	1,53	80	2,45	1,17	2,21	2,08	3,03	3,68	3,64	4,64	5,33	2,95
1,49	1,53	1,53	1,55	1,29	1,40	1,16	65	92	88	1,88	2,69	2,50	3,80	4,00	3,90
15	15	41	40	10	24	24	21	47	49	61	59	73	72	71	72
1,25	1,77	2,00	2,68	1,83	1,83	2,72	2,01	4,36	2,38	2,52	2,67	3,98	2,40	2,07	2,50
2,22	2,47	2,49	2,77	2,55	5,94	5,32	8,92	9,70	9,60	12,97	11,08	15,16	15,07	16,76	18,61
14	16	19	21	1,12	1,32	1,24	1,23	1,31	1,03	1,95	2,10	2,30	2,66	3,06	2,99
57	66	75	75	70	60	57	62	70	67	94	1,17	1,30	1,59	1,58	1,80
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,23	1,71
47,03	48,59	50,55	52,55	52,45	55,00	62,36	56,76	64,65	74,72	85,38	90,18	97,35	1,13,58	1,29,31	1,33,58

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE
STATEMENT B.

[Cost in thousands of rupees.]																							
Superior Officers.				Subordinate Officers.						Constables.				Cost of Superior Officers.			Cost of Subordinate Officers including Constables.				Allowances, Contingencies and Establishment.		
1890		1911		1922		1890		1911		1922		1890		1911		1922		1890		1911		1922	
No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Number and cost calculated on the basis of the population in 1922.																							
52	60	110	2,120	2,320	4,347	11,310	10,020	19,037	3.06	3.54	8.60	15.90	21.44	74.50	3.75	8.49	36.86						
Number and cost calculated on the basis of the area in 1922.																							
45	52	110	1,841	2,020	4,347	9,632	8,737	19,037	2.66	2.97	8.60	13.75	18.30	74.50	3.25	7.41	36.86						
Mean of the figures calculated on area and population basis.																							
48	56	110	1,980	2,170	4,347	10,486	9,379	19,037	2.86	3.26	8.60	14.82	20.07	74.50	3.50	7.95	36.86						
Percentage of increase over previous period.																							
...	14	96	...	9	104	...	-10	103	...	15	1.64	...	35	271	...	127	304						
Percentage of increase in 1922-23 over 1890.																							
...	...	130	...	...	124	...	...	81	...	...	2.00	...	...	400	...	...	953					

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE STATEMENT C.

Showing the number of officers and force, their grades, and their total salaries.

[In thousands of rupees.

Class of officer.	1891-92.			1910-11.			1922-23.		
	Number	Grade.	Cost. (a)	Number.	Grade.	Cost.	Number.	Grade.	Cost.
Superintendents	42	R. 500-1000	3.42	35	R. 700-1200	3.50	38	R. 725-1600	4.73
Asst. Superintendents	45	250-400	1.52	43	300-500	1.15	49	425-750	2.86
Deputy Superintendents	...	...	...	21	250-500	1.02	23	200-500	97
Inspectors	153	100-250	2.90	217	150-250	4.25	200	175-300	5.95
Sub-Inspectors	928	30-80	5.84	1,545	50-100	10.98	1,742	80-130	19.94
Asst. Sub-Inspectors	2,337	10-25	3.98	2,107	15-20	4.05	2,405	25-35	7.70
Constables	18,848	6-9	14.54	16,698	7-10	15.70	19,037	16-20	35.69
TOTAL	22,553		32.20	20,686		40.65	23,494		77.84(b)

(a) These figures are the Revised Estimates of the year and are fairly accurate.

(b) When the officers reach the maximum of their grades the cost will be 1,03,25.

STATEMENT D.

[In thousands of rupees.

		1912-13	1921-22	Increase.
TOTAL PROVINCIAL REVENUE	...	7,16,53	9,03,16	1,86,63
EXPENDITURE UNDER				
General Administration and Law and				
Justice	... ..	1,41,48	2,49,02	1,07,54
Education	... ..	73,77	1,19,85	46,08 (a)
Medical	... ..	26,42	51,86	25,44
Public Health	... ..	...	16,39	16,39 (b)
Police	... ..	84,00	1,89,33	1,05,38
Agriculture	... ..	13,89	16,12	2,23 (c)
Industries	... ..	...	11,59	11,59 (d)
Stationery and Printing	... ..	13,34	27,10	13,76
Other Departments	... ..	3,41	3,09	—32
		3,56,31	6,84,40	3,28,09
				$a + b + c + d = 76,29$

STATEMENT E.

STATISTICS OF CRIMES IN BENGAL, 1891-1918

	Offences against state and public and tranquillity.		Murder.		Other Serious offences against person.		Dacoity.		Cattle Theft.		Ordinary Theft.		House trespass and house breaking with intent to commit offence.		TOTAL OFFENCES.	
	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.
1891-1895	3,232	1,790	396	87	5,163	2,089	289	56	2,118	1,079	33,303	10,030	31,483	2,042	75,984	17,173
1896-1900	5,010	2,101	485	119	8,158	2,372	420	81	2,927	1,194	42,442	10,576	29,680	2,171	89,122	18,614
1901-1905	4,638	1,424	500	105	7,734	1,959	386	71	2,831	976	43,044	9,016	41,937	3,602	1,01,070	17,153
1906-1910	2,196	822	403	70	5,940	1,320	326	50	2,452	900	38,806	9,029	41,204	3,348	91,327	15,548
1911-1915	2,449	938	443	63	6,782	1,545	385	46	1,526	608	30,706	6,399	40,501	2,883	82,752	12,452
1916	2,410	932	526	69	6,467	1,525	596	85	1,502	609	33,409	6,826	40,468	3,026	94,378	13,072
1917	2,430	1,015	525	63	7,000	1,668	529	57	1,157	502	33,850	6,398	50,583	3,091	96,053	12,794
1918	2,114	904	519	56	6,279	1,527	694	154	794	333	33,012	6,295	48,780	2,574	92,198	11,843

STATEMENT F.

1. Area of old Bengal ... = 1,51,000 sq. miles
2. „ „ new „ ... = 78,700 „ „
3. Population of old Bengal in 1911 ... = 75 millions
4. „ „ area covered by new
Bengal in 1891 ... = 39 „
5. „ „ „ 1901 ... = 42 „
6. „ „ „ 1911 ... = 45½ „
7. Number of Divisions=5 (*viz.*, Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi,
Dacca and Chittagong).

8.	Division.	No. of districts.	No. of sub-divisions.
	Burdwan ...	6	17
	Presidency ...	5	22
	Rajshahi ...	8	19
	Dacca ...	4	17
	Chittagong ...	4	8
		<hr/> 27	<hr/> 83
9.	No. of Districts in 1910	...	... = 45
10.	„ „ Police Stations	...	... = 708
11.	„ „ Outposts	...	... = 20

THE NEW WORLD OF ISLAM

The Eastern problem is perhaps the most pressing problem of the day. It certainly is one fraught with far-reaching consequences for East and West alike. It calls for a careful, dispassionate, impartial study : for no true understanding or appreciation of this problem is possible unless it strikes and sustains the note of scrupulous impartiality. The heat of passion and controversy, dogmatic assertiveness, petulance, pride, contempt—all these must, for the moment, be put aside. Truth, and truth only, should be our one guide, our sole aim, our destined goal. In the study of this all-engrossing problem we receive much assistance from Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's *New World of Islam*—recently published in America. It is no political pamphlet. It is a work marked with profound thought, keen insight, sound judgment, patient research, and genuine understanding of the world of Islam, its hopes and aspirations.

That there is deep discontent, disaffection, impatience of the existing régime—that there is all this, and all the world over,—no one will, for an instant, deny or dispute. But, whatever may be the causes elsewhere, we are at present concerned only with the world of Islam. That here, too, precisely, the same spirit exists, as elsewhere, and is slowly, surely, steadily gaining ground, is beyond cavil or doubt. Mr. Stoddard has studied this question, has examined the reasons from time to time given forth, and has stated his conclusions. Let us consider these. He begins his fascinating book with the study of the rise and progress of Islam. In glowing language he describes the wondrous development and culmination of its dazzling civilization. By magic, as it were, Islam transformed the old decrepit world, and made its headquarters the centre of commerce, the seat of learning, the focus of a world-wide

civilization. But while recounting the glory of Islam, Mr. Stoddard has not told us why and how a civilization so powerful, and an Empire so closely-knit by religion and Politics, declined after only three centuries of existence. Though not strictly within the scope of his work, to have done so would have thrown a great deal of light both on the past and the present history of Islam and the movements now working within its bosom.

The real causes of the downfall of the Muslim Empire appear to have been to us two-fold—Religious and Political. But in Islam the two are so inextricably intertwined that they must really be dealt with as one—one acting and reacting on the other.

Religion—to which Muslims, at the outset, owed their marvellous, their well-nigh miraculous success—became, in course of time, their supreme stumbling-block. The old austere, stern Islam which disciplined life and regulated the relations of man and man—tossed in the surging waters of Omayyad heathenism and Abbasid irreligion and levity—soon lost its force, its vitality, its refining, purifying, ennobling influence. The moral basis of life gave way. Islam became an Empire outwardly Islamic, but inwardly heathen, sceptical, irreligious to the core. Religion became a mere formal, meaningless observance, and ceased to be an uplifting force. The essence of Islam was lost in a crowd of trivial, insignificant, foolish practices. The essentials were lost sight of—the non-essentials were given the palm and the crown. Hence bigotry, fanaticism, wilful blindness, aversion from progress, intolerance of light and enlightenment. The Reign of Light ended, that of Darkness stepped in. Long, long past was the day when Nazzam, the Muslim Philosopher, could say "*the first condition of knowledge was doubt*"; for to orthodox Islam 'doubt' was synonymous with disgrace, torture and death.

Religion became hide-bound, impervious to light and leading. The *Will of God* was responsible for all that

happened, and resistance to that will was impiety, a piece of hopeless, insane folly. Decay set in, and alas continued. The will to resist or assert was non-existent. Listless, apathetic, indifferent to the world around them, the Muslims lived either sunk in immorality or smitten with intellectual paralysis or plunged in wild religious ecstasy. Hushed was the voice of Islam, which like a trumpet-call, summoned the Muslims to the field of death without fear or hesitation! Lost was the martial valour and vigour which scattered to the winds the Roman legions and effectually shattered the might of the proud Chosroes! All this was a thing of the past. In such a world and amidst such a people progress had no meaning, no significance. Add to this the fact that political troubles, which religion so long as it was a vital and real force kept in check, now broke out in all their fierce, unrestrained intensity.

Even the Islamic solidarity on which Mr. Stoddard has so rightly laid emphasis, gradually disintegrated, till it reached vanishing point. The Caliphs forgot their duties—the people their obligations. That bilateral compact between the subject and the sovereign—the essence of Islamic sovereignty; that high ideal which animated and guided the first Caliphs throughout their careers; that intense religious fervour which set the early Muslim aglow with an unrestrained ardour; that sense of unity and brotherhood which welded together the Pre-Islamite Arabs—riven by faction and torn by tribal jealousy—the splendid virtues which account for the phenomenal success of the early Muslims—all these weakened, waned, faded away.

Tribal jealousies set religious unity at naught; political necessities of the hour, snapped, effaced the link of Muslim brotherhood; loyalty, allegiance, honour, trust—all perished in the rising tide of gross personal ambition and unabashed selfishness. Thus religion became a mere pretence; Politics, the happy hunting-ground of unscrupulous adventurers.

The Abbasids, having erected their power with the help of foreigners, steadily supplanted the Arabs by the Persians, Turks and Mogols. The pure-blooded Arab was thrown into the background, neglected, slighted, shorn of his power and prestige. The central authority, weak and impotent, was unable to exercise any effective control over its governors. New kingdoms were carved out of the Caliphate, and new rulers ruled independently of the Caliph. The Caliph was reduced to a shadow; a mere phantom exercising no authority, a captive in his own palace, a Cæsar without any legions, a Pope without any power save that of pronouncing a benediction upon the crowned heads near and around him.

The horizon thick with menacing clouds; troubles both at home and abroad; sects warring with sects; factions fighting with factions; new races admitted to the bosom of the Caliphate, astir with hope and ambition, adventurers snatching at the throne and the sceptre; the spirit of unity dead and buried—what a sad, sombre spectacle the Caliphate offered about the year 1000 A. D.! Henceforward Islam enters on its downward path. Europe advances from victory to victory; but wrapped in a false security, Islam sits, self-complacent, resigned to the will of God, with mediæval fetters and religious blinkers. It scorns Western ideas. It scoffs at Western progress. Was it the sleep of death, or was it a merely temporary moral and intellectual paralysis?

On this point we shall hear the author of the *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams*. In that scholarly work—still unsurpassed—von Kremer¹ observes: "Chengiz Khan, the great Mogal prince, burst from Turkistan into the Muslim countries, destroying and flooding them with a crimson stream (1218). His son Halaku continued the conquests, and, with the capture of Bagdad and the execution of the Caliph,

¹ It has been translated into English by me and published in the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, under the title of "Politics in Islam," p. 234.

extinguished the Caliphate. Islam seemed lost: pressed on the one hand by the crusaders filled with religious fervour; and on the other by the wild, plundering, ever-advancing cavalry of the Mogals. But Islam did not perish. In Syria it steadily supplanted the Franks: and in Persia, where a powerful Mogal dynasty had established a vast empire under the name of Il-Khan, the religion of the Prophet won a dazzling victory when Ghazan, the seventh ruler, accepted Islam and entered into friendly relations with the rest of the Muslim Princes. *Not by arms but by religious ideas did Islam vanquish the Northern Conquerors.* There must indeed be some tremendous power in these Semitic religions which enables them not only to weather world-shattering storms but to emerge out of them firmer, stronger, more vigorous than ever. In the War with the Franks, extending over more than a century, Islam passed through a tempering process. The rift that had opened, closed in fire and blood. Islam shook off its lethargy and gathered fresh strength. The Arab nation, which had long ceased to champion the religious ideas that had arisen and grown into maturity in their midst, now retired into the background, handing over the torch to a nation ruder but more powerful, whose empire soon embraced the entire Orient, and whose political power the old Caliphate never attained or equalled.”¹

And Von Kremer is right. Islam has survived many a world-shattering storm, and has come out stronger than ever. History has a hopeful message for Islam—a message to hearten and cheer her on her onward march to freedom. Mr. Stoddard is no alarmist. He has, to our mind, in no way magnified the significance of the present Islamic movement, which has under many colours and many disguises but one supreme end in view—Political Emancipation and Economic independence. Hence the reform of the abuses which have

¹ See Toynbee, *Western Question in Greece and Turkey*. “Islam is still a greater force in its world than Christianity now is among us, p. 12.

sapped the vitality of Islam ; hence the attempt to unite the Muslims under the old Islamic banner of Muslim brotherhood ; hence the stir and animation ; hence the growing co-operation, the spirit of sacrifice, fearlessness, courage, daring. That priceless gift—the Muslim solidarity—could that gift lapse or pass for ever away from the Muslims ? No ! Eclipse it may suffer—perish it never will. It is deeply rooted in the Muslim heart, and heart responds to heart. The Muslim brotherhood—it is Islam's strongest stay and support ; its crowning glory, its treasured asset ; its watchword in the hour of peril ; its *Te Deum* in the moment of victory. History has taught its worth, and to it the Muslims appeal with a confidence which will never belie, and a hope which will never desert, them. Upon this Muslim solidarity Mr. Stoddard has laid his finger, and this Muslim solidarity is Islam's brightest hope.

But we are anticipating events. From 1000 A. D., as we have stated, Islam has been on the downward trend. It seemed for a time as if all life was extinct ; all activity dead ; all hope gone, all efforts and aspirations at an end. While Islam was indifferent to progress, Europe was making wondrous efforts in every direction of human activity. It was enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge ; it was improving its material conditions ; it was annexing country after country ; it was lopping off Islamic territories—one by one ; it was over-shadowing the East and establishing its dominion, conquering, crushing, subjugating the Easterns. "One by one," says Mr. Stoddard, "the decrepit Muslim states fell before the Western attack, and the whole Islamic world was partitioned among the Western powers. England took India and Egypt ; Russia crossed the Caucasus and mastered central Asia ; France conquered North Africa ; while other European nations grasped minor portions of the Muslim heritage."

By the nineteenth century, Islam awoke to the menace which threatened its very existence. Europe was bent on wiping it out as a political force. Resist its onward march or perish !

The great war made this position more palpable, more pitiful than ever. "Turkey," says Mr. Stoddard, "was extinguished, and not a single Muslim state retained genuine independence. The subjugation of the Muslim world was complete on paper."

Once awakened to the peril Islam, too, has donned armour and gathered strength. During the last hundred years the "immoveable" East has shaken off its lethargy, and has faced the realities of life. To meet the situation it was imperative to be up and at work; to forge weapons, to avert danger. Arabia took the lead. There on its soil came to life the *Wahabi* movement, which aimed at the reform of Islam. Islam must be purified, reformed, vitalized. Without reform no hope was possible—no successful struggle conceivable. The *Wahabi* movement was wise, well-timed, with the promise of great results. Islam had declined because Islam had fallen from its high ideals. Back to the old ideals. Back to the old traditions. Back to the old stern Islam of the Prophet—free from the accretions of centuries; swept clear of the dust of hateful controversies. The *Wahabi* movement was a step in the right direction; a step preparatory to yet more liberal, wider, more sweeping reforms and large-embracing ambitions.

It was but the prelude to a yet wider Muslim revival—the movement known as Pan-Islamism. Concomitant with those religious reforms which were transforming Islam from within, there came in the swelling flood of European influences affecting social, economic, political conditions in the East. They leavened Eastern thoughts; kindled Eastern imagination; opened up undreamed of vistas of political rights and excited visions of political freedom. These surging ideas of nationality; of self-government; of higher education; of equality and so forth, stirred the East to its depths. They awoke fascinating dreams of a future, and inspired among the Easterns the belief that it lay within their power to make, to mould, to shape *that* future. Was there anything to transmute that

dream into reality ; any solid, substantial basis to clutch at, to work upon ? The Muslim mind, with unerring instinct, reverted to the Muslim solidarity—so rich in results in the past ; so full of potentialities for the future.

At the root of Pan-Islamism lies this instinctive solidarity of Islam. Hence Pan-Islamism ! Hence the new types of religious fraternities—all working for one end ; namely, to foster, to strengthen Muslim unity ; to check Western pressure ; to arrest the advancing tide of Western aggrandizement.

In this connection the Senussiya movement is an instructive study. Senussiya was born about the year 1800. A man of vast and varied experiences ; of deep learning ; of recognised piety ; he travelled a great deal in North Africa, preaching a reform of religious abuses. He felt and rightly felt that religious reform was a necessary preliminary to other reforms, and that only reformed Islam and reformed Muslims could ever hope successfully to stem the tide of European ascendancy. Islamic History had taught that lesson to him, and that lesson he took to heart, preached, emphasized, inculcated, all his life. At Mecca he came under the influence of the Wahabi preachers, and they further quickened his reforming zeal. He established a monastery near Derna in Tripoli, but he soon came into conflict with the Turkish authorities, and moved his headquarters to Jarabub, far to the south in the Libyan desert. In 1859—the date of his death—his organisation had spread over the greater part of North Africa. The work inaugurated by the father was ably carried on by the son. His piety, his devotion, his spotless character, considerably extended and strengthened the power of the fraternity. During the latter part of his reign he removed his headquarters to the Oasis of Jawf, where he died in 1902. He was succeeded by his nephew Ahmad-ul-Sharif, the present head of the order. To-day the Senussi order is the most powerful order in Islam. Considerable is its influence in Arabia ; complete its sway in North

Africa. There it has a vast net-work of organisation, working for beneficent purposes. The colonial authorities—British, French, Italian, as the case may be—are careful in avoiding conflict or collision with the Senussi order. And the Senussi too shrink from any conflict with the powers that be—Christian or Turkish. The Senussi, though cautious and careful, are neither idle nor unmindful of their mission. Their programme is a sound programme, and a programme that will surely bear fruit. “They believe”, as Mr. Stoddard points out, “that the political liberation of Islam from Christian domination must be preceded by their profound spiritual regeneration.” This end they are seeking, and for this end they are striving. Hence their untiring efforts to improve the morals and manners and material conditions of those that are under their sway. They believe not in needless, aimless shedding of blood, or fighting for mere fighting’s sake. On and on they proceed, covering North Africa with their lodges and schools; spreading light and culture; fostering a spirit of discipline and self-restraint; steadily pursuing the path of slow but sure progress; preparing for the struggle for freedom and independence which they know, and know only too well, would, if ill-timed, be disastrously fatal to themselves. Not only has the North yielded to their influence, but Southward too their successes have been indubitable. They have won over millions of Negroes to the faith of Islam.

During the last hundred years the effort to purify has gone hand in hand with the effort to make converts for Islam. Extraordinary has been Islam’s triumph in this direction. During the past century, not only has Islam successfully fought Paganism but also African Christianity. Tribes which fifty years ago hardly counted a single Muslim have now wholly become Muslims. Not only in Africa but in Russian Asia, China, and the Dutch Indies, the Muslim Missionary has had astonishing successes. Islam has felt the struggle for existence. Mr. Stoddard, therefore, is right in referring

to the new-type religious fraternity and the missionary activity of Islam, within the last hundred years as infallible signs of the Muslim awakening to the dangers with which Islam stands threatened. Islam needed organisation. Islam needed a growing Muslim population. Islam needed a strong, powerful religious bond. All these needs were felt, and were met with no uncertain, hesitating spirit; but in serious, methodical mood. Live or perish! The answer to this challenge was given by the Wahabi movement; by Pan-Islamism; by the new type religious fraternity; by the firm and vigorous determination to reclaim the lost heritage of Islam; by contempt of threat and indifference to suffering and death. From the middle of the nineteenth century the East has come more and more under the influence of European light and lore. European thought has shaped, defined, accelerated the movements manifest throughout the Islamic and the Eastern world—movements making for unity, for progress, for liberty and freedom. Slow would have been the march of events—much slower than it has been—had it not been for the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

Till then Western supremacy was considered irresistible—a fatal decree of the gods. The Eastern looked up to the Western with an awe and reverence which it is impossible to imagine now. Closer contact has destroyed that spell and the Eastern now looks upon him as a man of like passions with himself. The European's claim to superiority is now a myth, a fiction, a relic of bygone days. His complacent aloofness is now resented and, to our mind, is not a little responsible for the spirit against him which is gaining day by day, in volume and intensity throughout the East.

All Asia and Africa were athrill with joy at the defeat of a first class European power by an Asiatic people. It was glad tidings. But though from 1904 the European spell was broken, the European aggression continued, and the Muslim world answered that aggression by protest and unwonted moral solidarity.

Muslim world was no longer to be shelved. It was determined to make its power felt; its voice heard. The great war aggravated an already critical situation. Stridently vocal became the Muslim protest. Islam was up in arms, and Muslims banded together unto death for their faith and their right. Islam has entered once again on an upward path. In this fixed is her determination, unequivocal her voice.

Widespread is the spirit of discontent, clear is the voice of revolt against European ascendancy. The most singular feature of the movement is that the stronger the European influence the more intense the spirit of resistance. The weapons used are European weapons. The arguments advanced are European arguments. The methods employed are European methods. The call for self-government; the right to rule; the opposition to Western domination; political agitations; political combination, strikes, non-co-operation. Are they of Eastern origin or of European descent? Europe has opened the eyes of the Orient. Europe has furnished materials for political warfare. Europe has taught her the ideas of freedom and liberty. Would Europe now stem the tide; crush the hopes; stifle the rising spirit of the East?

Too late is it to try a reactionary policy, to embark upon repressive measures. Men die, but ideas are immortal. No earthly power can kill or destroy them. Was it not Dumas who said: "Men are visible, palpable, mortal. You can meet, attack, subdue them; and when they are subdued, you can subject them to trial and hang them. But ideas you cannot oppose that way. They glide unseen; they penetrate; they hide themselves, especially from the sight of those who would destroy them. Hidden in the depths of the soul, they thrive, throw out deep roots. The more you cut off the branches which imprudently appear, the more powerful and inextirpable become the roots below." In Egypt, in India, wherever European influence dominates—there the movement is in full flood. Islam has protested, with one voice, against the

European policy. Muslim India has been first and foremost in this protest. From one end of India to the other the Muslim cry has been to call a halt to the European aggression. Splendid the organisation; untiring the effort; fierce the zeal; steadfast the purpose; undismayed the spirit; the Khilafat movement—a child of Pan-Islamism, a worthy child too—has proved beyond all doubt or question that the Easterns are capable of the widest and the most effective organisation, and that Muslim solidarity is not a fiction but a fact. If the political programme is the vindication of the honour of Islam and the restoration of her ancient glory—the specific programme of economic Pan-Islamism is: “the wealth of Islam for Muslims. The profits of trade and industries for Muslim instead of Christian hands. The eviction of Western capital by Muslim capital. Above all, the breaking of Europe’s grip on Islam’s natural resources by the termination of concessions in lands, mines, forests, railways, custom-houses, by which the wealth of Islamic lands is to-day drained to foreign shores.”

How then does the matter stand? Within the last hundred years Islam has risen to the occasion: has determined to do battle for its existence. She has refrained from rushing headlong into the struggle: for precipitate action would mean the ruin of her cause, the final extinction of her hopes. She has perceived the necessity of careful preparation, and to this end she has steadily, unwaveringly worked. Two of the most formidable weapons in her armoury she has sought out and used: *Muslim solidarity* and *Muslim Missionary zeal*. One will augment the numerical strength of Islam; the other will unite, strengthen, cement, vitalise it.

The Islamic world to-day—united by its imperishable religious tie—stands firm, resolute, of one heart and mind and voice.

“It is not a mere copying of the West that is to-day going on in the Muslim world, but an attempt at a new

synthesis, and assimilation of Western methods to Eastern ends."

No human foresight can peer into the veil of futurity but amidst circumstances, fair and auspicious, the work has begun ; we may reasonably hope that in glory and triumph it will close.

In India, before our very eyes, we have a wonderful phenomenon—undreamed of, unimagined, un hoped by the wildest hope of man. We have, here, Islamic solidarity co-operating, without a jarring, discordant note, with Hindu solidarity. May the Muslim solidarity—for purposes Indian—be merged into the higher, nobler, Indian solidarity—mightily single, splendidly whole, and may the union of the two—true union of head and heart—never waver, relax, end.

Is this an impossible dream, a forlorn hope ? No ! recent events bid fair and augur well for the future.

Mr. Stoddard has done a noble service to the East and the West alike. He has revealed the depth, the force, the intensity of the Muslim movements, and he has sounded a timely warning to Western activities. He has pointed out the danger that lies ahead—no fanciful but real danger.¹

Not to the sword ; not to false promises ; not to Machiavellian policy will true wisdom and true statesmanship look for the solution of this world-threatening problem—but to love, to honesty, to noble lofty resolve. Truly has the Persian Poet said : The sword perishes but love endures.

I shall conclude with the words of Mr. Lothrop Stoddard : "This spirit of rebellion against Western domination has become greatly intensified since the beginning of the present century, and the matter becomes still more portentous when we realise that, by the very nature of things, Western political control in the Orient, however prolonged and however imposing

¹ " Whenever one analyses a contemporary movement—political, economic, religious, or intellectual—in these societies (Eastern Societies), it nearly always turns out to be either a response to or a reaction against some western stimulus " Toynbee, *Western Question in Turkey and Greece*, p. 5.

in appearance, must ever rest on essentially fragile foundations. The Western rulers will always remain an alien caste ; tolerated, even respected, perhaps, but never loved and regarded as anything but foreigners. Furthermore, Western rule must necessarily become more precarious with the increasing enlightenment of the subject peoples, so that the acquiescence of one generation may be followed by the hostile protest of the next. It is indeed an unstable equilibrium, hard to maintain and easily upset."

Words of deep insight, unvarnished truth !

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE CELESTIAL HYMN

The child spends time in wildest play,
And youth, in frolic, fun, and song ;
To cares and ills is old age prey.
Has Man no time to sing Thy Song ?

N. SUNDARARAJAN

THE ROSE OF INDIA

SCENE II

[*Scene.* Mahadevan's Hall of Audience. Gurprashad, Brahmin High Priest of Mailepur, discovered with other Brahmins and Ram Chandra, courtiers, attendants, etc.]

Gurprashad—

'Tis a grave matter : ye must watch him well
If this report says truly, lest this realm
Come into peril of apostasy.

A Brahmin—

There is no doubt of it. O holy one.
Rama's High Priest from Narankot is here
To ratify it with his sacred lips.

Ram Chandra (advancing and saluting Gurprashad)—

Alas, too true. *Maharaj* all too true !
Therefore in bark, with ashes on my head
Sharing the exile of our gods I come.

Gurprashad—

They greet thee from their thrones in Mailepur,
As I their servant hail thee. So 'tis true
That Gondophares and his people are
Perverted, and renounce their ancient gods ?

Ram Chandra—

Ay, true, *Maharaj*, casting me adrift,
A homeless outcast and a lone *fakir*,
Who come to warn thee, ere it be too late,
Against this false magician, lest he bring
On thee my doom of exile, and seduce
This people with his pestilential tongue.

Gurprashad—

Nay, nay, that scarce could be in Mailepur.
We Brahmins hold us more securely here.

Ram Chandra—

Then ye are doomed to rude awakening
And draining of delusion's bitter cup,
When opium dreams are scattered. Know ye not
The prince of Narankot will claim to-day
The hand of Krishna's daughter, to unite
Your Mailepur with his apostate land
In bonds of peace and friendship? Know ye too
Both he and she are Christian, and refuse
All honour to the gods of Hindustan,
Their tribute paying to a God unknown
This side of ocean till that wizard came
They call the Apostle? You shall see him soon
Blessing a marriage to your country's shame,
The symbol of her own adultery
With casteless superstition, pale of face.

Gurprashad—

This marriage must be let at any cost.

(Enter Gad and Krishna. Brahmins all salute.)

Krishna (addressing Gurprashad)—

Jai Ram, Mahatma-ji ! Behold, I bring
King Gondophares' royal brother, Gad,
To court this day before Mahadevan,
For the divine one's sanction of his union
With one of our princesses—to ensure
Peace and prosperity to both our states.

Gurprashad (salaaming low to Gad)—

Great Gondophares' brother verily
Doth honour by his coming to our realm
On such a quest. Thereby may peace be fostered
Between two peoples, and be drawn from Heaven
The blessing of the gods on Hindustan.

Gad—

Right glad I am to find, *Mahatma-ji*,
So generous a good-will surrounding me,
Albeit I come in robber-wise to snatch
The rarest gem e'er glistened in a crown,
The fairest flower e'er blushed upon a bough.

Gurprashad (significantly)—

The gods bestow on thee as rich reward
As in their cause hath been thy loyalty !

(*Flourish. Enter Mahadevan, Manashtri (his queen),¹ Vizayan, the boy prince ; and Draupadi, the princess. All present prostrate themselves.*)

Mahadevan (to Krishna)—

Rise noble kinsman ! At thy presence here
Our heart rejoices.

Krishna—

Great Mahadevan !

So doth the Sun God, *Surya*,² rejoice
In some poor wild flower opening to his ray
That else were tightly closed and colourless.

¹ Manashtri—The noble Lady.

² Swift and all beautiful art thou,
O Surya, maker of the light
Illumining all the radiant realm.

—(From the *Rig Veda*.)

Mahadevan—

There spake the courtier. 'Tis a worthy prelude
To some petition, or I greatly err. (*Sets himself.*)
Our ear is turned towards thee.

Krishna—

Gracious sire !

Emboldened by thy favour, I present
Gad, heir of Gondophares, loved of heaven,
Who comes a suppliant to thy royal feet,
Praying thy gracious sanction of his suit
For Magudani's hand—thy servant's child.

Mahadevan (rising)—

By *Vishnu*, so illustrious a guest
We had not looked for. Welcome, noble Prince,
Not less because thou comest for a bride
Of Mailepuram's daughters. Joyfully
In such a union we discern a bond
Between our peoples, and an age-long peace.

Gad—

Such gracious welcome from Mahadevan
O'erwhelms his servant with such gratitude
As words express not, since therein he reads
Mahadevan's approval of his marriage
With Krishna's daughter, Rose of India.

Gurprashad (addressing the King)—

Mahadevan, I claim the royal ear :
And I beseech ye bear with me awhile,
Though breaking in upon the speech of Kings
As treads a fool where wings of angels burn.¹

¹ As treads a fool, etc. The Hindu proverb corresponding to "Fools will walk where angels fear to tread."

Mahadevan—

Our ear is always bowed to holy men.

Krishna (aside to Gad)—

If yonder priest oppose us, he shall find
His reckoning is with Krishna to his cost.

Gurprashad—

O Majesty, beloved of all the gods,
Thy servant should not dare address thee now,
Did not the prayer of this illustrious prince
(Whose presence honours Mailepur this day)
Infold a danger, should Mahadevan
Without condition grant it. He hath asked
The hand of Krishna's daughter. Wherefore thus
Slights he the daughter of Mahadevan,
Choosing the flower that decks the lowlier bough ?

Krishna (angrily)—

Have then his eyes been raised not high enow
That look on Krishna's daughter ? By the gods,
Thou hast insulted both princesses, priest.

Draupadi (rising)—

'Tis only what all Hindustan will say ;
My father, grant me leave to get me hence.

(Exit Draupadi weeping, accompanied by the queen.)

Mahadevan (sharply)—

If thou hast more to say, prolong it not.

Gurprashad—

Why should the heir of Gondophares choose
The princess Magudani ? It is clear.

They both are wedded by some alien rite
To the same superstition. Both deny
The gods of India, forfeiting their caste,
By that same false magician led astray
Who stole away men's hearts at Narankot.

Krishna—

Now this past enduring, Gurprashad !
And thou shalt rue the day thou utter'dst
Against my daughter this calumnious lie.

Gurprashad—

A lie ? I only would it were a lie—
But I can prove the truth of what I say.
Let but the prince, our royal visitor,
With princess Magudani at his side,
Here in the presence of Mahadevan,
Burn incense to our country's ancient gods,
Then I of their devotion reassured,
By not a word this marriage will gainsay.

Krishna—

If that is all thou askest, Gurprashad,
Not Gad, still less my daughter, can refuse.

Mahadevan—

Let this then be their test of loyalty,
And their obedience be the sole condition
On which I countenance their marriage bond.

Gurprashad—

I am contented ; prince, thou wilt comply ?

Gad—

What I will do, I know not, ere I take
Counsel with Magudani; for which purpose
I pray my lord the king to set a time.

Mahadevan—

Until three suns be sunken in the west,
So long have ye to ponder your reply.

(Rises and stalks out through folded doors at the back. Enter Vizayan and courtiers.)

Krishna (to Gad)—

Come, let us hence, Your Highness, though three days
Be lost us through yon intermeddling priest,
Yet that third sunset shall achieve our end.

(Enter Krishna and Gad.)

Ram Chandra—

It shall—the end of Krishna's lofty flight,
The end of Gad and all his fool's romance,
The end of Magudani's dream-made crown,
And Gondophares' hope of peaceful reign.
Their pallid saint his visions may disclose
Of some vain kingdom where the law is love,
And into ploughshares men have beat their swords --
That sun shall set upon the grave of peace
And crimson half the world with holy war.

CURTAIN.

(To be continued)

FRANCIS A. JENN

MODERN ARMENIAN

A few weeks ago a question of academic interest was mooted in one of the Calcutta dailies. It had not been discussed to conclusion when letters on it ceased to appear—probably because the average reader of newspapers can hardly be expected to be entertained by subjects which are more appropriately debated in the pages of a University Magazine.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, Examiner in Armenian to the Calcutta University, commenting on the study of Armenian in the local Armenian College, wrote of Modern Armenian as “a language which has no grammar, no literature to speak of with hardly any vocabulary.” This has roused considerable indignation in Armenian circles, for Armenians claim to be a civilised and cultured people—one of the earliest Christian nations of the earth, and possessing a literature that rivals that of any country.

Mr. Seth's position makes it imperative that his verdict on Modern Armenian shall be taken seriously. His utterances regarding that language are entitled to respect. In his own line of scholarship he is precluded from indulging in an *obiter dictum*. It is therefore with due caution and circumspection that I venture to examine his statements, which are (1) that Modern Armenian has “Hardly any vocabulary”; (2) that it “Has no Grammar”; and (3) that it has “No literature to speak of.”

Modern Armenian has hardly any vocabulary.—Mr. Seth admits that Modern Armenian is a language. Yet he denies it a vocabulary. Surely it is a contradiction in terms to say that there is a language without vocables. One might as well say that there is an ocean without water; a wall without bricks; or a book without pages. We hear people speak

Armenian. Mr. Seth would have us suppose that they are not using words—for words hardly exist in that all but wordless language. Still Armenians seem to understand one another! Truly a wonderful people who utter sounds which are not words, and give expression to every human emotion! “Hardly any vocabulary,” and yet there is an alphabet in which to write the few words that do exist, and several comprehensive dictionaries, of which the following may be instanced:—

Dictionaries from English into Modern Armenian by Chagmakchian, Prof. Hakobian, Yeran, Papasian, Minasian, etc. Dictionaries from French into Modern Armenian by Loosinian, Noobarian, Gantharian, Demirchibashian, Cajooni, etc. Dictionaries from Russian into Armenian and *vice versa*, by Daghbashian, A. Hovannessian, Soghomonian, Yaghhoobian, etc. Also Koylav’s German—Modern Armenian Dictionary, Makerchian’s “Bulgarian-Modern Armenian Dictionary,” Gantharian’s “Italian-Modern Armenian Dictionary.” To these must be added a number of dictionaries from Classical into Modern Armenian, Persian into Modern Armenian and Turkish into Modern Armenian; and most of these books cover more than a thousand pages. This seems to dispose of Mr. Seth’s remarkable pronouncement that Modern Armenian has hardly any vocabulary.

Modern Armenian has no Grammar.—This of course is sequential to there being hardly any vocabulary in the language. But even Mr. Seth inferentially admits that there are some words in it. Will he say whether these words cannot be classified into the universal Parts of Speech? Are there no Nouns, no Pronouns, no Adjectives, no Verbs, etc.? And have the Nouns no Gender, no Number, no Person? Have the Verbs no Moods, no Tenses, no Persons and no Number? Are there no laws of Government and Agreement? No Subject in the Nominative Case; no Object in the Accusative Case? No concord between the Predicate and its Subject? If in Modern Armenian words are spelt, classified,

inflected, and employed under the sanctions of the laws of Syntax, one would be inclined to say that the language has enough Grammar to satisfy the most fastidious. Yet Mr. Seth says Modern Armenian has no Grammar, and sure he is a learned man. It has no Grammar and yet the following printed grammars of Modern Armenian exist :—

“Extensive Grammar of Modern Armenian” by M. Abeghian ; “Modern Armenian Grammar” by S. Malkhasian ; also several other grammar books composed by Garagashian, H. Ter-Gregorian, Ghapamajian, Tonelian, S. Davthian, Petikian, Bozatchian, G. Vantzian, and others. Grammarians writing Grammars for a language which possesses “hardly any vocabulary” and “no Grammar.” Remarkable people !

And lastly, Modern Armenian has no literature to speak of.—Before analysing this part of Mr. Seth’s dictum, I think it necessary to give a short historical outline of the origin and growth of Classical and Modern Armenian respectively, as it is in support of his frenzied advocacy of the merits of Classical Armenian that Mr. Seth has denounced and condemned Modern Armenian.

From early ages down to the end of the Fourth Century the official language spoken in the Armenian courts and higher circles of society was Classical Armenian ; but Greek, Assyrian and Persian were equally in use. The Armenian Alphabet being at that time incomplete and crude, all our historians and men of letters found it proper to produce their works through the medium of the three latter languages, while devout clergymen read the Bible in Greek and orally translated it into “vulgar” Armenian for the benefit of their eager Christian congregations, a practice which presented many inconveniences. Accordingly, many attempts were made to complete the alphabet, and ultimately St. Mesrobp Mash-totz, a saintly and erudite monk, in 406 A. D. supplied the deficient letters and sounds of the alphabet. The language which was written for the first time in Armenian letters was

named *Grabar* (literary language), which in English we call Classical Armenian; and it was only a perfected and regularised form of the then extant colloquial Armenian. The first book to be translated into *Grabar* Armenian was the Bible. The new literary language rapidly reached a degree of culture almost as perfect and pure as Greek and Latin, and became capable of complete expression even of abstract conceptions. It won its way into the courts, churches and monasteries. Many young scholars returned from Byzantium (the then centre of civilisation) to learn the new language, which reached the highwater-mark of its culture towards the end of the Fifth Century, the "Golden Age" of our literary history.

The *Grabar* or Classical Armenian, however, gradually ceased to expand, and became stereotyped, and lost popularity. It did not adapt itself to the constant progress of the colloquial language which had given birth to it (the *Grabar*). The colloquial language was generally restricted to simple modes of expression and was laxly bound by grammatical precisions. On the other hand, the *Grabar* rigidly kept to its prescribed forms and traditions, and eventually became the monopoly of the clergy and aristocracy. In the course of a few more centuries, the gulf between Classical and Spoken Armenian so widened, that people could hardly read and understand books written in Classical Armenian; and any attempt to readjust the literary language to the needs and usages of the people was ruthlessly suppressed by the clergy, who considered it nothing short of sacrilege to corrupt Classical Armenian by an infusion of Modern Armenian, and so "stain" the legacy entrusted to them by their forefathers. The time came when even the zealous trustees of Classical Armenian ceased to converse in that language, which, however, still dominated the literary world. Many books, mostly of a religious and mystic nature, were written in Classical Armenian, but they were read by a privileged few who had been so fortunate as to learn the language, while

ninety-nine per cent. of the population was deprived of that right, and kept in darkness and illiteracy. Thus the idol held high its haughty head down to the sixties of the last century, when a new era dawned.

Against the domination of the clergy and their prerogatives a strong but silent protest had been gathering force in the hearts of the people. It was left to young and venturesome men to give vent to public feeling and pull down the whole fabric of clergy-prerogatives and their archaic language regardless of what the revolution cost. Learned young men returning from the Continent with minds full of new ideas, a glowing feeling of patriotism and anxious to serve their people, resolutely renounced Classical Armenian as a medium of instruction, for it had now become almost as unintelligible to the people as a foreign language. Presently, a number of periodicals and papers began to appear, such as the *Ararat*, *Husisapail*, *Kroonk*, *Mshak*, etc., written in the *Ashkharhabar* (people's language), which in English we call Modern Armenian.

On the advent of the new language the old fetish was banished from the literary world once and for ever, and after a few more desperate struggles, it went to search for shelter in the dark corners of churches and monasteries.

The *Ashkharhabar* (Modern Armenian) was very imperfect and rudimentary at the beginning; but it soon grew into a simple and sweet language, with a scientific grammar and a copious vocabulary. The first book to be written in *Ashkharhabar* was *Verck Haiastini* (Armenia's Wound) by Khachatoor Abovian in 1841, and published ten years after the death of its author (1848), who during his lifetime had been unscrupulously persecuted by the conservative and ignorant clergy of the time. That book proved a second Bible to the nation, and readily found a well-deserved place even in the home of the humblest peasant. Its popularity was due not so much to the patriotic sentiments it inspired, or to

its literary merits, as to the simple fact that it was written in the crude but *intelligible* language of the masses.

In spite of its comparatively short term of existence not exceeding a century, Modern Armenian has made such tremendous progress, that it can compete with any of the modern languages, and it has produced a beautiful literature, of which we are rightly proud. Since our Literary Renaissance, 1840-1860, we have had scores of talented authors, novelists, poets, historians and journalists, some of them of world-wide reputation, who have written their books and sung their song through the medium of Modern Armenian.

The absolute fallacy and mischief of the statement that Modern Armenian "has no grammar, no literature to speak of and with hardly any vocabulary," is immediately exposed if we consider the fact that many of the works of eminent European authors, novelists, poets, historians, dramatists, scientists and philosophers such as Homer, Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Byron, Herbert Spencer, Smiles, Darwin, Heine, Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, Dumas, Dumas (Fils), Hugo, Rousseau, Boccaccio, Ibsen, Cervantes, Senkevitch, Gogol, Lermontov, Pushkin, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Tourgheniev, etc., have been translated into Modern Armenian, and many of the versions are as good as the originals. Many books and text-books of a purely scientific nature have also been translated into Modern Armenian, which has been able to produce many a technical term from its own sources.

Before the war there were more than a hundred Armenian newspapers, magazines, reviews and journals published all over the world. They dealt with subjects educational, scientific, social, commercial, political, medical, artistic, sporting, agricultural, etc. I ask Mr. Seth, which of these was issued in Classical Armenian?

Armenians rank among the lettered nations of the world, and their claim to distinction is partly founded on their Modern Language and Literature, and to attempt to

or even deny the existence of the latter is a profanation of the valuable literary treasures which are evidence of the unlimited resources of Modern Armenian, and the cultural heights to which the Armenian race has attained.

Classical Armenian found its last, but by no means least staunch, advocates in the Mkhitharian Order at Venice and Vienna, a monastic brotherhood of learned monks to whose indefatigable efforts, extending over two centuries, we greatly owe the development of both our Classical and Modern languages and literature. To expect that these venerable Fathers should easily surrender Classical Armenian, to the promotion of which they had contributed enormously, would be foolish. They strenuously contested the introduction of the new language. They tried to prevent "sacrilegious" hands from "tarnishing" the ancient idol; but eventually they, those really worthy exponents of Classical Armenian, realised that it was futile to try to infuse life into a language which was practically dead.

As far back as 1830, M. Thaghiadiantz, a reputed scholar of Classical Armenian and a well-known writer (of whom, by the way, Mr. Seth would be a great disciple), while editing the *Azgaser* (Patriot), published in Calcutta, used a language which was a mixture of Classical and colloquial Armenian, but still colloquial, for like many others he also came to understand that "the language is for the people and not the people for the language." (See V. Papazian's "History of Armenian Literature," p. 234.)

In spite of its initial glory and eminence Classical Armenian died a natural death. It is right of Mr. Seth to set a high value on Classical Armenian, as high a value as the Englishman sets on Anglo-Saxon or the Bengali on Sanskrit, but his zeal makes him ridiculous when he denies even the fact of the existence of Modern Armenian as a recognised language, and when he denies to it a vocabulary, a grammar, and a literature.

Mr. Seth would seem to have lost touch with modern developments in Armenian letters. In any case he does not appear able to reconcile himself to the change in our National Schools where Classical Armenian has been relegated to a secondary place in favour of Modern Armenian. It is just so in England, where many a veteran of the older universities shudders at the thought that Greek and Latin are no longer compulsory subjects at Oxford and Cambridge. But the world moves forward: and if Mr. Seth is determined merely to mark time, he must not be surprised to find that he is a back number.

From what has been said in the preceding pages, it will be apparent that Armenian has reached the position of all cultural languages of the world. It has its old and its modern forms. We have Modern English arising out of Anglo-Saxon; Bengali evolving from Sanskrit; and Modern Armenian descending from Ancient Armenian. Modern English superseded Old English not without a prolonged conflict. Bengali has outlived ridicule and contempt until it has established itself as worthy to be the medium of examinations conducted by the Calcutta University, and a subject for which the highest academic degrees are granted. Modern Armenian has supplanted Ancient Armenian. M. Abeghian, one of the greatest living authorities on the Armenian language, writes: "The *Grabar*, or Classical Armenian is the name given to the ancient literary language of Armenia, in which books were written till the first-half of the Nineteenth Century. The *Grabar* is an ancient or dead language, as it is not spoken anywhere" ("Modern Armenian Grammar," p. 2). Max Muller includes Ancient Armenian in his list of dead languages, and Klaproth writes "the ancient or literary Armenian" is so different in its grammar from the present Armenian, that it may be considered a dead language." (*Encyclopedie des Gens du Monde*, A. 11, p. 298.)

Although he is a University Examiner in Classical as well as Modern Armenian, Mr. Seth is so far behind date in his

acquaintance with Armenian advance, that he is under the impression that unless a person speaks or writes Ancient or Classical Armenian, he is not speaking or writing Armenian at all. We all know he speaks an amalgam of Classical and Modern Armenian with a tincture of the Julfa and Constantinople dialects thrown in. But apart from this he might as well expect an Englishman to talk Anglo-Saxon ; a Mohammedan of the United Provinces to speak Classical Arabic ; a Bengali of the Calcutta University to converse in Sanskrit ; as expect a student of the Armenian College to express himself in Classical Armenian. The Englishman who insisted upon inflicting Anglo-Saxon on his hearers would be called a prig, and the Armenian who pretends to be living in the sixteenth century when he is living in the twentieth century deserves a place in Thackeray's *Book of Snobs*. Has Mr. Seth forgotten that the Armenian National Anthem itself is in Modern Armenian? In his letters to *The Englishman* he has written voluminously in praise of Ancient Armenian and in contempt of Modern Armenian, but he has burked the only issue, and I again put it to him - Does he still maintain that Modern Armenian is "a language which has no grammar, no literature to speak of with hardly any vocabulary ? "

H. C. LUCAS

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II ; CHAPTER X

PREPARING FOR THE WEDDING

Uncle Shyamu had not forgotten anything. The house was fresh painted; all invitations had been sent; all preparations for the feast were also complete. Mr. Karamdas too was very eager to marry Tanman. His last "nest" had already been mortgaged the fourth time. The big mansion at Valakeshwar¹ had also been rented. Thus in his hour of need Harilal's inherited riches were a veritable godsend to him. His family had already come down and the gentleman was to arrive in a few days. In about a week's time Shyamlal had as it were created a new world.

As soon as Harilal arrived he was sent up to the topmost storey so that it was impossible for him to get out or go anywhere. He was practically a prisoner. Shyamdas had won over every servant with the promise of a month's extra pay. For two days after Harilal's arrival he found no time even to see him. At last he came up to greet his relative.

"Well, Shyamdas, what are you about?" asked Harilal.

"What a question? Why, there are preparations for Tanman's wedding."

"But why am I not consulted at all?" the sick man remonstrated with considerable heat.

"Because you are ill, and it is not advisable to worry you."

"But I do *not* want Karamdas to wed Tanman."

"You are not your proper self yet. Are we the scum of society that engagements could be made one day and broken the next?"

¹ The most fashionable quarter of Bombay.



LOVE'S DILEMMA

By courtesy of the *Bharati*
—from an old painting]

"But--"

"Pardon me, my dear Sir, I am very busy at present. We will talk it over presently."

In despair poor Harilal vainly beat his hands upon his bed. Tanman sitting by felt being tortured to death. She saw how the plot had been arranged, and she understood quite clearly its results.

"My father, this is my death-sentence."

"What shall I do?" cried Harilal bursting into tears; "my hands are powerless. Not one servant even is faithful to me. I sent one to call my lawyer and he has not shown me his face again. Oh what shall I do? My child, my darling! Alas, what has fate in store for you!"

"Father, shall I run over to your lawyer?"

"Can you do so?"

"Oh, surely. I will certainly be able to find him," she cried running downstairs.

"I say, Tanman, where are you going? Stop, do you hear?" Gulab shouted after her.

"I have to go out."

"No, you can't go! Just wait, I will call your uncle."

"Who are you to prevent me? You mind your business," she retorted, and ran rapidly downstairs. Gulab at once informed Shyamdas and sent him after her. Tanman wanted to kill two birds with one stone—to give her father's message to his lawyer and to inform Jagat. She saw that at this critical juncture she must seek his aid.

She reached the lawyer's place and left her message. It was already near sunset so she walked briskly. She had never seen the house of old Raiji, so she resolved to hire a carriage, for she knew the address. Taking a short cut to the public square where carriages could be found she entered a narrow lane. Immediately she was caught from behind by two strong arms. Before she could scream a hand was pressed upon her mouth. She struggled desperately but in vain.

All the fatigue of the last few days, and the sleepless nights, the separation from Jagat and the torture of the subsequent events had rendered her handsome graceful figure wan and worn out. The blooming flower which Jagat had left a few days ago was already withering. At last in her struggles her senses gave way and Tanman fainted away.

CHAPTER XI

DESPAIR

When Tanman came to herself she found herself lying on a bed in Harilal's room. Harilal himself was fast asleep. Her head was aching, and her whole body was stiff with pain. She got up and washed her face. She looked at herself in a mirror, the light of a dim night lamp showed her the reflection of a pale girl with dishevelled hair, sick and faint instead of the graceful, joyous proud Tanman of old. She sighed over the change and sat down in an arm-chair to reflect seriously upon her position. That last experience had convinced her that uncle Shyamu would get her married forcibly. Whatever view Harilal might hold, his support was worse than useless in this crisis. In fact, in his helpless paralysed state, Tanman herself was *his* help and support—how could he then be expected to stand by her. Except Tanman no one in the house seemed to worry about Harilal.

It was impossible to call Jagat. She had asked for a bit of paper the day before, but none had brought it. Now, however, she had another thought. What could he have done even if he did come. The wedding-day was so near that none except the nearest relatives could have stopped it. Even if she ran away, Tanman was afraid that Shyamdas would bring her

back and force her to marry. But her sorest trial was the impossibility of communication with anyone. Her Kishor was probably within a few hundred yards of her, perhaps he was thinking of her and was probably sending loving messages to Dumas; but at present she might have as well been in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. The servants hardly came upstairs; and if they did, they never answered any questions. Only Gulab-ba looked in frequently, but she was the root of all the trouble.

Little by little Tanman got a clearer notion of her condition. Marriage was now inevitable. She knew that Mr. Karamdas wanted to marry Harilal's money-bags and so in spite of all her pleadings was not likely to turn back. Her heart was rent in twain at the idea. The sweet dreams of Dumas would never be fulfilled. She would never see Jagat again. She would not be able to keep her promise. She would never realise the ideal happy home she had dreamt about. She would never be allowed to realise her highest ideals—to be the comrade of Kishor in everything, to be the mother of his children and to be his loving helpmate, his twin-soul in his journey through life. That was the heaviest blow of all. She pressed her hand upon her bosom and sighed aloud:

• “Oh, God! My Kishor!”

“What is it, my child? What are you doing?” asked the faint voice of Harilal from his bed.

Tanman went up to him. He inquired about the message she had taken and Tanman told him all the history.

“Father dear, I see no way out now. What shall I do?” and she told him all she had thought that night.

“Alas, my poor girl! My dear, wise child! Was it for this I nursed you and taught you? It is certain these devils will crush you. I wish I were dead when I think of your state, but what will you do? How will you live with such a husband? My tender blossom, how will you pass your whole life?”

"Father, do not be afraid of that. They will force me to go through the ceremony but it rests with me to accept or reject the husband. They may break me but shall not bend me."

"Tanman, my darling, do not be hasty. There are many who have begun married life like you but later they have become really happy. Perhaps there is happiness yet in store for you."

She put out both her hands as if to stop his words.

"Oh father, dear father, don't say so. You do not know me. Never think of my life being ever happy now. I will be forcibly married, but do you imagine that I will become the wife of Karamdas and begin life with him like any other girl? Father, I told my Kishor that if I could not have him, I would be his widow through life. The day I am married to Karamdas, think my glass bangles have been broken.¹ Kishor once told me the story of the Irish girl who had loved Emmett and who had pined away when separated from him. I remember that story very often now. I see myself in her position now, and as even greater than her in spirit. She was a poor, quiet soul; but I will live so as to blacken their faces, so as to leave my memory as a burning curse to them. If death comes I will die, but as *salis* and as warrior-maids have died. The Lord of Death himself and all his host shall tremble in the burning ground, when they see me there."

Her voice was tense with emotion, her eyes—erstwhile fountains of gentle love—pierced like sword blades. Her hands were clenched, her lips were pressed tight. Even Harilal was struck with awe.

"Child, child, what are you talking of?"

"Father, I am not become mad. I am telling the plain truth. You have brought me up like a princess; my Kishor has accepted me as his queen. And when fate ordains it I shall show that I have the spirit of a queen. I will never be unworthy of you nor of your upbringing."

¹ The outward symbol of widowhood.

"Tanman, is such, after all, the end of all your beauty and all your excellence? Oh, my God, my God!—Do you remember how I used to carry you on my bosom to make you feel less your mother's loss? Do you remember your little chair in my study where you used to sit? And how you used to bend over my face and cover it up with your pretty curls? My darling, where is your inimitable smile gone? Where are those sweet jokes of yours?" Thus wailed Harilal; his tears flowed unchecked.

"Tanman, dear child," he added after a while, "do smile a bit. Where are all your songs gone these few days? Where have their charms fled?"

"Father, how can I smile? I would do all I can to please you but I cannot smile at all. I feel as if I am not Tanman at all. I cannot sing either."

"But do sing one song. I have not heard you sing for some time now."

"Shall I sing 'My love has quite forgotten me'?"

"Why, this was your Kishor's song?"

Tanman cast down her eyes. A tinge of red crept into her pale cheeks. In a low voice she sang, at the end she sighed deeply. It was the swan-song of her love.

* * * *

A few more days went by. The wedding festivities began. From the window upstairs visitors could be seen coming in. The bride and her father were imprisoned up there. Gulab came up twice or thrice a day dressed in her best and full of joy. Harilal with great effort continued to control his shaking limbs and to stand upright and Tanman felt supported and comforted. It seemed as if father and daughter were to be offered up sacrifice upon the altar of blind prejudice and base lucre.

The day before the wedding Gulab came up to anoint her body with the auspicious yellow ointment.¹ "Tanman, come downstairs," she ordered.

¹ Called *pithi*. The bridegroom too is similarly anointed.

"Why?" Tanman asked in freezing tone.

"I want you. You have to be anointed."

"Anoint her who is going to marry. I am not marrying and will not allow it."

"Hoity-toity, miss! Why this obstinacy again?" cried Gulab and came up to drag her downstairs.

"Gulab-ba, beware; you dare not touch me."

"Oh you woman!" moaned Harilal from his bed, "do you want to kill me? You torture her to death!"

"Now, my dear, do be quiet. You have spoilt her quite enough. How could she be wed without the yellow being anointed?"

"You she-wolf! is this why you married me in my old age?"

"Very well. If you are going to call me names I won't stop her. You ought to be ashamed of yourself to abuse your wife on the eve of your daughter's wedding." Then she turned to Tanman, "You just wait. I am sending up your uncle."

Tanman darted a withering look at her and kept proudly silent. The rest of that day passed without any further torment. At night many ladies in gorgeous dresses came in to sing wedding songs. Gulab made herself hoarse in singing about "her Tanman." Upstairs Tanman smiled grimly. She seemed like a warrior brought to bay by thousands of foes, who is determined to sell his life dearly and to ascend victorious to heaven. Tanman began to prepare herself for the last desperate struggle. That night they both locked the door of their room from within.

CHAPTER XII

AND THIS THE END!

Uncle Shyamu was up betimes. The auspicious moment was at eight in the morning and all had to be got ready by then. He saw too that the real struggle would come then, and he prepared himself accordingly. He appointed people to receive the bridegroom upon his arrival and others to distribute *pan* and perfumes and cocoanuts among the guests. He also made satisfactory provision for the priests so that the ceremony should be over quickly. He asked his wife to look after the ladies and he himself, aided by Gulab, had decided to take charge of Tanman. When the bridegroom's party had arrived about half way uncle Shyamu ran upstairs to fetch the bride.

Harilal's room was locked from inside and no answer was given to his knocking. He shouted for Tanman but there was still no reply. But Shyamdas was not to be baffled in this fashion. He sent a man to fetch a mechanic and with his help they forced the lock and went in. Harilal was seated on his bed. Near him was standing Tanman, thin and pale but still proud and erect. In spite of her bloodless face she had the air of a victorious queen or an angry goddess immovable in her resolve. When the door burst open she saw before her the temple of Ramchandra at Ratnagadh, the mango grove at Dumas and the smiling face of her Kishor. She felt like Byron's Gladiator when the scenes of his motherland passed before his glazing eyes. She pressed the handkerchief in her bosom.

"Come along, you girl!"

"Where?" asked Harilal.

"Where! Don't you know? Here is the groom arrived. Do you think the auspicious moment shall pass for the sake of obstinacy of a slip of a girl. Harilal, you need not speak

in this matter. The girl will be brought to her senses only this way."

"But I don't want her to be brought to her senses. Who asked you to arrange for her marriage? You have kept me a prisoner in my own house, you hound, you devil!" Harilal was fuming with rage.

Tanman intervened. She did not think this excitement at all good for her father. Her voice was cold and controlled, but sarcastic. "Father dear, why do you get excited? Uncle Shyamu, who asked you to take all this trouble? Because father is ill you are lording it over in his house and you are ready to doom his only child to death! Please do not make a scene or else there will be a different procession in place of that of the wedding.

"Oh stop it, and your processions!" shouted uncle Shyamdas. He had just put the Chief Police Superintendent under an obligation and so had not much to fear the legal aspect of this question.

"Now, are you coming or not? I will kill you otherwise."

"Who are you to kill my daughter? Get out of my house this minute," roared Harilal blazing and got up with a bound.

"It is a thousand times better to kill such a girl than to let her live. Get along; are you coming or not?"

Harilal felt something snap inside his head.

"Villain, hell-hound, de—" he could not finish the word: his tongue got twisted in the attempt, he had his third stroke and fell headlong on the bed, his eyes glazing rapidly. Tanman shrieked. Shyamdas went up to her and stood by her side.

"Gulab, please see to Harilal. I will take Tanman down. The procession has arrived it seems."

The owner of the house was gasping out his last breath in that room upstairs: while down below drums and fifes were playing the wedding music.

"Oh father, father dear"—cried Tanman kneeling down beside him. Gulab went up to his bedside and pushed Tanman aside. Shyamdas caught her by the arms. Tanman tried to wrench herself away, but could not.

"Uncle, let go my arm or I will kill myself! Let go!" Her eyes were wild, her shriek resounded through the room. Shyamlal, a little abashed, loosened her arm.

"Are you coming?"

"Yes, I am coming. You villain, may you be accursed! You killed my mother:—and now you kill me. Gulab-ba, you have killed your husband and so enjoy your widowed liberty! You demons, you will kill me but you shall suffer in hell-fire as long as you live." Her eyes were wild and blazing like flames of fire. She proudly drew up her body and stood erect. Her face was ghastly, without a drop of blood, but firmly set. The tender laughing nymph Tanman walked out of the room firm and erect like *Durga* going out to vanquish the demons. She wrapped her garment tight round herself—the swan was folding her wings before death. Shyamdas followed.

Tanman's mind was whirling in her passion. Her sight was getting dim. With slow steps she descended the stairs; she saw a crowd of people, saw something like an altar and men rushing to and fro. She wondered why it was so dark although she knew the sun had arisen. Everything was whirling round and round: some one was shouting noisily near the altar. Suddenly there was a great noise—the drums and fifes joined in;—all was confusion. Tanman felt something rising in her bosom, she pressed the handkerchief to her heart with her left hand. Some one had caught hold of her right hand, but who she could not make out. "My Kishor!"—a faint smile—darkness was falling—had fallen.

* * * * *

In the wedding enclosure there was a great uproar. The bride had fainted away: the bride's father was at that very moment dying.

(To be continued)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

1884-8

EDUCATION MINISTRY IN BENGAL.

The unfortunate struggle which has developed between the Senate and Government in Calcutta cannot be a matter of indifference to educationists, no matter to what presidency they may belong. Doubtless outsiders should walk warily over ground rendered insecure by much bombarding and, shall I add, discharge of poisonous gas and indulgence in personalities? They cannot know much of the inwardness of the struggle, the motives, feelings, secret objects, etc., which underlie the activities of the political stage and of which the actors themselves may not be fully conscious. Having thus premised the limitations to which outside judgment is necessarily subject, I yet venture to offer an opinion on how it strikes distant observers whose only claim to intervene is that they are educationists, educationists first and educationists throughout the range of their being.

The struggle, though local in operation, is national in its significance; and national in a double sense. If it is an indication of a settled antagonism between representative democracy as it now exists in India and the agents of the highest education in the land, it will open up a field of infinite possibilities for mischief all round. If ministerial Government and post-graduate courses cannot co-exist, the country will have to consider seriously whether it will exchange the lamp of knowledge for the smoky lights of party; and whether the cure does not consist in improving the representative character of our Councils and Ministries and making responsibility effective. Existing Senates are at a tactical disadvantage in conflicts of this nature, since they are not as

largely elective as they might be without encroachment on their character as corporations of experts and custodians of quality. I admit Senates must primarily be aristocracies of intellect—they cannot descend from that level very far without plunging into the gulf. But within the limits to democratisation thus imposed, they ought to be put into greater contact with the people by the adoption of some such measures as were recommended by the Sadler Commission. In Madras a democratic party is in power : but it does not propose “ to axe ” the higher branches of learning ; on the contrary it is all for furthering their growth.

In addition to the constitutional there is an educational aspect viewed from which also this conflict acquires nationwide scope and meaning. Universities are broadly speaking of three kinds, the local, the national, and the inter-national. Oxford and Cambridge, the famous German universities, the Sorbonne at Paris, and Chicago, Harvard, and Yale are instances of cultural centres which exert an attraction going far beyond the national frontiers. The higher category includes the lower, and the great universities which have an international clientele are the pride and illumination of their own countries as well. Till the post-graduate courses were organised at Calcutta, not a single university in India had risen above the level of a local institution : in fact they were a loose association of colleges with limited scope for teaching and hardly any scope at all for investigation and research ; with examinations filling the horizon with a grim aspect : the substance of university life and training uncatereed for and unthought of. Under the benefactions of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rasbehari Ghose and the inspiration of Sir Michael Sadler, who, it was hoped, would become the genius of the new era of education as Macaulay was of the old, Calcutta was preparing to become at least a national university. Its post-graduate courses are a national asset ; they provide a field for the youth of the country thirsting for the highest knowledge and eager to

give a fair chance to their inborn genius or power for originality; they have provided the only atmosphere so far developed in the country for the fruition of the intellectual stir in our more fertile youth, and also a place for our Rays and Ramans, who otherwise would have wasted their gifts in the monotonous routine of college lectures. It appears to me that the new scheme is being condemned by a certain section of politicians before it has had a fair trial and that the dispensation of the Bengal Ministry is insensible to the highest and therefore the truest claims of our youths. I hope that the Mandarinism of mediocrities will not be allowed to prevail. We, in Madras, at any rate are bent on organising research and investigation on a large scale; and when the new University Bill passes we shall have cleared the ground for the contemplated advance and provided the machinery. But Madras is poor in the generous rich; she has the desire; but not the requisite finance. You in Bengal are more fortunate in private patronage; it is in governmental patronage that you seem to have suffered, temporarily as I hope, a reversal of your usual good fortune, which other presidencies used to envy and the latest instance of which is the reduction of your provincial contribution.

I have read with astonishment and pain the narrative of the fatuous attitude of the Bengal Ministry towards higher education—the highest grade of education we have in the whole country, namely, the magnificent post-graduate courses which have been organised in the Calcutta University. Far from being proud of this achievement, as the entire country is, they seem to have developed towards it an attitude of settled unreasoning hostility, which educationists deplore and resent. Government failed to give the university the financial support they had every reason to expect and with reference to which they undertook to extend sympathetic consideration. In view of the munificent donations made by Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rasbehari Ghose, educationists expected

that Government would make grants by the aid of which the intentions of the donors and the educational needs of the country would be amply fulfilled. Far from helping they are hindering. Even when the Senate proposes to finance its schemes by the levy of increased fees, they veto the proposal on the extraordinary grounds that the income thus derived should be spent for the benefit of the majority of students, which means, I suppose, intermediate courses in which the attendance is most numerous; and that in the absence of a guarantee that it won't be used for post-graduate courses—necessarily catering to a smaller clientele—they as new-pattern democrats, I suppose, could not give their sanction. This is really democracy gone mad,—if indeed it is democracy at all, whether sane or insane. No countries are more democratic than the United States and Canada and in no countries have larger state endowments and grants been given in aid of research and the very highest grades of education than in them. Higher studies had not received under the British Government the encouragement due in India; we had hoped that as a result of the Sadler Commission report and the installation of ministerial control of education, the lean years would pass and the fat ones would arrive. The Bengal Government have proved false to the trust and the needs of the Educational World. All India had been looking up to Calcutta for a model, and if that is smashed by the Government, we shall all be the poorer in example and inspiration.

The argument of the Government is amazing. Apparently all the watering should be done for the leaves and flowers, but the ~~fruit~~, being numerically far smaller, should be cut off from nourishment. And yet these are the days when the cry for the Indianisation of services is loudest; and when we find it impossible to secure admission for Indian candidates in sufficient numbers in the advanced universities of Great Britain; when recourse to countries outside the

empire is not free from impediments or objections; and when therefore it is not merely essential but imperative and urgent that the highest grades of education and research should be organised within our own frontiers. It is no secret that many educationists are in favour of starting a new type of High Schools—something intermediate in character and scope between the English Public School, in which instruction and study are to a certain extent sacrificed to games and training in life; and the Indian High School in which it is all work and no life, and indeed so much of work as to leave little scope for the development of a healthy manhood; and one of their reasons is that institutions preparatory to Military, Forest and other services cannot be postponed without injury to the country's future.

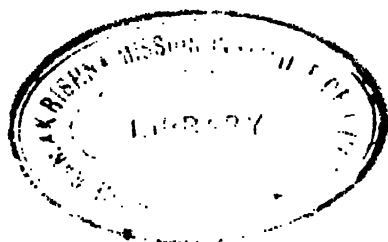
I learn that Sir Henry Sharp was opposed to post-graduate developments and had written to that effect in the *London Times* and that the Bengal Publicity Officer, under instigation, has made himself the medium for broadcasting that article. No good purpose will be served by a discussion of the ethics of this indirect attack by Government on the most important public corporation of the presidency; and acrimonious controversies should as far as possible be avoided. But the alliance with our late Educational Commissioner deserves consideration. I yield to none in my admiration for his capacity and devotion to duty; but unfortunately his ideals and those of the country, as I have reason to believe, were poles apart; and we, as Indians, cannot take his view of our present or future requirements. The Calcutta University Commission's report is a terrible and unanswerable indictment of the policy of our Government in regard to University training and organisation in India. With this policy Sir Henry Sharp was identified for a long number of years; and it is impossible for us therefore to accept him as witness, still less as judge. Is it not a fact that the best available training—let alone facilities for research—in arts, or science were never organised in India;

and that Government did not even attempt their organisation ; and that so far as applied sciences and technology were concerned, they were so badly and so systematically neglected as to cause not a few to mistrust the good faith of Government in this respect ? Our very drivers of mail trains had to be imported from abroad and the entire field of exploitation of the material resources of our country was monopolised by foreign-trained brains, though Indian brains were by no means scarce in quantity or defective in quality. The excuse has always been want of funds ; there are always funds in plenty for wars, railways, and increments of salaries etc. The poverty of Government commences exactly where our national needs begin. All this should convey its own lesson and warning to the reader who has not sacrificed his judgment to his politics. Further, was not Sir Henry associated with the Government of India in its evasion of its financial responsibilities to the Calcutta University, which, according to its own language, it was morally bound to fulfil ? Is there not more than an indication to prove that the real reason why the monetary assistance due and expected was not given was to discourage and destroy the post-graduate developments organised ; or to put it differently to penalise the university for attempting to place itself on an equality with European foundations, for freeing itself from foreign dependence in matters intellectual and aiming, as it were, at educational Swaraj ? Strange that a Minister should stoop to enact the sorry drama more appropriate to the un-regenerate Simla of the pre-Reforms regime ! Our youths are not tolerated in English Universities ; the welcome they receive is colder than their climate ; if they go to foreign countries, they run serious risk of being excommunicated from useful careers and civil status by the Political orthodoxy of the Bureaucracy ; and the one opening now made in our own country, imperfect and inadequate as it is, is sought to be blasted by one of our own ministers ! If this is the way our " Nation-building " departments act, there

must be something fateful and fatal in our vision and understanding. And yet we talk of the Indianisation of the services and making India a self-contained national unit! If, at least, the steps already taken in the right direction are not reversed, there may be some substance and sincerity in this talk, even if no new steps are taken; but dark negations and ill-considered retreats are not the stuff out of which national progress is woven.

The Calcutta University has upheld the cause of true education in a manner worthy of the best academic traditions and the good wishes of educationists are on its side. We all hope that Government would see the error and short-sightedness of their ways and rectify their reactionary policy. The defeat of the Calcutta University—the metropolis of Indian Education—in the present unfortunate struggle with the Government would mean the extinction of the one bright light we have in India and an indefinite prospect of smoky shrines and half education, highly detrimental to the moral and material interests of the country. I earnestly hope that public opinion will rally to the support of the Senate.

C. R. REDDY



FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

IV.

Dr. C. A. Bentley, Director of Public Health in Bengal, delivered some lectures in Calcutta early in 1916, which have been interpreted by the *Statesman* newspapers (13th Feb., 1916) as follows :

"Dr. Bentley affirms that there is a whole series of facts showing that malaria in Bengal has been brought about by an extraordinary diminution of water on the land surface. This mischievous decline is largely due to the manner in which the natural operation of the rivers has been interfered with by embankments and roads. Dr. Bentley thus brings us back to the old and widespread belief in Bengal that railways and raised roads have been the means of causing prevalence of malaria. But he holds that the damage has been done not by causing areas to become water-logged so much as by contributing towards the decay and death of rivers. The question of the alleged ill effects of roads and embankments has been repeatedly discussed since 1864, when Raja Digambar Mitra maintained that they had obstructed drainage and aggravated sickness. It has always been found that the charge was baseless because the evil consequences of the obstruction were sought for in water-logged conditions. If Dr. Bentley is right, the harm done by roads and railways is that they have deprived the country of health-giving water."

Dr. Bentley has confirmed this interpretation in his later pronouncements. In a note on the "Influence of embankments upon the Malaria of the Delta tracts of Bengal" (1919), he says :

"The theory of water-logging and obstructed drainage has been shown to be untenable; the theory of borrow pits is equally inadequate, but as we have already seen there are grounds for believing that it is the shutting out of flood water by the restriction of river spill and the interference with the natural flow across country that is the most potent factor in the causation of these outbreaks of malaria in delta tracts."

The latest deliverance (so far as I am aware) on the subject by Dr. Bentley was at the Rotary Club in January this year (1922). He says:

"I wish to point out that Sir Bradford Leslie and my other critics are agreed with me on one point, which is alluded to in the last paragraph of his recent letter to the *Statesman*. That paragraph states: 'The loss of the flood spill of muddy water of the Ganges has doubtless resulted in decreased fertility.'

In this remark lies almost the whole secret of Bengal malaria. Decreased fertility means decreased agricultural outturn, and decreased agricultural return means a decline of agriculture, and a reduction of population; and as the loss of flood water also leads to a great increase of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, the changes referred to are accompanied by an appalling increase of malarial infection."¹

Dr. Bentley observes, that "the theory of water-logging and obstructed drainage has been shown to be untenable," and that of borrow-pits is "equally inadequate." I have in my last article shown that the hypothesis of borrow-pits is practically the same as that of obstructed drainage, so that if the former is only "inadequate" the latter should not be so indefensible as to be "untenable." There are many experts who have considered the hypothesis of obstructed drainage to be inadequate, but few have condemned it as untenable. In fact, Dr. Bentley himself would appear to have modified his condemnation by considering almost in the same breath the hypothesis of borrow-pits to be "*equally* inadequate" and by admitting that "interference with the natural flow across country" of flood water is an important factor in the genesis of malaria.

The arguments urged by Dr. Bentley against the hypothesis of obstructed drainage are that "malaria was not

¹ *The Statesman*, Dak Edition, Jan. 12, 1922.

confined to the immediate vicinity of embankments," and that "villages at a considerable distance from embankments were often affected, and the epidemic in many cases appeared to travel towards and not away from the embankments."¹ When an epidemic is started, one would not expect it to be "confined to the immediate vicinity of embankments," and it might easily spread to places at a "considerable distance" from them. That there should be cases which would be difficult to explain on the hypothesis of impeded drainage may be readily conceded. But the apparent anomaly of an epidemic occasionally travelling "towards and not away from embankments," might in some cases at least, be explained by local causes. For instance, railways and trunk roads generally pass over comparatively elevated ground and avoid the congested parts of populous villages. Their vicinity therefore, over such ground is likely to be more salubrious than thickly populated villages at lower levels. Moreover, there are various other factors which should be taken into account, such as obstruction to drainage caused by small roads, the material condition of the people, condition of drinking water, etc. A populous village on low ground, with numerous ill-drained roads, bad drinking water, and a good portion of its inhabitants so sunk in poverty as not to be able to afford wholesome nourishing food in sufficient quantity, though not close to railway, would probably suffer more than a sparsely populated village on high ground in its immediate vicinity, the inhabitants of which are economically better off.

Dr. Bentley opines that the embankments of roads and railways have caused malaria, but not so much by obstructing drainage ~~as~~ by "contributing towards the decay and death of rivers" and thus depriving "the country of health-giving water," especially of the flood-spill of the Ganges. There are high Engineering authorities, Sir Bradford Leslie among

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

them, who assert that "such loss is not attributable to railway embankments."¹ Anyhow, as a matter of fact, neither the East Indian nor the Eastern Bengal Railway, in the area where malignant malaria originated about 1860, crossed any rivers that had not been already reduced to a moribund condition such as the Sarasvatī and the Jamunā (or rather *Bager Khal* near Kanchrapara, which connects it with the Hooghly). So far as the flood-spill of the Ganges (the Hooghly) is concerned, the districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and the southern portion of Nadiya had long been deprived of it. Thus the argument of Dr. Bentley based upon the loss of the flood-spill of the Ganges and consequent loss of fertility and depression of economic condition falls to the ground. The malaria centre had for centuries been deprived of that flood spill, and whatever other effects the loss may have led to there is, as we have seen in a previous article (September, 1922), no evidence that it had before 1860 affected the productivity of the soil, at least so seriously as to tell on the material condition of the people.² I am afraid, Dr. Bentley in building up his argument has drawn very largely on his imagination.

A good portion of the area which was devastated by malaria in the sixties of the last century, that lying between the Damodar and the Hooghly rivers in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly, was then deprived of the flood-waters of the Damodar as its embankment was strengthened and made effective for the protection of the East Indian Railway about 1860. Dr. Bentley appears to be of the opinion that it is this shutting out of the flood-waters that caused the outbreak.

¹ *The Statesman*, Nov. 24 (Dak Edition), 1921.

² Dr. Bentley in a "Note upon the Relation-ship between obstructed rivers and Malaria in Lower Bengal," quotes authorities (p. 12) to show that there has been recent diminution of fertility in Central Bengal. But that has been since 1860, and may have been due at least partly to the interception of the washing of villages, the manurial value of which must be pretty high, in their course to paddy fields by the pits and ditches bordering embankments of roads and railways.

For he says in the Note mentioned above (para. 5): "By the measures referred to, the spill-water of the Damodar was thus completely shut off from the tract of country lying between it and the Hooghly which had previously formed the natural delta of the river and this closing of the channels and shutting out of flood-water was followed by the outbreak of Burdwan fever in the areas deprived of its natural supply of river water."

The effective embankment of the Damodar was constructed concurrently with *and for the protection of* the East Indian Railway, so that the latter appears to us to be the more important cause of the outbreak of Burdwan fever. This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration, that the good of the influx of flood so far as health is concerned would depend very largely upon its free efflux. But this has been rendered impossible since the late fifties of the last century by numberless obstructions prevented by the railway and its feeder roads. There is no question that in Bengal floods have a beneficial influence in that they give a good flushing to the area flooded, replenish sluggish, moribund streams and silted-up marshes (*bils*), and deposit fertilising silt in the fields. But, their beneficence in regard to malaria would depend upon their subsiding at the close of the rainy season so as not to leave any water behind except in reservoirs so shallow as to dry up very quickly or so deep as not to dry up at all. The comparative immunity of a good portion of Eastern Bengal to malaria has been cited by Dr. Bentley in support of his hypothesis. But the immunity is due as much to floods as to paucity of railway and road embankments. With an infinity of such ~~embankments~~ in West Bengal, the "health-giving" flood-water becomes health-destroying towards the close of the rainy season stagnating in the borrow pits and ditches with which they are bordered and which are deep enough to serve as breeding grounds of the Anophelines, but not deep enough to harbour fish and other natural enemies of the mosquitoes.

Dr. K. McLeod who was Health Officer of Calcutta for some-time observed in a report (1879), having, no doubt, in view the conditions of Central Bengal, that "nothing in the etiology of malarial fever is more certain than that excess of rain or inundation is followed by excessive prevalence and fatal type of fever."

We have discussed Dr. Bentley's views at some length, because, he being the custodian of the health of Bengal, they naturally influence the authorities upon whom the adoption of anti-malaria measures depends. Apparently inspired by them Lord Ronaldshay said at a meeting of the representatives of the District Boards of Bengal in January, 1918 :

"If you could dry up Bengal, mosquitoes would very soon disappear. But you cannot of course dry up Bengal : you might as well dry up the sea.....If then you cannot get rid of the water, the next best thing to do is to change its character, that is to convert the numberless small shallow pools with a maximum of edge and a comparatively low temperature into large expanses of water with a minimum edge and a higher temperature. The water which covers the land, especially during the wet season is derived from two sources, *viz.*, spill-water from the rivers and rain. Under these circumstances, the object which we have in view can be achieved by holding up the water on the land during the wet months, in other words, by flooding the country ; and by draining off the flood at suitable seasons. To do this satisfactorily we must call in the Engineer and get him to construct embankments and sluices "

Lord Ronaldshay probably meant "dams and sluices." But the Engineer, as a matter of fact, has also constructed embankments which, as we shall presently see, have proved a serious menace to health.

Three fairly large anti-malaria schemes were foreshadowed by Lord Ronaldshay—the Nowi-Sunthi, the Jabuñā, and the Arul Bil—the aggregate estimated cost of which is over twenty eight *lákhs* of rupees ; and some action has already been taken in regard to them. The idea underlying them is to excavate moribund streams (*kháls*), and to regulate the water in them by means of sluices across their exits so that

"should the rainfall be excessive they will be opened to drain off the surplus, otherwise they will be kept closed so as to allow the water to gradually rise as the crops grow up, submerging more and more of the cultivated lands as the season progresses; when the time for harvesting arrives, they will be thrown open and the water drawn off, so that harvesting can be carried on on dry land; without such means of regulation the project would prove a failure, and the gradual submersion of the land will destroy the breeding grounds of the anopheles."¹

In the first place, the more or less silted-up *kháls* are being excavated in the form of canals and the earth dug out heaped up along their banks forming embankments which by obstructing drainage like the railway and road embankments are calculated to be highly prejudicial to health, and to be pro-malarial rather than anti-malarial. Then again, if it were possible to flood Central Bengal so as to submerge the pits and ditches by the sides of roads and railways, and keep them submerged till the advent of winter, virulent malaria would be stamped out in two or three years. But that is not possible. The destruction of the breeding-grounds of the anophelines by flooding is, under existing condition practicable only in low-lying swampy lands un-intersected by borrow-pit-bordered roads and railways and at some distance from human habitation, at least from populous malaria-stricken villages on comparatively high ground. Even under existing conditions the anophelines in such low lands are kept down during the rains, and as they would have to be drained off in the harvesting season, which is also the height of the malaria season, it is much to be doubted whether their breeding grounds would be destroyed much more effectively than at present. Anyhow, as we have seen before, they do not, as a rule, trouble the far-off villages much, so that even if the consummation aimed at by the schemes under consideration were effected, there is no likelihood of any abatement of malaria. I am

¹ Jabana anti-malarial scheme by C. Addams-Williams, para. 11.

glad to find that these conclusions are confirmed by Rai Bahadur Gopalchandra Chatterji, M.B., who unlike myself has appendants to his name signifying high medical qualifications and their recognition by Government. In the Report of the Central Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society (Ld.) for the year ending in 1922, he observes :

“ This measure (the Nowi-Sunthi anti-malaria scheme) is estimated to cost twelve lacs of rupees, but actually it will exceed the sum by several lacs. It consists in draining a big *Bheel* and a large tract of country by excavating a large canal along the beds of two rivulets which have formed extensive marshes in the region. In construction of the work which is taking several years, earth excavated from the canal has been allowed to be deposited on two sides of the canal through the neglect of the contractor thereby effectually obstructing the drains of the villages situated along the banks of the rivulets. Besides, from the big pits which have been deliberately excavated recently in the main drains along the Barasat road situated near the canal, by the contractors employed for metalling the road, it is evident that filling and drainage works for controlling mosquito population within the village sites or towns situated near the canals have not been included in the above scheme or thought of. A number of small excavations within the village sites situated near the dwelling houses of the villagers, can give rise to myriads of anopheles for the propagation of malaria. It does not add materially to the well-being of the village if the beds of dead rivulets are excavated at an enormous cost. Besides, the sum spent on them are in part derived from the funds which are meant for improving the village sites and are used up in work of problematical value; moreover recurring charge for maintaining the canal has to be added to this.”

Dr. Chatterji informs me in a letter that as a result of the canal excavation “ malaria has increased to a marked

extent" in the villages situated on the canal. The present Governor of Bengal, Lord Lytton, said recently in regard to the schemes we have discussed above, that Dr. Bentley hoped to "serve at the same time the three needs of the population for drinking water, of agriculture for irrigation, and of public health by washing out the malaria-carrying mosquito." In regard to agriculture, there is no need, at least no pressing need for artificial irrigation in the areas covered by the projects during the rainy season. The want of wholesome drinking water, however, is keenly felt in many villages since their desertion by the well-to-do, and the diminution of the spirit of benevolence or its diversion into channels other than the provision of wholesome drinking water. The schemes under consideration would secure it to some extent. But it could be secured at much less risk to health and much smaller expenditure than what would be incurred on them. And from what we have already said, it would be idle to expect them to perform the important work of "washing out the malaria-carrying mosquito," at least from the areas where malaria is most rife. Unless there is an esoteric aspect of the schemes under notice, we have not come across any, except in the sphere of politics, less calculated to serve the main purpose which they profess to have in view, and which alone could justify the enormous outlay they would involve.¹

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

¹ The Magra Hat project which is on lines similar to those noticed in the text and which was highly commended by Lord Ronaldshay at the conference of 1918 was completed in 1909. The physical conditions in the two areas being, I believe, markedly different, the success of the former would be no guarantee of the success of the latter. But it is very doubtful whether the health of the Magra Hat area has improved. Indeed, I am informed by a high medical authority that Magra Hat suffered last year from an "intense form of malaria" and lost population to the extent of 25 per cent. Dr. Bentley says in a letter which he has kindly written to me that "the project was primarily an agricultural one," and that it was devised by the Irrigation Department which is not under his control. It seems also that the schemes we have criticised were also initiated by the same Department, and that the Department of Health is not responsible for them!

In Memoriam

THE LATE HIRENDRALAL MITRA

It is with a heavy heart that we have to announce to the readers of the *Calcutta Review* the death in England after a short illness of Hirendralal Mitra, M.Sc., one of the ex-students in Physics of the University College of Science. Hirendra was one of the most brilliant graduates of the Calcutta University. He occupied the first place in Physics Honours in the B.Sc. Examination of 1918, and joined the Physics Department of the University College of Science. During his stay of two years, he won the love and esteem of all his teachers by his sweetness of behaviour, and by his ardent devotion to science. In the M.Sc. Examination of 1920, he came out first in the list, as expected by his teachers and fellow students.

After winning these laurels, Hirendra proceeded to England. One of the present writers was then in England, and Hirendra often used to apply to him for advice in the choice of a career. Unlike many other Indian students in similar circumstances, he did not choose the easier route to Government service—namely, the degree course of London or Cambridge; for he found these courses to be the exact replica of the M.Sc. course of the Calcutta University, and rightly concluded that spending two or three years in studying the degree course would be mere waste of time. From the very first, he was fired with an ambition of winning a name for himself in the field of research and scholarship. After visiting the principal seats of physical research in England, he decided to apply to Sir William Bragg (Professor of Physics in the University College of London, and Nobel-laureate in

Physics, for the year 1915) for permission to work under him in his laboratory. After Hirendra had explained his plan of research work in a personal interview, Professor Bragg, in order to test the experimental ability of the young Calcutta-aspirant after the red robes of London asked him then and there to set up a Dolezalek type of Quadrant Electrometer, one of the most difficult settings in Experimental Physics. Nothing undaunted, Hirendra set to work immediately and in course of an hour and a half, had set the apparatus in perfect order. Professor Bragg was so highly satisfied with this proof of ability that he at once permitted him to join his laboratory.

Hirendra worked at Bragg's laboratory for more than a year, helping him materially in his studies on the micro-atomic analysis of organic crystals by the X-ray method. It may be remarked here that Professor Bragg is one of the leading physicists of the day, whose contributions to the study of X-rays is regarded as one of the epoch-making events in physics. Not content with mere subsidiary work under the direction of Professor Bragg, Hirendra started independent investigations on his own account. One of the present writers often used to pay visits to the physical laboratory of the University College, and had talks with the professors, all of whom expressed very high opinions of the experimental skills and resourcefulness of the young Calcutta student. He was not daunted by any difficulty, and was never discouraged by any preliminary failure. During the vacation of 1921, he visited Paris and was introduced by his cousin Mr. Kalidas Nag to Professor Langevin, the doyen of French physicists. Through Professor Langevin's friendliness, he was introduced to the French ~~School~~ of physicists, and particularly to the Duc de Broglie, the foremost X-ray worker in France. Instead of spending the vacation in mere amusement, he seized this opportunity of carrying out a research work on X-ray absorption in de Broglie's laboratory. He had finished about three papers in the short course of a year and a half, and it remained only

to put the account of these works in writing, and submit them for the doctorate of the London University.

On returning to England, he was faced with an unexpected difficulty. His cousin, Birendra Lal Mitra, was suffering from a painful disease, and was advised by physicians to return to India. Birendra had to break off his studies and come to India in attendance upon his cousin. After seeing his cousin slightly better, he returned to England, but within a fortnight of his arrival died after a short illness, deeply mourned by his friends, and other Indian, and English fellow students.

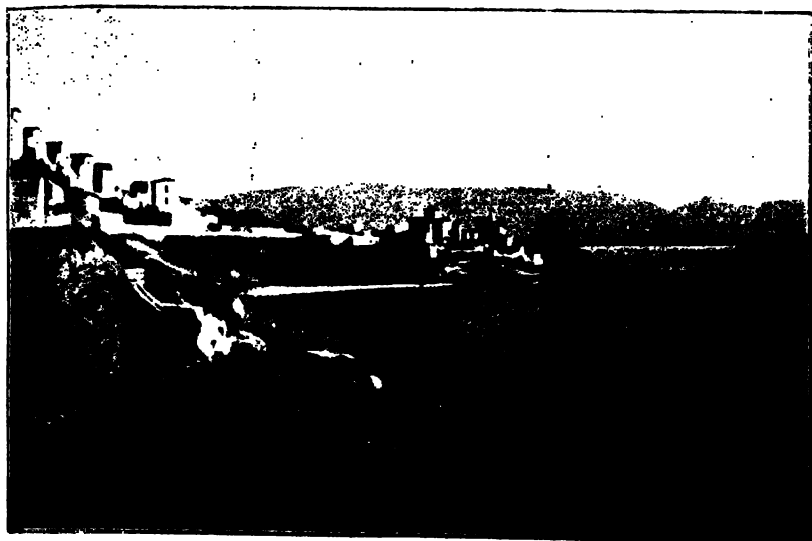
On the eve of his return to England, Birendra paid a visit to the University College of Science to bid farewell to his old teachers and other acquaintances. He appeared to be in the best of health, and nobody could dream that the cruel hand of Death would pluck him off so swiftly! To the professors and lecturers of the University College of Science, and particularly to the present writers, who loved the deceased like their own younger brother, the news came as a great shock, almost like a personal bereavement.

Birendra was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was the only son of Mr. Mahendra Lal Mitra, a rich landed proprietor of Calcutta, and nephew of Mr. B. L. Mitra, the present standing counsel of the Calcutta High Court. Though born and bred up in the lap of prosperity, there was not the slightest trace of aristocratic egoism in him. One of his ambitions was to get into touch with village life, and for this purpose, he often used to take arduous journeys to remote villages. In him, his relations lose one who might have been the brightest star of the family, and Bengal loses a son who, if he had lived longer, would have ranked very high as a scientist.

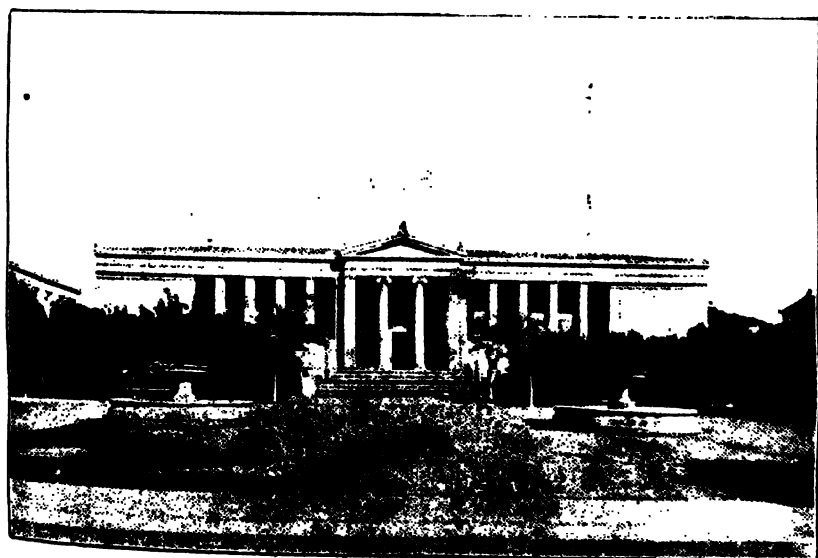
" For ever more a life behind
Behind the veil, behind the veil."

SUSILKUMAR ACHARYYA
MEGHANAD SAHA

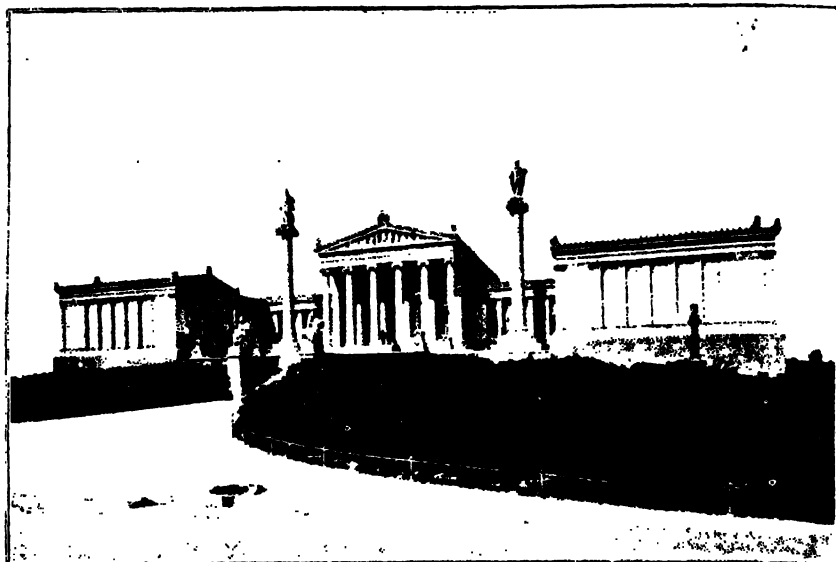
ATHENS



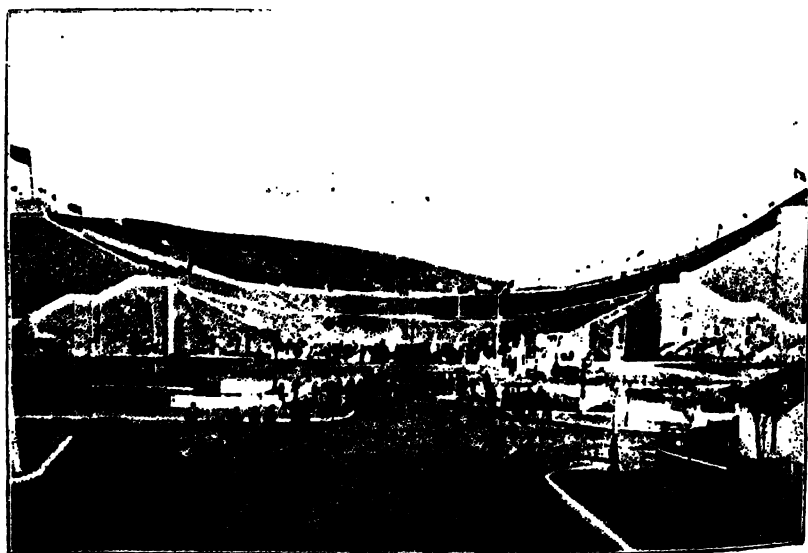
Castella.



The University.



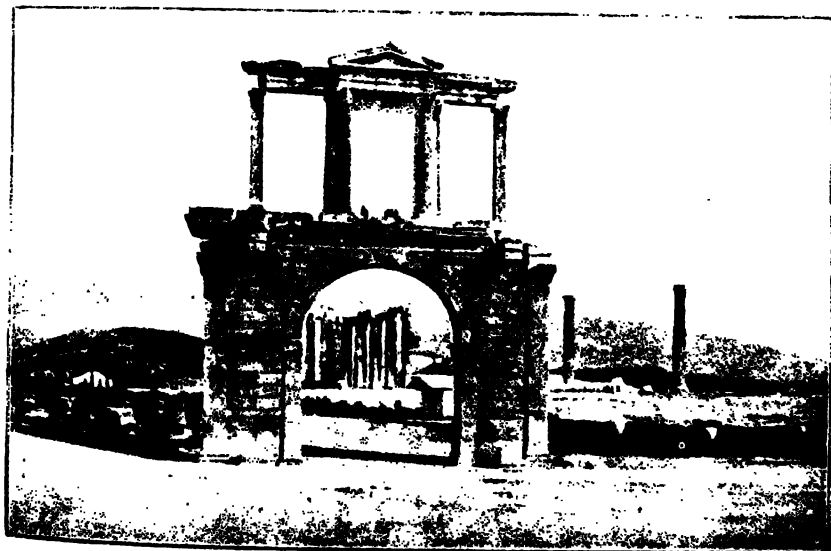
The Academy.



The Stadion (Amphitheatre).



Byzantine Church.



Arch of Hadrian.



Monument of Lysierates.



A Corner in the Ancient Greek Cemetery.

STATE VERSUS COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

The principle of management of state-owned railways by lessee companies is, as stated by the Railway Board, almost peculiar to India. It bears no similarity to company management of company-owned railways of England or of America. Each country has its own particular system of railway management and ownership. Some have national railways such as Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, while others have company-owned railways such as U. S. A. and England. And some other countries have both state-owned and company-owned railways, but they are in all cases managed by the owners., *i.e.*, the state-owned railways by the state and the company-owned railways by companies.

There are advantages and disadvantages of both state management and company management. But in India in the case of company management the ownership is that of the government and this has always to be borne in mind. Where the country is fully developed, its resources are vast, and there is plenty of trade and commerce and industries, *i.e.*, there is plenty of money in the country, in that case, generally the indigenous capitalists provide money for railways both for purposes of investment and for further development of trade, commerce and industries. In such cases, the whole work of financing and building railways, devolves on private enterprise or is rather left to private enterprise. The Government have no financial responsibility there, and, therefore derive no direct benefits, in the way of revenue, from railway, although there are very great indirect benefits. But the Government control is not slack, in such cases, to protect public safety and public interests. A popular or democratic government can and does demand and sees that the

railways conform to such laws and regulations as the public interests may require. In such cases, it is held that controlled private ownership of railways is better than uncontrolled state ownership. But in India it is neither private enterprise or ownership nor is the state ownership uncontrolled.

On the other hand, Germany and Belgium have stuck to state railways, and still hold the view that state railways are meant for development of indigenous industries and are a protection against invasion of foreign trade to swamp out country's manufactures by imports of foreign products.

In India, in the beginning, indigenous capital could not be found to build railways. Therefore, British-owned company lines were introduced, but the English capitalists demanded guarantee of minimum dividend and free land, and these were given. The Government felt the terms onerous and therefore made provisions for purchase of railways in the contracts with the companies. It was found that the guarantee of 5 per cent. minimum dividend took away incentive from the companies and led to extravagance in cost of construction and lack of interest to develop business. This was assigned to be one of the reasons why the state did not allow the companies to hold the railways up to the full lease of 99 years and railways were purchased by the Government after 25 or 30 years of lease.

But after purchase of railways the railways were again handed over to the companies, who then held nominal shares in the concerns, to be managed by them on behalf of the Government, and in order to create an incentive the rate of guaranteed interest was reduced from 5 to 3, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but a share of surplus profits was given.

Lord Lansdowne's Government was, however, very strong about Indian railways being owned, built and managed by direct agencies of state, but Lord Ripon's Government did not agree with this policy and reverted to the policy of continuing

state ownership combined with management by lessee companies.

In the opinion of some, company management is said to have the following advantages :—

- (1) There is the benefit of private enterprise and commercial management of railways, which combines with it healthy competition and efficiency.
- (2) The company management is not influenced by politics.
- (3) In India, it is said it is to the interest of companies to aim at efficiency to earn more money in order to gain a share of the surplus profits, because the lessee companies do not get on their share of capital a higher direct and fixed interest than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and anything in excess has to be earned in the way of surplus profits, after payment of interest on Government share of the capital, annuities in redemption of capital, interest on annuities, etc. This share is bigger for the Government and much smaller for the company.
- (4) The companies have the advantage of experienced and retired railway men from Indian railways to work as Directors on their Boards in London.

It is also claimed that company management would not be extravagant because of the management of each railway on the principle of commercial undertaking.

The whole question was thrashed out by the Acworth Committee and their report in five volumes (only four of which have however been made available to the public) contains a mass of interesting and useful literature in this connection.

In the first place, the majority group of the Committee of Enquiry did not find any difference between the management of Indian State Railways by direct state agency, and the management of state-owned railways by companies of English domicile so far as efficiency was concerned, and the Railway

Board themselves also admitted this in their evidence before the Committee. If there is any difference in the cost of operation of or in the earnings of the railways or in the working results it is mainly due to the situation of different railways and their varying traffic and other conditions. In some cases there is as much difference between two company-worked state lines (such as the E. I. Ry. and the G. I. P. Ry.) as between one state-worked state line and one company-worked state line. For instance, the cheap working expenses of say, the East Indian Railway (company-worked state line) or its enormous traffic are due to the favourable situation of the railway and to the traffic conditions of the railway as stated, in 1908, in the Imperial Gazetteer (the Indian Empire Series, Vol. III) in Chapter VII (which chapter again was written by the then Secretary to the Railway Board)

“..... it has been exceptionally well placed....The line passes through the richest and most populous districts of India, and serves many large and important cities. All the principal coal fields of India are situated on it, and for many years the only route to those lay over the East Indian Railway. As might have been expected under such circumstances the line has never lacked traffic.....Its goods traffic is greater than of any other railway.....In construction of the line the physical difficulties to be overcome were the few large rivers ; and out of the whole length of 2,2¹/₂ miles, no more than 345 have gradients steeper than 1 in 300.”

In speaking of the G. I. P. Ry. (another company-worked line) the same authority said :—

“The Great Indian Peninsula Railway was very costly to construct and although so favourably situated it has in most years been worked at a loss to the Government. The loss however grows less every year. In 1904 it was 4½ lacs.”

About the North Western State-Worked Railway we find the following observations in the same Imperial Gazetteer :—

“It is now the longest railway under one administration in India..... It runs through the wheat granaries of India and populous cities and cantonments but it has been seriously handicapped by long stretches of strategic and semi-strategic lines.”

In connection with the old Madras Railway Company the Secretary to the Railway Board said :—

“at no period during its existence has the Madras Railway earned its interest charges during the full year.....Since the transfer of the East Coast State Railway to it its income has improved.”

In regard to the Eastern Bengal State Railway it was observed, “The line passes through a populous and fertile countrywhile the Eastern Bengal Railway was worked by company, under a guarantee, and for some years later it usually caused a loss to the state, but since 1887 it has always yielded surplus profits after paying all interest charges.”

The B. B. & C. I. Ry. is favourably situated and important state and Native State Railways and branches were made over to it for working, which added to the prosperity of the railway, but unfortunately, so far as the Government of India was concerned, during the period of contract of the old guaranteed company “the B. B. and C. I. Ry. Company-owned system was worked at a loss to the state.....The loss was however always more than made good by the prospects of the Rajputana-Malwa Section,” which latter section was state-constructed and owned but “was made over to the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company for working.”

• The above quotations speak for themselves, and certainly do not show the old guaranteed company management as advantageous.

The conclusions of the Acworth Railway Committee are well known.

The Committee was divided in its conclusions on the main issue of management of railways :

- (1) The Chairman and four members, *viz.*, Mr. Hiley, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas, and Mr. Tuke declared in favour of state-management of state-owned Indian railways. This group may be called the majority group for it included the Chairman, amongst five.

(2) The other half or five, *viz.*, Sir Henry Burt, Sir George Godfrey, Sir Henry Ledgard, Sir R. N. Mukherjee, and Sir Arther Anderson, declared in favour of company management, with this modification that they recommended that in future the companies should not be English companies any longer but should be companies of Indian domicile with rupee-capital. For purposes of facilitating reference we may call this group of members as the minority group although the number was equal.

It is most essential to bring prominently to notice that the Companies at present working the Indian railways are not companies in the real sense of the word, in that they are not the owners of the property (at least not of the greatest part of it) and have no great financial responsibility in this sense that the money is provided for by the Government of India out of Budget grants, and the loans and debentures are raised on the security of and on the responsibility of the Secretary of State for India. Further even on the comparatively small holdings of the companies themselves, in the railways they manage, a minimum dividend is guaranteed by the Secretary of State. The Companies therefore really manage nationalised railways of ours on behalf of the Government, as lessees.

Thus the company-management of Indian railways is on a totally different footing to the company-management of English and American railways. In the case of the British or of the American railways the whole railway property, including the railway land, is the property of shareholders, whereas in the case of the Indian railways the ownership is that of the Indian Government, and therefore of the Indian tax-payers.

At the end of March 1921, whereas the Government responsibility for share of capital in our state railways was 482 crores that of the lessee companies was 75 crores or

therabouts. It was plainly admitted in the majority report of the Acworth Railway Committee "that it was with the money secured from Indian taxation that the Indian Railways have been almost entirely built." And the Railway Board also in their evidence said that "the greater portion of the Indian railway property was owned by the Indian tax-payers."

The Railway Board, however, said in their evidence, in supporting company management, that in democratic countries state-management would mean

(1) Enlargement of staff and enhancements of pay.

(2) Elastic method of dealing with railway rates, which is not conducive to the public interest.

These two arguments were the main supports of the Railway Board in advocating company management on commercial grounds, but the arguments do not at all seem applicable to Indian state railways as will be demonstrated presently in this paper.

Some also argue that there would be labour difficulties with state railways and frequent occurrences of strikes.

First, in regard to large salaries it may be observed that the salaries on Indian state-worked state railways were for many years far lower than the salaries on the company-worked state lines—when the Agents and the Heads of Departments on the state-worked state railways (like the N. W. Ry.) were getting something like Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,600 respectively, the persons holding similar appointments on the company-worked state railways were drawing Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively. It was only because of the latter drawing high salaries that the salaries of the former had to be raised.

The process of increasing the salaries on state-worked state railways started since 1903, when late Mr. T. Robertson, the first Special Railway Commissioner for Indian Railways, pointed out as follows in his report :—

"As an example, the Manager of the North Western Railway who controls 3,750 miles of line, receives a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month. The

Managers of the State lines until recently only received Rs. 1,600 a month, and even now one draws Rs. 2,000 and one Rs. 1,800. The Agents of the neighbouring company-worked lines receive Rs. 3,000 a month for managing railways nearly 1,000 miles shorter. Similarly, the Chief Traffic Officer of the North Western Railway receives Rs. 1,600 a month and of the other state-worked railways only Rs. 1,350 whereas those of the company-worked railways receive higher than Rs. 2,000."

It will also be seen that it was because of the company railways officers drawing high salaries that Mr. Robertson the Special Railway Commissioner, made the following recommendations :

"The scales of pay on state railways for Agents, heads of Departments and others should be brought more into line with those prevailing on the neighbouring Company-worked railways."

This is how the salaries came to be first raised on Indian state-worked state railways. And when the salaries on state railways had been raised nearly to the same level as the salaries drawn on company-worked lines, there came fresh increases on the company-worked lines, whose Agents began to draw Rs. 3,500 and the General Traffic Managers and the other Heads of Departments Rs. 2,500 and salaries on state railways were also raised. But these salaries have now been again raised to Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 2,750 respectively, in some cases. The above facts prove that the high salaries are due to company management and not state management.

Secondly, it is claimed that the company lines employed the most efficient staff to be found. This is not disputed, and it is but natural that this should be so, but the state railway officials must have been equally efficient because hitherto the Agents of the company-worked lines have and had been largely recruited from amongst Government officials, such as, Col. Bisset, Col. Oliver and Col. Shelly—all sometime Agents of the B. B. and C. I. Ry. The present incumbent General Sir Freeland was also a Government Railway official. The G. I. P. Ry. also got its past Agent Major Hepper and

the present Agent, Mr. McLean, from the same source, *viz.*, state railways. Col. Gardiner, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Marshall, three of the E. I. Ry. Agents, out of the past 6 agents, were likewise Government officials. Sir T. R. Wynne and Mr. Manson, former Agents of the B. N. Ry. had their training and experience in Government Railway service,—Col. Magniac, the present Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, Col. Izat, Agent of the B. and N. W. Ry., as well as Mr. Priestly, one of the late Agents of the S. I. Ry. were state railway officials, and Mr. Muirhead, one of the best General Traffic Managers of India and also late Agent of the S. I. Ry. was formerly Traffic Superintendent on the O. and R. State Railway before he became Traffic Manager on the S. M. Ry. and then General Traffic Manager of the G. I. P. Ry. and subsequently Agent of the South Indian Railway. Similarly some of the most successful of the Managing Directors and Chairmen of the several Indian Railway Companies on their Boards in England were Government men like General Sir Richard Strachey and Sir Frederick Upcott, Col. Gardiner, and Sir David Barbour, the past and present Chairmen of the E. I. Ry., Sir T. R. Wynne and Mr. Manson, the present and the past Managing Directors of the B. N. Ry., Mr. Priestly, late Managing Director of the S. I. Ry., Sir Henry Burt, the present Chairman of the B. and N. W. Ry. and R. and K. Rys. Col. Bisset and Major Shelly, Chairmen of the B. B. and C. I. Ry. and Col. Constable, Chairman of the Madras Railway, were all State Railway officials.

There have been two very recent and pointed instances in this connection, *viz.*, the cases of Mr. McLean and Mr. Alexander, the present Agent of the G. I. P. Ry. Company and the Chief Engineer of the B. N. Ry. Company, respectively. They were but Executive Engineers in State Railway Service, say $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 years ago. These two men were brought from Government service on company lines, superseding many senior men of the railways to which they were brought, thus

proving conclusively that state railways also employ equally efficient staff.

Thirdly, as regards the argument that state working would involve frequent changes in the administrative staff. This may be so; but some of the principal company lines have not been free from such changes. It may be pointed out that within the last four years, there have been three changes in the permanent (not-officiating) Agency of the E. I. Ry. in the persons of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Hindley and Mr. Colvin, who successively became Agents since the retirement of Sir Robert Highet, which took place towards the end of 1918.

Fourthly, as to labour troubles on Indian railways, we see that the railway strikes originated with the company lines; the first railway strike in India was amongst the European running staff on the G. I. P. Ry. Co.'s line, 25 or 26 years ago. The second strike was also on the G. I. P. Ry. among the Indian Traffic Station Staff 23 or 24 years ago (1899). The third strike was on the East Indian Railway (also company-worked line) amongst their European running staff. The fourth strike was also on the East Indian Railway, when the Indian traffic line staff stopped work. The fifth strike was also on the East Indian Railway, when the railway working was paralysed owing to the guards and drivers (European) stopping work and going on strike, and trains and passengers were held up for days at Asansol. Before these strikes on company lines there had not been serious strikes on Indian state-worked state railways. Of course, there have been strikes on both state and company-worked state railways since, but even referring to the recent history of strikes it is seen that the most serious recent strikes on Indian railways were those on the E. I. Ry., and on the A. B. Ry.,—both company-worked lines—and these strikes lasted for long periods. So that it can hardly be said that company management would mean less labour troubles or less wages. In India, there are more labour troubles in company-managed and

company-owned mills and factories than anywhere else. With the progress of industrialism in India these evils will have to be faced until labour realises the full value of capital to them and to the country.

Fifthly, as to the apprehension that state-management would lead to more elastic methods of rate-making, this argument is neither clearly understood nor has it been fully explained.

So far as the management of Indian railways in regard to rates policy is concerned, the Government of India is required to give its decision regarding the principles to be followed in this matter. The Government have dictated and laid down the policy in the past, and they specified that railway rates-making should be done on commercial principles in the interest of each line. The Government will have to decide whether any change in the present (or, rather the past) policy is needed. Each railway, whether company-worked or state-worked, was allowed in the past to manipulate its rates in its own interests and even against the interests of other railways, in the matter of competition, if such an action was needed in the self-interest of any particular railway. One interesting illustration of such a policy is to be found in the remarks of one of the managers of the Indian railways at a meeting in the Railway Board Office in the autumn of 1905. His recommendation was that the re-adjustment of rates should take place on the actual competitive basis, *i.e.*, the difference that would be reached if railways did their best for themselves and worst for their rivals, or in other words, if they quoted the lowest rates to the port or by the route that gave them the longest lead and the highest possible rates to the junction of railways serving ports which gave them short hauls. This suggestion was accepted in settling the Indian Railway rates war of 1905. So that so long as it is held that Indian railways should be run as commercial concerns, pure and simple, and managed in the individual

interest of each railway it would make no difference, whether the railways are state-managed or company-managed.

But even in the system of rates-making on a commercial basis there is always room for discrimination in favour of traffic that would help the permanent advancement of the country and the ultimate good of the railways. Such discriminations are not really opposed to the interests of the railways or of the Government. For any concession granted for the real development of Indian industries or the internal trade must mean ultimately a direct addition to the revenues of the Indian railways, and also an increase in the Government resources in the shape of more income and super-taxes, resulting from the increase in the tax-bearing capacity of our industries and increase in the general prosperity of the country. And the concession rates granted to Tata's Iron-works is an example of this kind. And again, both the Railway revenue and the revenue from various sources of taxation go to the same public treasury. It may be that the adoption of the policy of developing our industries through railways may in a few cases mean only a temporary loss of revenue, yet the increase in prosperity that would ultimately be secured, would inevitably mean more economical working of our railways and higher net gains of the railways as a whole, for the running of wagons to the ports simply with raw materials, meaning a considerable amount of return empty running of wagons is less economical than the running of wagons to mills and factories with raw materials and fuel and the returning of these wagons loaded with the finished goods and the bye-products. *But in any case a railway could never be expected or required to quote non-paying rates.* And this could never be demanded so long as it is recognised that the Indian state railways should be used for earning money for the public treasury. This is the avowed object of Indian state railways at present.

Moreover, the present system of fixing a minimum rate and a maximum rate by the Government will and must continue.

At the same time, the need for elasticity has been felt in the matter of through rates and such elasticity will be insisted upon whether the Indian state railways are company-managed or otherwise; the only difference is that state management will be distinctly advantageous in this respect as it would be in the matter of interchange, standardization and pooling of rolling stock and in connection with expenditure on one or two railways in extended and better yards and to facilitate work on those as well as on other railways. In this connection I would also invite attention to my new publication, *Indian Railway Economics* (Transport Series), Part II.

The need for application of low scale rates on through distances over two or more railways may be taken as a case in point. The non-application of through sliding and telescopic scales of rates over two or more railways is due entirely to the principle of each railway being worked in its own individual interest and to the share of the companies in the surplus profits. It is however wrong to suppose that there would be loss to Railways because of application of low scales of rates on through distances for development of through long distance internal traffic of India, for such development can only lead to

- more revenue, especially if rates are so manipulated as not to decrease earnings on traffic at present existing but reductions are only made for distances where the traffic does not move at present and as a 'rates expert' I say that this can be attained in actual practice. I had worked this out for the Railway Board in 1917-18. So far back as 1903, Mr. Robertson, Special Railway Commissioner for India, unequivocally expressed his view in favour of the application of through scale rates. "On through traffic," he observed, "that is, traffic going over more than one company's line, all fares and rates should be calculated on the through distance (this is really expected by the Railways Act, but in practice is rarely done), and, the reduction should always be applied on the entire distance and

not merely on the local distance of each railway. It is the practice that prevails in India of calculating rates on the distance to the junction only, which is to some extent responsible for a good many of high rates now obtaining, since the traffic only gets the benefit of sliding scales of rates on the local distance to the junctions, instead of on the whole distance that the traffic is carried. But if the long-distance traffic is to be developed in the manner that such traffic has been developed in America, the distance must be taken from the station of origin to the station of destination, and the charges calculated on this through distance at the reduced rate." These were Mr. Robertson's own remarks. It may be interesting in this connection to point out that even in 1891, it was accepted by the Government and the East Indian Railway that there was justification for the concession to the public of lower rates over great distances and for large quantities, *and it was found that in the aggregate such rates were sufficiently remunerative*. But it was held that in cases where one company sent large quantities of traffic to a foreign line and for a long lead over that company's railway, it was a loss to the railway on which the traffic originated to accept low rates per mile for short distances, and this is why the matter was dropped, but the Government reserved to itself the right to impose the condition of applying the scales on through distances any time it liked, but this has never been done although justification for its being done was accepted.

The latter portion of the above remark is important because quotation of low rates on through distances cannot mean any loss to the Government, who are the principal owners of the trunk railways, as such rates are accepted to be remunerative in the aggregate on the total distance, and the Government being owners of all railways it does not matter to the Government whether one railway or the other gets more or less so long as on the whole there is no loss but an improvement. But as the interest of each individual railway (however small

that interest may be) has got to be taken into account in each company-worked railway, the public have been debarred from getting the benefit of low rates for through distances, especially in connection with internal traffic and this is clear from a circular issued by the Government in 1891. In cases like this, elasticity would be asked for whether railways are state-managed or company-managed, particularly as the application of through scale rates on through distances would develop internal traffic in India for long distances and go to increase railway earnings on the whole and in the long run. In the United States it is held that the aim of the railways should be to pay more attention to the internal trade as the prosperity of inhabitants is secured more by internal trade than by external trade especially where the agricultural and numeral resources are great.

But this elasticity will not be easily attained unless there is state management of all trunk lines and absence of individual interests of companies in matters like this at least.

Sixthly, the working of state railways by companies affords some cases of clash of interests between the Government as owner of the railways and the companies as their managers. One interesting example of such a conflict of interest is to be found in the report of the Acworth Railway Committee in connection with the railway surtax. As the Committee pointed out, the surtax meant that the whole money went to the Government, instead of a share of it going to the working companies. The Committee said as follows :—
“there is a further and serious objection to imposing a surtax on railway receipts instead of increasing railway charges, which is peculiar to India—that it is unfair to the shareholders of the companies which divide profits with the Government. Had the railway rates been raised, the Government would have taken, in the case of the guaranteed companies, about nine-tenths of the additional net revenue. But the

shareholders would have obtained what they are unquestionably entitled to the remaining tenth. As it is, the Government takes the whole." These remarks are absolutely fair and so long as the companies and their contracts remain they must get their share but this shows conflict of interests between the Government and the companies and the interests of the Government in such matters is the interest of the people of the country as well.

The method of division of surplus profits and the allocation of expenses between Capital and Revenue afford another such example of conflict between interests of the Government and of companies. These surplus profits are divided with the companies after all charges on account of interest and annuity payments are met. As is well known all heavy renewals such as replacements of rails, are charged to capital expenditure. Under the present system, when new rails are required, not because the old rails are worn out, but because heavier section rails are needed to haul heavier traffic with heavier engines, to meet the increasing open line railway business, the difference between the cost of the new rails and the purchase price of the old ones is debited to the capital account. In the case of such replacements, however, the correct procedure should be to debit a part of the cost of the new rails, to the Revenue Account and to credit the same with the proportionate sum, realised by the sale of the old rails. The reason for such a procedure is to be found in the fact that the replacement charge does not constitute expenditure on new construction, but is an expenditure for the purpose of meeting increased and increasing business, which again means more revenue to the existing open lines and the companies benefit by the increased revenue in the way of surplus profits without having to find money for the extra facility, for which money is found by the Government.

Seventhly, in connection with the evidence before the Acworth Committee urging for the necessity of having

commercial and company management for attracting more capital, a portion of the evidence of the Railway Board may be quoted in this connection. The Railway Board said as follows :—

“..... At the present time, the need for more capital is so clamant that it is a matter of the first importance to show good commercial results, as otherwise the necessary capital will not be forthcoming,”

and these remarks came in the letter of explanation of the Railway Board, which they tendered to the Railway Committee giving reasons for supporting company management in their written evidence.

But as a matter of fact, however, the raising of money does not actually depend upon the prosperity of a particular railway. For when a loan has to be raised, a fixed rate of interest is paid, and that rate is based not on the earning power of the railway concerned, but on the market rate of interest prevailing at the time. The same rate would thus have to be paid on a loan, part of which may be spent on the E. I. Railway, a good paying line, and part on the A. B. Railway, a non-paying line.

So far as debentures are concerned, although, in the past, these were issued by particular railway companies, on the guarantee of the Secretary of State, the whole money had to be handed over to the Secretary of State and the money raised on the debentures of one railway could be spent on another. Of course, this is not to be the case in future, but nevertheless the raising of money on debentures will depend on the rate of interest offered and on the guarantee of the Secretary of State. No loan or debenture has been so far successful without the guarantee of the Secretary of State even if the prospects are good.

Moreover, both efficiency and commercial management of the Indian railways are not confined to company-worked lines. The state-worked state railways are run on commercial principles to earn money for the public

treasury combined with efficiency both for service and for earnings.

In the case of loans, besides the loans being raised at the market rate of interest, there is the guarantee of the Secretary of State. Likewise the Indian railway debentures are not like ordinary debentures, which are practically deeds of mortgage given by a railway or other big companies for borrowed money. In the case of Indian Railway debentures, no mortgage of railways is involved. Consequently the good or bad financial results of a particular railway, in respect of which the debentures are issued, does not concern the debenture-holders. These latter rely absolutely on the guarantee and security of the Secretary of State, or in other words, if any mortgage may be said to be involved, it is the mortgage of India's resources as a whole.

In the case of branch lines too, the money is raised on the security of the Secretary of State and a guarantee of 6% minimum dividend is to be given by them in future. Further, in the case of new branch lines, interest at the rate of 5% has been agreed to by the Government of India to be paid to investors even during construction, such money as is in excess of 4%, during the construction period, is to be advanced by the Government of India till it can be realised when the railway is earning money.

Thus it is abundantly clear that the raising of funds for Indian Railways does not depend on the commercial results of a particular railway in respect of which the funds are to be raised. The success or otherwise of the railway loans or the raising of railway capital for Indian Railways is always due to the rates of interest that is paid, the condition of the money market, and above all to the guarantee of the Secretary of State.

Eighthly, to deal with the proposal of replacing English lessee companies by Indian lessee companies.—In regard to the railway companies of Indian domicile, this was originally

proposed by the Railway Board and then by the Minority Group of the Acworth Committee, but it is to be observed that it is neither intended nor suggested that these companies should take over, by cash payment to the Government, a very large share of the financial stake in the East Indian or the G. I. P. Railway (say at least half the capital in each) and thus become equal partners with the Government. It is only when company's share is sufficiently large, *i.e.*, at least half, that the suggestion regarding nomination of half the directors by the company may be accepted as reasonable but certainly not otherwise.

In connection with the proposed Indian Railway companies one can do no better than quote the following from the majority report of the Acworth Committee :

"An Indian Company would be a new creation, operating under a new contract. What would be conditions on which these new companies would be established? What would be their constitution? What would be the nature of their contracts? Our colleagues propose that a new company should be constituted to manage the East Indian Railway, the bulk of its capital being issued to the Government; that it shall at the outset have a comparatively small amount of privately subscribed capital, say five crores of rupees; and that fresh private capital shall be subscribed year by year as new money is required for the improvement and development of the undertaking, a figure which was put to us by the Agent of the Railway, as probably amounting to about five crores per annum. At this rate after five years the share of the capital held by private investors in the new company would be Twenty-one crores of rupees. The East Indian as capitalised at present has in round figures a capital of Rupees Eighty crores. At the end of five years, therefore, supposing the capital invested by the Government has not been increased, the company's investment would amount to only one-fifth of the total we fail to see why the Government should delegate any substantial

responsibility to a body representing so small a share of the total capital at stake. We know of no company in which 80% of the shareholders depute their rights to the remaining 20% when as at the outset the new company's interest is less than $\frac{1}{10}$, the proposition seems still more courageous. If the Government were to recapitalise its interest in the net revenue of this very profitable undertaking on, say, a 6% basis, the proportionate interest of the new shareholders in the company would be very much less."

If a really fair distribution of capital is taken and the E. I. Railway is valued at the present rate of construction its value would be at least double or say 160 crores and thus the respective shares of the Government and of the company would be 160 crores of the Government and 20 crores of the company or say 90 and 10 per cents respectively. Sir Thomas Catto speaking at the half-yearly General Meeting of the Bengal Coal Company on 21st December, 1922, said that if he were to choose between the so-called company management of Indian Railways and the state management he would choose the latter.

If, however, a company with at least half the interest in a railway property at its present rate of construction and value including half the cost of the land, and also if in the matter of further capital expenditure half the funds required for renewals, improvements, etc., were provided for by the company it could then be said that the interests of the railway and of the Government (therefore of the public) would be alike. Also in the case of a property like that of the East Indian Railway, it should not be necessary to give a guarantee of dividend at all and then only there would be a real incentive on the part of the managing companies to economise and to increase revenue. If all these conditions were fulfilled it could then have been claimed that the country would get the real benefit of private enterprise and incentive and initiative of company management in the matter of economy, improvements

and extended facilities but not otherwise. This is what Sir Thomas Catto also asks for. But these conditions cannot be expected to be fulfilled for a variety of reasons. In the first place, it would not be possible, at the present moment, to get within the country money to the extent of half the capital of railways like the E. I. R. or the G. I. P. Railway and with Indian companies it is really intended that money should be raised in the country, that is, it should not be imported capital and thus be 'rupee capital' only in name. Secondly, with the object in view that the Railways must contribute to the public treasury so as to be great and substantial assets to the Government in the long run (when all the debts and liabilities are cleared off) it would not be advisable on the part of the Government to part with the property in railways at the present stage, after so much money has been spent and heavy losses borne for them by the tax-payers. Therefore, it seems hardly necessary that the company element should be re-introduced for purposes of management especially when it has not been at all proved that state railway management in India is less efficient than company management.

Even if the taking over of the management of G. I. P. and E. I. Railways by the state agency would involve the addition of two extra Commissioners, an extra inspector, an extra assistant Secretary and half a dozen more assistants for the Railway Department, Government of India, over and above what the reorganization proposed by the Acworth Committee demands, as well as appointments of one or two extra officers in the store purchasing Department in London, state management would still be less expensive than the cost of maintenance of separate Boards of Directors and for each of these Railways and the payment of a share of surplus profits. Moreover, above all, under state management the disadvantage of dual control by the Railway Board and by the Company Board would disappear.

Ninthly, and above all in connection with the efficiency of management it has been declared that there is little to choose between the company-managed State lines and the State-managed State lines. In this connection, the majority group of the Acworth Committee observe as follows :

“Para. 230”.....“We have found quite as much zeal for improvement, quite as much readiness to adopt new methods, on State Railways as on the Company lines. This conclusion is identical with that reported in the Government of India's Despatch No. 18, Railway, of the 17th August, 1917, to the Secretary of State which stated their ‘unanimous view that so far as efficiency is concerned, there is really nothing to choose between a company managed line in this country and one under State management.’ It is also identical with that of the present members of the Railway Board, whose considered opinion in a written statement which they submitted to us in Delhi is that ‘Judging from the evidence of results and from our own experience in administration, there is no ground for supposing that either system of management is intrinsically superior to the other.’ And this is what might naturally have been expected, for the methods of management of the two classes are substantially the same. The only important difference is that the agents of the companies have the assistance of expert and experienced Boards in England. And this expert assistance and experience our colleagues in the gentleman who subscribed to the railway report, agree it is advisable for them to forego.” The remarks of the majority group of the Acworth Committee on the point of efficiency are quoted in full, and they are borne out by the evidence placed before it.

The minority group of the Acworth Committee in favouring the abandonment of the policy of managing railways through lessee companies domiciled in England and recom-

mending their replacement by Indian Companies remarked as follows :—

“ We need not discuss further the arguments for and against the continuance of the London Boards. The weight of evidence in India rejects the present system of management by companies domiciled in England, and for the reasons stated in section I of this chapter, and notwithstanding the valuable services rendered by the companies in the past we are in agreement that that system should be changed, according as the several contracts can be determined.”

In connection with these remarks the majority report says that if the minority report is prepared to abandon the London Boards, where the advantage of company management was that they had the services of retired experienced Railway officials from India, they fail to see the necessity for company management again.

Tenthly, the minority group in supporting Indian Company management further observed that—

“ Following on the quasi-independence of the companies, Government has deemed it advisable to endow the Agents of the State-operated lines with powers similar to those granted to the agents of the several companies with the result that the former has been free from that amount of petty control and interference from head-quarters to which they would undoubtedly have been subjected, had there been State working only in India.”

These remarks, however, do not appear to be correct. On the other hand, it is proved that the extensive powers given by the Government to the managers of the State Railways were the real reasons for greater powers being given to companies and by companies to their agents.

According to the report of late Mr. Robertson (Sir T. Robertson afterwards), even the companies themselves were only given greater powers because the Government had given the State Railway managers far greater powers than the companies had been previously given, and this was clearly stated in the report of Mr. Robertson, who used the factor of great powers given to State Railway managers as the basis of

his recommendation for more powers to be given to the companies.

Eleventhly, the minority report of the Acworth Committee supports company-management on grounds of better working results. In making comparisons between the working results of the State railways and of the company railways the minority group took the average of the averages of five railways managed by companies and compared them with the average of the average figures of three railways directly managed by State agency.

As has been already observed at the outset there is as much difference between two company lines as between a State line and a company line, and this has been very clearly and fully demonstrated.¹

For a correct appreciation of the truth in the above-mentioned statement, it is necessary to examine the following examples cited by the minority group of the Acworth Committee :—

Ton mileage for Engine (in 1000 miles).

If we take the three company worked lines E. I. R., B. N. R. and G. I. P. R. for comparison, we shall find that while the first shows the mileage per Engine at 13288 and the second shows it at 10819, the corresponding figure for the third one is only 8995. Thus the figure for the O. and R. Ry. which stands at 9537, when compared with say 10819 on the B. N. Ry. or 13288 on the E. I. R. is not at all unsatisfactory.

Average mileage run per Engine per Diem.

In this respect, while the G. I. P. Ry. (a company line) shows 59 miles per Engine, the O. and R. Ry. shows 58 and

¹ See pages 61 to 71 of a reprint of part I of my lectures on Indian Railway Economics; issued and published by the Calcutta University. The facts and figures given in these pages disprove any assertion that the difference in results is due to management by State or by companies.

the E. B. Ry. shows 57 miles, so that there is no appreciable difference between the G. I. P., O. and R., and E. B. Railways in this respect. But it is at the same time interesting to note that while the E. I. Railway, a coal despatching and company worked line, shows a mileage of 79, the B. N. Ry., another coal carrying and company worked line, shows a mileage of 69 *i. e.*, 10 miles per day less than the E. I. Railway. The comparison is interesting because both the lines are company worked and as such it cannot be regarded as a proof of low efficiency on the part of the B. N. Railway management; the difference is due to the traffic and other conditions, which differ on the two railways.

Average mileage per wagon per annum of the same two company worked lines, the E. I. Ry. and the B. N. Ry; the former shows 23007 miles while the latter shows only 13619. Compared with this big difference, the difference between the G. I. P. Ry. figure (11392), the N. W. Ry. figure (12772) and the E. B. S. Ry. figure (12659) is significantly small. (For there can be no comparison between the E. I. Railway, with its exceptional conditions, and the other lines).

Average weight of Goods Trains.

So far as freight weight is concerned the State lines are on a better footing than company worked lines, such as, the B. B. and C. I. Railway and the G. I. P. Railway. The actual figures are :—

for the E. I. Ry.	...	...	326	Tons
for the B. N. Ry.	...	...	313	„
for the G. I. P. Ry.	...	...	248	„
for the B. B. and C. I.	...	...	279	„
for the N. W. Ry. (State)	...	...	307	„
for the O. and R. Ry. (State)	...	...	296	„

These differences, it must be explained, were due not to the inherent superiority of the State or company working, but to the different traffic conditions and different circumstances of working which prevail. For instance, although the E. I. Ry. and the B. N. Ry. are both coal carrying lines, yet the E. I. Ry. passes through a more prosperous tracts and has heavy traffic in other goods which the B. N. Ry. have not got. It is this which really explains the difference between the freight weights of the two railways which are both company managed.

On the other hand, both the G. I. P. and the N. W. Railways have to work under certain disadvantages, for while the former has to pass through a number of Steep grades, the latter includes a large number of strategic and semi-strategic lines.

The O. & R. Railway, for instance, has to give up its traffic at the nearest junction, *viz.*, the Bombay traffic mainly at Cawnpore, or Barielly, the Kurachee traffic at Saharanpur, the Calcutta traffic at Maghalsarai, because of its position as a feeder to all the important railways of Northern India. The result is that for almost the entire traffic the O. & R. Railway can get but short leads. On the other hand, the E. B. Railway is hampered by break of gauges and the intervention of big rivers between its own systems, and by a large volume of light load traffic in Jute, which does not help good wagon loads and economic working. But during 1920-21 the O. and R. Railway did remarkably well and its working results were amongst the best in most respects.

This brief survey enables us to realise that there is substantial difference in traffic and working conditions amongst different railways and it is this difference and not the quality of the State or Company management which accounts for the divergent results in the working of different railways. And this has now been also admitted in Railway

Boards Administration Report for 1920-21 (*cide* Chapter IV, para. 6, page 23).

It may be argued that if the E. I. R. and the B. N. R. have a heavy traffic in coal, the N. W. Ry. passing as it does through the "granaries of India" carry a big traffic in grain. But it is necessary to remember that grain trains are formed out of wagons distributed and picked up loaded from a very large number of stations over a system extending over hundreds of miles. It is true that the coal carrying lines too have to distribute and pick up wagons from several collieries, and that this operation is most difficult, but still the latter operation is confined to a much smaller area, where the traffic is concentrated.

But in spite of all the conditions described above, it is to be noted that on the N. W. Ry. (State), the percentage of freight upon capacity hauled was nearly 50%. The corresponding figure for O. and R. Ry. was 53% whereas that for the E. I. Ry. it was 45%, for the B. B. & C. I. Ry. 43%, M. S. M. Ry. 49%. As has been previously stated, this difference too is due to local conditions and not to the inefficiency of Company management.

The averages for five Company lines taken together and three State lines taken together were as follows: and on such figures the minority group of the Aeworth Committee drew their conclusions as to efficiency of Company management over State management but this was not fair.

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
Company-worked lines	... 286	359	645
State-worked lines	... 274	389	663

Here the State lines are shown at a disadvantage so far as freight weight is concerned. But the actual state of things is,

however, very different, for if we take individual railways, quite a different result is seen :—

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
B. B. & C. I. Ry. (Company) ...	279·84 42%	386·21 58%	666·05 ...
O. & R. Ry. (State)	296·72 45%	355·92 55%	652·64 ...

Here the O. & R. Ry. (State line) is at an advantage ; it had a better freight weight.

Taking another example, we find that the figures for the E. I. Railway and the N. W. Railway compared as follows :—

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
N. W. Ry. (State)	307·89	365·18	673·37
E. I. Ry. (Company)	326·87	426·75	753·62

Thus the percentage of freight weight to total weight was 45 per cent. on the N. W. Railway and only 43 per cent. on the E. I. Railway. Therefore the State Railway results were better and not worse. All the foregoing figures have been taken from the Acworth Committee Report. The working results were in all cases due to the traffic and working conditions of each railway and not to efficiency or inefficiency of the kind of management.

To summarise, again, the main arguments put forward in favour of Company management are—

(1) that private enterprise means efficiency, because of the commercial working of railways ;

(2) that Company management, by showing good commercial results would further help to attract more money for Indian railways.

But the facts and figures given in this paper show—

(a) that there is no real private enterprise in the real sense of the term, because there is no risk, and very little financial responsibility on the part of the lessee companies :

(b) that the money for our railways is not attracted by the commercial working or the financial results of each railway, but by the guarantee of the Secretary of State which implies the security of the Government of India's resources ;

(c) that state management has in the past shewn equal working and results under equal conditions with Company lines ;

(d) that, as regards efficiency, there is no difference between the management of state lines by companies or by direct State Agency ;

(e) and, that there would be as much control and elasticity in the matter of rates over State-worked State Railways as over company-worked State Railways ;

(f) further that the emoluments and the staff are not more on State Railways than on company-worked State Railways.

By these remarks it is never for a moment implied that the railway companies have not done their duty in the past. On the contrary, they have played a very important part in the history of India and of the Indian Railways, but even the minority report of the Acworth Committee does not support company management, as it stands, as suitable. At least it does not make an attempt to defend it. Further the alternative of Indian Company management suggested by the minority is not accepted by the majority report for reasons fully given by them, which has already been reproduced and discussed in this paper. It is very truly suggested by the majority report that there is no other instance than of Indian Railways where $\frac{1}{2}$ partner of a concern hands over its property to the $\frac{1}{2}$ partner for management.

The sole object of our railways and of their management should be to serve the interests of the country. It has not been proved that the State-worked State Railways of India do not serve such interests in the same way as the Company-worked State lines do, and there is no reason why nationalised railways should not be

managed by the state, that is, by the owners. In every other part of the world the owners manage the railways; where the Companies own the lines they manage them and where the state owns the railways they are managed by the state. It is, therefore, only right that the same policy should be adopted in India, *i.e.*, the state should manage the railways it owns. That ought to come in the natural course of events. Also it should not be omitted to be mentioned that state railways can be worked in three ways:—

(1) either to obtain revenue for the public treasury from the profits,

(2) or to make expenses and to create public works out of railway revenue,

(3) or to render maximum of public service, through railways, irrespective of profits.

For the present, and until the finances of the Government are not sound, the Indian Railways should be worked to earn revenue from profits; this does not, however, preclude the railways from rendering service, but this service cannot yet be rendered except at a profit to the railways.

To revert once more to the question of railway rates in view of certain statements made that the Indian public would demand non-paying rates wholesale: This is wrong—such a thing cannot be accepted—what had really been complained of in the past was unduly low rates for port traffic at one time—and further in connection with the rates making policy of the railways in the past (*viz.*, of say 1899-1905), taking whole of India together, was detrimental to the interests of the Government, in some cases, owing to the individual interests of each railway being considered paramount.

Take, for instance, the case of competition that was started in 1905 to have a trial of strength between railways, at the sacrifice of Government revenue, with no eventual results in increasing railway earnings. There were similar severe and

wasteful competitions in 1901-02 in Northern India, and in 1898-1900 in Southern India. If, say in 1905, the rates had been reduced to increase total traffic or to increase the revenue generally it would have been a different matter. But no, the object was to divert traffic from one railway by another and to divert it from one port to another. For instance, the wheat rates for Calcutta were brought down to the minimum on the length Cawnpur to Delhi on the E. I. Ry. and also reduced for many stations lower down, and similar reductions were also given effect to on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway and rates for Bombay and Kurachee also came down. These reductions did not increase the total traffic; the whole object was to divert the existing traffic from the Bombay lines and the Bombay port to the Calcutta port. That the reduced railway rates for wheat to the ports did not and could not have affected the price, at the consuming market, of Indian wheat and thereby increased its consumption was clear from the following remarks in the report of the Enquiry of Rise of Prices in India.

“ * * * The Indian wheat is ordinarily inferior to the wheat grown in Russia, the United States, Argentine and the other great wheat exporting countries of the world. It does not actually compete with the wheat of these countries but is required from India only to supplement deficiencies. * Apart, therefore from internal conditions affecting the supply, the exports are subject to violent fluctuations arising out of variations in the supply in other countries. In one year, the demand will be very large, and, even if the Indian harvest is abundant, prices will rise; in the following year, the foreign demand may be largely reduced owing to abundant supplies from Russia, the United States, and other exporting countries, and, even if the harvest in India be deficient, prices might fall.”

Thus the reductions were quite unnecessary from the point of view of reducing the price of Indian wheat in the consuming

market for purposes of increasing supplies of Indian wheat and the reductions meant throwing away revenue.

Similarly, the rates for sugar from the ports to the interior were reduced while such traffic could easily have borne high rates (*vide* pages 229 and 230 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates). There was ample profit to the seller without a reduction.

Moreover, the railway rates for raw hides for export practically amounted to subsidy paid by the Indian Government to foreign manufacturers, and the Imperial railway revenue was sacrificed simply to divert traffic from one port to another, and to subsidise the Hansa Line Steamer Company running from Calcutta against the Ellerman Line Steamers running from Karachee (*vide* pages 452 to 455 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates), I state these facts with first hand knowledge and, at the same time, I do not disclaim or lessen my share of the responsibility in these matters because I had a great deal to do in these matters. I freely admit that no one was more jealous of securing the best interests of and most traffic to the railway company (I worked with) than I was, but that was part of my business as servant of the particular company, irrespective of the results to the total revenues of Indian Railways and to other companies.

If the railway companies were playing such an expensive game with shareholders' money, *i.e.*, with the money of the private individuals, who provided the funds for railways, it would not have mattered so much, but they were entering into wasteful competition with Government revenue. In such cases, a change in the policy can certainly and rightly be demanded. Further, the low import rates for sugar and raw hides were directly and admittedly opposed to the interests of the Indian sugar and leather tanning industries.

Before I conclude my remarks on the report of the Acworth Railway Committee, I beg leave to say a few words

on the question of financing of future railway construction in India.

In connection with the branch lines, the Acworth Railway Committee have very rightly observed that if development of branch railways in India is to take place through a very large number of small companies it must mean confusion, and when extensions are required in broader interests the existing smaller interests would be a great hindrance to the former. But in spite of all these difficulties both the Acworth Railway Committee and the Indian Railway Finance Committee, that was formed to consider the recommendations of the Acworth Committee on its financial aspect, gave their opinion that preferably the State should construct such lines but that if for want of funds this could not be done companies of Indian domicile should undertake such railways, and the latter alternative suggestion is already being acted upon by the Government.

In regard to branch lines, they should be confined to such ones as are purely local in their nature, and would not come in the way of real extensions to trunk lines. A broad line can always be drawn between short branches and feeders on the one side and real extensions of main lines on the other. If at all companies are to be introduced in making branches, care is necessary to be taken to see that they are real feeders and local lines and, if possible, they should be given to main lines for working, for that would be less expensive than separate management requiring separate administrative and executive staff for such branches. Then there is another feature, *viz.*, in majority of the cases such branches are managed by managing agents, instead of by Boards, through a Chairman and a Managing Director. The system of managing agents is peculiar to India. And in all cases the interests of the Railway Company and those of the managing agents may not be the same. In the first place, the managing agents get commission on the purchase of stores and materials, which, in some cases, did not

include the fees for inspection, etc., carried out by the Consulting Engineers, who had to be paid separately; a commission on total value is not an inducement to reduce prices. Secondly, such managing agents may be, and are actually, also owners of or managing agents for collieries or agents of companies manufacturing railway materials. In such cases, the tendency may be for the managing agents to give preference to fuel and materials of the concerns, in which they are interested, instead of a purely competitive basis in the best interests of the Railway. This temptation should be entirely avoided. Further, the branch lines, in fact any railway lines to be made, would require a minimum guarantee of 6 p.c. dividend for a certain number of years and 5 per cent. afterwards and in some cases this may require to be made good by the Government for sometime to come. While, however, there may be some excuse for small feeder or branch lines or light railways to be made by companies, there is no such excuse in regard to real extensions to trunk lines.

The working of railways that have already been acquired should be taken over by the state but in regard to railways, that have not yet been acquired, and in respect of which the Government do not give guarantee of interest, such as the Bengal and North Western Railway, it may not be advisable to take them over yet (*i.e.*, to acquire them under present conditions of finance). But it is most essential that the future policy of the Government in regard to new railways should be so regulated as to be most advantageous and favourable to the Government and to the country in the long run, and the past experience ought to be a very good guide in this respect.

In the near future, besides several branch lines, there are some trunk line extensions to be made, such as a railway from the coal fields in Bengal or Behar to say Katni or Jubbulpur (*e.g.*, Dultangunge to Katni or Jubbulpur, or from Bermo to Anuppur, or from Purulia to Katni or from Gomoh to Katni)

tapping also the Central India and the Central Provinces hitherto unexplored coal fields. Such railways ought, under all circumstances, be made by the Government and not by companies of either Indian or British domicile, or even by companies that may be called purely Indian.

The main argument in favour of such big and important extensions being given to companies may be that such a procedure would relieve the Government of India Budget in the beginning.

As the late Mr. Gokhale very rightly observed, on more than one occasion, in his Budget speeches "Railways and irrigation are productive works and ought to be made out of borrowings."

We already know that a share of the National Debt of India was and is raised in England for construction of railways and irrigation works, but as far as possible the National Debt should be raised in India because India must discharge her obligations by the export of food grains, raw materials and manufactures which must mean that there would be less net gain to the country out of her exports so long as her payments on account of obligations outside India are heavy. If there were no obligations to be discharged the full value of our exports would come to India minus only the value of imports. Therefore, as far as possible money should be raised in the country, so that India's exports would bring bigger net gains and her National Debt would benefit the sons of the country in the way of interest paid on such debts. From the Railway Board's Administration Report for 1920-21 it would appear that payment on account of interest on debt incurred by the Government on account of railways and on capital contributed by companies on State railways, was, during past few years, from 13.88 crores of rupees to 16.36 crores of rupees each year, but it is not shewn how much out of this money was paid in England and how much in India.

In any case, the National Debt should be incurred in the country as far as practicable. In the latter case the loans might be for longer periods, and then gradually paid off out of the earnings of new railways, for which loans are incurred.

Now, let us examine and see whether for trunk line extensions or even for branch lines of importance, direct loans by the Government to finance such railways or the raising of money through companies of Indian domicile is advantageous in the long run.

The recommendation that in future companies of Indian domicile should be introduced for making and managing big railways recognises, at least in theory, that money should be found for such companies in the country, although in practice it may be that a part of this money would be imported from England and invested in India as 'rupee capital.'

Now, in the case of companies, whether of Indian or of English domicile, the money will certainly, in the first instance, be found by companies, that is, not by the Government, but India having, from the very origin of railways in the country, guaranteed minimum dividends on capital it will have to do so in the future for this is now the "dustoor," i.e., the recognised practice. That money raised on guarantee of dividend is the most expensive system of railway financing has been recognised by economists throughout the world, but unfortunately for India, the Government have not been able to do away with it. And the rate of interest to be guaranteed in future will not be less than 6 per cent. or 5 per cent. at the lowest. The extensions to trunk lines, say for instance, from Gomoh to Katni, if allowed to be made by a company, may be required by such company to be run by itself, whereas if made by the Government it can easily be included in either the East Indian or the Bengal Nagpur Railway systems, and thus save the expense of separate administration. This will be in the right order of things because besides developing a new area such a railway will throw open a new and additional route for

traffic from the existing coal fields in Bengal and Behar to the Central and Western India, but if such a line belongs to a company some portion of the traffic, on which revenue is now earned by the Government-owned railways, will be transferred to the Company and this will be a distinct loss. The Government will have to do this from the very first for making the new railway a paying one. If an Indian company can raise funds in India on Government guarantee there is no reason why such funds cannot be raised direct by the Government and thus save

(1) probably the payment of guaranteed interest for the first few years,

(2) the loss of Government revenue from diversion of traffic from existing Government lines,

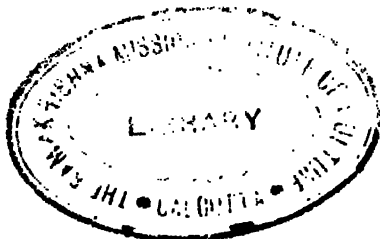
(3) the payment of premium on the purchase of the railway; and

(4) the payment of interest on annuity covering the inflated capital if purchase money is eventually paid in annuities. The Government will also run the risk of repeating the result of the past, when it was seen that under 5 p.c. guarantee there was no great incentive on the part of the railways to economise in the railway expenditure on construction or in working or to increase its revenue.

In any case, the Government will have to find funds eventually to acquire the railways in the long run, because no railway will be made without government financial assistance in the first instance in the way of gift of free land and guarantee of 6 per cent. minimum dividend and, therefore, having incurred these financial responsibilities it is natural that the Government should acquire the railway eventually. Thus, when the property is acquired loans will have to be incurred by the Government in any case, with this difference that the payment made eventually will have to be made on an inflated value in the way of premium and, further, even if annuity payment is made in redemption of purchase money interest

on annuity, covering the inflated capital, will have to be paid also,—Thus the total cost to, and the total financial responsibility of, the Government will be comparatively greater eventually when taken side by side with the money that will be required to be raised by the Government by direct loans. There is another point and it is this. It may be argued that with Government loans at 6% for new railways in India the money available in India for other industries and loans for improvements in and additional facilities to existing lines would be reduced. But this argument would apply with equal force to the raising of funds in India for new railways on Government guarantee. Then again natural consequences of a shorter and an alternative route must be recognised. There is the instance of the Southern Punjab Railway Company's case before us (*vide* first portion of the award of Mr. Cripps, K.C., referred to on pages 122 and 123 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates) but if a railway, such as discussed here (say from Gomoh to Katni), is made by the Government and worked by the Government (say by the E. I. R.) it will add to the length of one of these railways, though not in a manner so as to render it too big for good management, and, at the same time, the extension could be freely and unreservedly used, without any fear of loss of Government revenue, for any traffic as circumstances might require and to the relief of the existing lines.

S. C. GHOSE



"A MIND WELL SKILL'D TO FIND OR FORGE A FAULT"

"Many affecting wit beyond their power,
Have got to be a dear fool for an hour."

George Herbert: *The Temple*.

We crave the indulgence of our readers for taking upon ourselves the not altogether enviable task of dealing with "a dear fool for an hour," whose pranks in the columns of a recent issue of an English monthly were such as neither gods nor mortals would easily find it in their hearts to approve of, unless they were prepared to discard all decency and decorum, or throw to the winds all that made for gentility and good manners. The poet's lines we have quoted rose unbidden to our lips as we chanced to light upon the infinite deal of unmitigated rubbish which disfigured the pages of the monthly in question, we mean, *The Nineteenth Century And After*, which we always knew to be a respectable Magazine. What altogether passes our comprehension is how such a Magazine could, with any regard to its established reputation, have opened its columns to so much of absolutely vulgar trash as "The Humour of the Babu," from the venomous pen of Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, C.I.E., whose career in this country was hardly such as to gain him credit for much sympathy with the people of this country. Apparently, the gallant soldier is somewhat too apt,—like so many Anglo-Indians (*Old Style*) witlings, especially when they have Babus to deal with, to mistake filth for fun, and to measure the neatness of a joke by its nastiness. It is the common characteristic of such people to think that because some wit is dirty, all dirt must be wit, "the dirtier, the droller." It need scarcely be insisted that all attempts on the part of "brazen, brainless" people to be witty, notwithstanding that the Fates have denied them

the gift of wit, furnish excellent examples of "vigorous vulgarity," no less than of "stolid impudence." Indeed, every such attempt on their part is, as a rule, attended with as much success "as might be expected from that of a malignant monkey when attempting to reproduce in his grimaces the expression of human indignation and contempt," as a distinguished writer so facetiously puts it. At times, one can easily find it in one's heart to put up with a fair quantity of bare-faced buffoonery, provided it does not degenerate into downright vulgarity.

Meredith, in his excellent little book on *The Idea of Comedy*, not only hits the right nail on the head but drives it home when he lays down the beautifully-worded dictum: "We know the degree of refinement in men by the matter they will laugh at, and the ring of the laugh." Judged by this standard, the Lieut.-Colonel's laughter has very little to recommend it. It is an unmistakable symptom of a singularly vacuous mind. It is "specimens of what may be called *Babuisms*" that excite the risibility of the gallant son of Mars, and make him burst into a loud guffaw, such as is heard within the four walls of a barrack room, when the wine-cup freely circles round, and unrestrained mirth has its fullest scope. The pity of it, however, is that the "specimens," evidently culled with so much care, merely represent the "dismal drivel of a drearily dull brain," and having never been, will never be actually met with, in any the worst possible piece of English composition ever consciously or unconsciously perpetrated by even the most muddle-headed Babu delighting in "a nice derangement of epitaphs." Thus it may safely be concluded that there is "a nice derangement" (in its literal sense)—in the over-wrought mental machine of the most "unappeasable" decrier imaginable, to wit, the great inventor of the so-called "specimens." The "specimens" in question, intended to furnish forth a fit of mirth to the unwary readers of *The Nineteenth Century And After*, prove beyond the shadow of a

shade of doubt that the Lieut.-Colonel's Comic Muse, to use Swinburne's highly felicitous words, is "the most shiftless and shameless of sluts." *Shiftless* she certainly proves herself to be, when she goes out of her way to draw upon her distorted imagination to coin such extravagantly absurd phrases and expressions, *e.g.*, "Most Becile Sir," "well-petted and well-breaded," "a female woman of the opposite sex," etc. The Babu may be a habitual sinner against *The King's English*, but no Babu that ever drew breath in God's world could, for the life of him, even imagine that "Becile" meant sane, because "imbecile" meant its opposite; nor could he rise to the conception of a man's being "well-breaded," instead of his being "well-bred." The Colonel Sahab's Babu, who is credited with the perpetration of such outlandish phraseology, had no more a veritable existence than the man in the moon, or the Cock-lane Ghost, despite the Lieut.-Colonel's solemn assurance to the contrary. *Shameless*, too, is she (we mean, the great soldier's Comic Muse), for she makes nothing of offending outrageously against good manners by inventing such monstrosities as "he had at present no son because his wife was *impreguable*," "he will enquire how 'on this exiguous salary' he can 'make the two ends of his grandmother meet,'" etc. Could bad taste go further, we wonder? We owe an apology to the readers of *The Calcutta Review* for defiling its pages with citations which would call up a blush in the cheeks of even a hardened *roué*. No matter what the "humour" of the Babu may be, the way in which it has been handled leaves scarcely any doubt in the mind of a sensible man that the Colonel Sahab has very much overshot the mark, and in his desperate effort to make an uncouth parade of his soldierly wit has clearly proved that it has "neithersalt, nor soul," and is as light-hearted, as it is light-headed. At best, it is of the "drum-and-fife" variety, its lack of point being sought to be compensated by its flippancy. for which its author, we are constrained to say, deserves to be pitied. We are really sorry

to write in a strain of which we are not a little ashamed. Our only apology is that we emulate the example of the Colonel Sahib, though we know fully well that we cannot be at all a match for him in the scurrilous line.

The "too incrustated scholarly style" in which the Colonel Sahib's imaginary Babu is made to clothe his thoughts and sentiments makes it perfectly plain that his malignant detractor must have been reduced to desperate straits in palming off upon his unsuspecting readers things that are transparently monstrous to a degree. Humour of any sort or kind the Colonel Sahib, we are afraid, has not a jot or tittle of; what he thinks to be his humour, and on which he evidently plumes himself, is in the manner of 'below stairs,' fit only to suit the *depraved* taste of those who habitually revel in "rough and ribald jocosity," which, while it may set the table in a roar within the tents in a battle field, is certain to be discarded in any ordinarily decent company, being so "preposterous by its perversity." As for the "ring" of his laugh, the less said, the better. The silly artifices employed to raise a laugh at the expense of the unfortunate Babu are "staringly naked," and their effect can be no more abiding than "the effect of a painted face viewed, after warm hours of dancing, in the morning light."

Since time immemorial there has widely prevailed in our part of the country a highly interesting tradition that the gods in heaven smile twice, once, when it reaches their ears that strenuous efforts are being made by well-meaning friends to save a man who is decidedly down on his luck from the sorry predicament in which he unfortunately finds himself; and, again, when it comes to their knowledge that persistent endeavours are being made by malicious neighbours to bring about the downfall of a man who is unquestionably in luck's way, and who, by reason of his growing prosperity, becomes a veritable eye-sore to such neighbours. We are also told that the tradition goes further and says that their Celestial

Eminences not only ripple with gentle smile, but bubble over with hearty laughter as well, when they are told that a man most non-musically made hums to himself a favourite tune, or what is worse still, when another, on whose cradle the planet that presides over wit never shone, tries hard to advance his silly pretensions to wit and thereby makes himself supremely ridiculous. Either of them may well be said to be equally "a prospective candidate for Bedlam." Of every such nincompoop we may say in the words of the poet slightly modified :—

He talks a mighty deal, but what is said
Owes all its weight, like loaded dice, to lead ;
His wit invites you by its froth to come,
But when you knock, it never is at home.

The above lines are exactly to our purpose in our consideration of the claims to wit so outrageously advanced by our martial hero, Lieut.-Colonel Irvine, C.I.E., who, in his retirement, has sought to achieve another kind of notoriety in a new *role* by falling foul of the hated Babu in the columns of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, greatly to the edification of himself and *Babuphobists* among retired Anglo-Indian scribes, who are never so happy as when they have an opportunity of venting their spleen against the people of the country which not only gave them their bread, but made them the "big 'uns" they are. *Apropos* of this glorious brotherhood, we recall a story of one of them who is said to have remarked, with a degree of self-complacency which is their peculiar portion, to a distinguished Indian gentleman in the sixties of the last century, that the word *gratitude* had no equivalent in Sanskrit, or, for that matter, none in any of the Indian Vernaculars derived from it. The Indian gentleman, we are told, said in reply that while his knowledge of Sanskrit did not entitle him to be positive on the point, as his European friend could afford to be, all

that he could be certain about was that neither the word *humbug*, nor the word *humbuggism*, had a place in any of the Sanskritic group of Indian languages, and that he was thankful to Heaven he could assert as much without any fear of contradiction. We, too, are not Sanskritists enough to express ourselves one way or the other. But, may we ask, is it not "humbuggism," pure and simple, to make an uncouth parade of a quality so little of which ever shows itself in your actions? All that need be said in this connection is, that if it be gratitude to pursue with remorseless zeal a people whose salt you have eaten in pretty large quantities, for a pretty long series of years, there seems to be no particular reason to envy you, and more especially your language, be it never so admirably furnished with a rich profusion of synonyms for "gratitude." With gratitude on your lips and ingratitude in your heart, you prove yourself to be a humbug of the first water, fit to be dealt with according to your deserts. Indeed, there is nothing in the world that can cover "with any size of words" the "monstrous bulk" of your shameless ingratitude.

Let us now proceed to consider how far "The Humour of the Babu" represents a true state of things. The Colonel Sahib's pen seems to be dipped in vitriol, and his lucubrations on "Babu English" might well have done real harm, were it not that, while writing on the subject, he had been indebted to his imagination for his facts, to his memory for his witticism; and to his malice preposse for his inspiration. We need scarcely remind our readers that the so-called "Babu English" on which many a snobbish witling used to whet his dull wit in the Anglo-India of half a century back, is now admittedly a thing of the past, and is as rare to-day, or rather quite as extinct, as the Dodo in Madagascar. At least, the variety that the Colonel Sahib flings in our face, has long been "solemnly inurned," and only a ghost-fancier would loiter aimlessly about the cemetery where it has been enjoying

its solemn repose for a pretty long while, in the hope that he might come upon its ghost, and announce to a curious world his triumphant discovery. This defunct species is occasionally sought to be galvanized into a sort of Frankenstein existence by the besotted and bewildered brain of obscure and contemptible wonder-mongers, who, when they have nothing better to amuse themselves or owners of brain of a like calibre with, have recourse to the most disingenuous devices to display their power of weird invention. But they may rest assured that however cleverly they may invent such stuff, they are certain to be soon detected and held up to universal scorn, if, indeed, they are not lost to all sense of shame.

While we cannot but admire the rare ingenuity of the gallant soldier for his clever attempt at fathering upon the luckless Babu a whole string of the absurdest phrases imaginable, minted in the darkest chambers of his preposterously quixotic mind, we, by no means, feel assured that these extravagant coinages of his will pass muster as genuine *Babunisms* among those who have even the slightest acquaintance with the real state of things relating to the English scholarship of Indian gentlemen who have received a fair share of English education. Cultured Englishmen, undeniably superior to the Colonel Sahib, and without any bias against the Babu, have been unstinted in their praise of English as it is spoken and written by average Indians, not to speak of those among them who have won the unqualified admiration of such Englishmen by reason of the extraordinary command over the English language they display, although their number, as may naturally be expected, is rather limited. That being so, Indians have absolutely no reason to be at all disconcerted by what the Colonel Sahib may say, or dozens of Englishmen of that ilk. Indians know very well that they carry in their bosom a powerful antidote against "the drivelling venom of a dotard's denunciation," or "the virulent slaver of his horrid insolence." It is true the Babu is occasionally liable to be betrayed into

pitiable lapses in his honest attempt to tackle English idiom, but, all the same, it may be confidently asserted that he does not, as a rule, sin against it to that extent to which the Saheb, more often than not, is liable to sin against Hindustani idiom, despite the fact that he may have spent the best years of his life among the Indian people. Who is there amongst us that does not know how supremely awkward, at times, is the average Saheb's best effort to speak or write Hindustani with any pretensions to idiomatic elegance? We are all familiar with the story of a certain Saheb who was told by his family physician to procure a she-ass for his ailing child, so that the little thing might have fresh ass' milk whenever it had to be given its diet. The Saheb was verily at his wits' end in his endeavour to make himself understood by his *Chaprasi*; and to make his meaning as clear as he possibly could, he gave the following instruction which fairly took away the breath of his poor servant:—*"Dekho, Chaprasi, hamra mafik guddha mat lao; mem saheb ka mafik guddha lao."* Being done into English, the above would read something like this:—"Look here, *Chaprasi*, you will have to bring an ass; but see that you don't bring one like myself, but bring one like *Mem Saheb*." It need scarcely be said that what the Saheb evidently wanted the *Chaprasi* to do was that he should bring a she-ass for his child. There is an equally amusing story of another Saheb whose Hindustani was absolutely on a par with that of the other Saheb, and, no wonder, it was perfect Greek to the *Chaprasi* of his friend, to whose house he had been as an invited guest. Notwithstanding that the Saheb taxed all the resources of his Hindustani to make himself understood to the effect that he felt a great urging to make water, he made confusion worse confounded when he delivered himself thus:—"Dekho, Chaprasi, ham pani banane mangta, dekhla deo ham kanha pani banaenge." In other words, "Look here, *Chaprasi*, I want to make water; will you show me the place where I can do so." Needless to say, that the poor *Chaprasi* was quite dumbfounded and gazed at the

guest of his master with sheepish looks, not being able to make either head or tail of *pani banana*. As the Saheb was literally bursting, his patience was naturally taxed to the utmost. In angry tones the Saheb repeated his enquiry, very much to the confusion, nay, to the utter consternation of the *Chaprasi*, who still stood motionless with his eyes transfixed to the ground, for he found himself in a pretty fix. Unable to elicit any reply in spite of his repeated enquiries, the Saheb began to foam at the mouth and swore hard at the poor man, in blissful ignorance of the fact that his *pani banana* was a hard nut to crack, the hardest, perhaps, the *Chaprasi* had ever before been called upon to try his strength upon. The *Chaprasi*, however, had sense enough to gather from the Saheb's tone and gesticulation that a storm was brewing, and that silence on his part might no longer be golden; and so he had no other course left to him but to open his lips for fear of having a few of his remaining teeth knocked out there and then, pretty old as he was. With piteous looks and folded hands he assured the Saheb that he was a veritable God, and if he were so minded, he could *make* water, fire, air, earth, indeed, everything he set his heart upon *making*. Needless to say, the *Chaprasi* understood *pani banana* in the sense of *manufacturing* water. The Saheb, now, bursting in more senses than one, gave the poor fellow a tremendous blow which sent him literally spinning to the ground, fortunately at a safe distance from where the irate Saheb stood, wondering at the singular hardness of his unfortunate victim's thick skull. So much for the faultless Hindustani of the average Saheb, which often proves a veritable Chinese puzzle to his servant.

A word or two, it may be hoped, will not be out of place regarding the English of the average Britisher who sanctifies the soil of our ancient land with the hallowed dust of his feet. When we have reviewed in some detail the English scholarship displayed in published books written presumably by literate Englishmen holding high positions in this country, and more

specially, by those who regard themselves as the main pillars of the august fabric of High Education in this country, we shall find that the unspeakable Babu is not the only sinner against *The King's English*, notwithstanding that it is the prevailing fashion to lay the crime of culpable verbicide amounting to murdering that kind of English uniformly at his door. We are not altogether without the hope that the Colonel Saheb and men of his camp will yet realise that there are Babus who, pen in hand, are quite competent to hold their own against any odds that they may find ranged against them in the ranks of Anglo-Indian worthies, who are believed to be veteran penmen, including our Colonel Saheb himself. Hamlet-wise, we must speak by the card, or equivocation may undo us; or, which is as much to say, we must quote chapter and verse to make good our contention that the countrymen of our Colonel Saheb not only do not always write the most unexceptionable kind of English, but often times betray that their equipment of English is of the lightest sort, as will appear from the lamentable lapses into which they are occasionally led, not excepting even those who may safely be taken to be decent English scholars, we mean, the shining lights in the ranks of the Indian Educational Service. We do not pretend to a tithe of the inventive genius of our Colonel Saheb, who gives the freest reins to his imagination to regale his readers with specimens of *Babuism*, the like of which, as we have already observed, never were, nor ever shall be. Conscious as we are of the aridity of our mind, we must content ourselves with placing before our readers specimens of what we may call *Britishism*, for which we need not draw upon our invention, these delicate morsels of choice English being scattered broadcast over the pages of the annotated editions of English Classics given to the world by the most enterprising of publishing houses in the British Isles, Messrs. * * * and Co., and written for them by I. E. S. men, who are supposed to represent the finest products of British Universities.

From the citations we are about to make from the publications of Messrs. M * * Co., in the department of English Literature, our readers will fairly be in a position to judge of the picked I. E. S. men's command of the English language. We confine ourselves to a consideration of their English, because they belong to a band of scholars who are the trusted guardians of High Education in our country, and, as such, are presumably the natural custodians of immaculate English. The Babu's English may be an unfailing source of inexhaustible merriment to our Colonel Saheb, but would he care to tell us what he has got to say regarding the Saheb's English, so far as it may be gathered from Messrs. M * * & Co.'s publications? Facts are stubborn things, and even with his bloated insolence the hero of a hundred fights would find it difficult altogether to gainsay them. The specimens of slipshod English we string together at random will bring it home to any impartial observer that ruthless depredations in the inviolable domain of *The King's English* are not all the doing of the accursed Babu, but are a pretty game in which the biggest of Sahibs occasionally take a hand. Dip into the pages of any of the numerous English Classics edited by our I. E. S. men, and you are sure to come upon rich and rare gems of elegant English by the score, if not by the hundred, before which the Babu's English would pale into insignificance. Only the other day, in the manifesto put forth by Mr. Abbott of the Anglo-Indian (New Style) Defence Association and published in *The Englishman*, we came across the following, regarding Col. Gidney's offer to fight the Turks, should it come to war with them:—"It (Col. Gidney's ill-timed offer) will alienate us from the sympathy of Indians." Could anything be more preposterous? Col. Gidney's rash proposal might alienate from Mr. Abbott's people the sympathy of Indians; but how could that proposal, with any regard to the claims of ordinary English, alienate Mr. Abbott's people from the sympathy of Indians? In the leading article in that day's

issue of the H * * * Street journal, we were not a little amused to read the following sentence:—"But Russia should have no *part and parcel* in such a thing." Russia may have no *part* in a particular transaction; but what are we to understand by her having no *part and parcel* in that transaction? Another sentence from the same *Journal*, occurring in its Editorial, is:—"The Japanese, who are a shrewd race, have *shown* (? given) the cold shoulder to Indian propagandists." We "*give*" and not "*show* the cold shoulder to a man," if we mistake not. "This class of *foreigner*" should be "this class of *foreigners*" in the following sentence:—"this *class of foreigner* is generally very simple." But neither Mr. Abbott, nor the Editor of "the paper with the most influential circulation in India" is an I. E. S. man, and the lapses of either may well be condoned. But what are we to say of the following specimens? We open at page 119 of Wallace's edition of *The Princess*, and meet with a somewhat curious phrase calculated to set one's teeth on edge:—"this profusion of wordiness (ll. 24-25)." Need we say, that the correct form should be either "profusion of words," or simply "wordiness?" "Profusion of wordiness" is just such a combination as would make one's flesh creep, were one to stumble upon it in a tolerably decent piece of English composition. What are we to say of the word "nation" being assigned a plural verb in the following sentence which occurs at page 191 of the same book:—"The reference is to the Hebrew prophetess, Deborah, who, when her nation *were* (?) groaning under the tyranny of Jabin, etc. (ll. 20-22)." At page 215 (ll. 19-20), we read:—"too transcendental a melody to be perceptible *by* (? to) the gross ears of man." At page 212 (l. 15), we meet with the following:—"She had only designed a scheme in thought, not worked it out in *action* (? practice)." We may *carry out*, or, if we like, *work out* a scheme *in practice*, but we are not sure if we can *carry it out* in *action*. At page 210 (l. 6), we find a curious use of the word "mixture":—"Not in the frigid

heights of isolation, but only in warm-hearted and sympathetic *mixture* (? mixing) with one's kind, can the fullest human life be attained." At page 181 (ll. 22-23), the writer speaks of "the gradual recovery of a stout man from a violent *attack* of laughter." Do we ordinarily speak of "an *attack*," or "a *fit* of laughter?" *Fit*, we are inclined to think, is more usual than *attack*. At page 110 (ll. 15-17), occurs:—"A ceremony that bound the parties to nothing, being dissoluble at the will of either on attainment to (: of) years of discretion." At page 117 (ll. 10-12), the following sentence seems to involve a well-nigh hopeless confusion:—"This defect Heavenly Love is represented on the Prince's seal as removing through her calm and purifying influence." To remove all confusion and make the sense clear, the sentence in question, we are inclined to think, should read, "This defect, on the Prince's seal, Heavenly Love is represented as removing, etc." At page 204 (ll. 24-25), we find:—"The Prince means that he lay *shrouded round*, as it were, *with* his weakness." Would not the sentence read better, if it were, "The Prince means that he lay *shrouded*, as it were, *in* his weakness." "*Shrouded round with* his weakness" does not seem to be particularly happy. At page 213 (l. 18) we read:—"These may seem to the careless eye to act as a support to her weakness, but in fact they sap her vitality and stunt her growth, as parasitic plants *do to* the trees round which they cling." How are we to construe "*do to* the trees round which they cling," unless *to* is replaced by *in the case of*, or some such phrase? *Do* here stands for "sap the vitality and stunt the growth"; that being so, *to* after *do*, grammatically considered, makes an awful mess of—"do ~~to~~ the trees round which they cling." A similar instance of defective grammar is noticeable in the sentence that follows:—"The ridiculous ideas she has cherished so long have eaten away all its (her heart's) vital and kindly elements, as a worm *does with* a nut, leaving nothing but dry and bitter dust." To make the sentence grammatical, its

latter portion ought to be, "as a worm eats away the kernel of a nut, etc." (p. 198).

In the learned *Introduction* to a well known Edition of the First Book of the *Faerie Queene*, at page lii (ll. 10-11), we come upon a wrong use of the Sequence of Tenses:—"Before Hurd rightly interpreted Spenser's meaning, critics *have* (? had) strangely misunderstood it." At page xxix (ll. 29-30), occurs as clumsy a sentence as one can possibly think of:—"The hill of Aharlow became the stronghold of the Desmond rebellion, until routed out and hunted down by Lord Grey." What, we wonder, "routed out and hunted down" is to be taken along with? Is it "the hill," or "the stronghold," or "the Desmond rebellion?" Certainly, it cannot be "the hill;" it must be either "the stronghold," or "the Desmond rebellion." In either case the sentence would be inelegant to a degree. We are by no means clear that a "rebellion" can, with any the least pretence to elegance, be said to be "hunted down," although, of course, *rebels* may be said to be *hunted down*. What are we to say of a *rebellion* being spoken of as being *routed*, or, what is even more preposterous, still, as being *routed out*? If we choose to construe "routed out and hunted down" along with "the stronghold," nothing could be more awkward. A band of *rebels* may be *routed out* of a stronghold, but a stronghold cannot, at all, be said to be *routed out*, much less *hunted down*. If we are not much mistaken, "deference *for* women" at page xxxiii (l. 21) should be "deference *to* women." *Reverence* is always followed by *for*, but *deference* never; at any rate, in modern English, so far as we are aware. At page 273 (l. 4), we meet with the following:—"Spenser avoids the extravagance that brings the incident *on* (? to) the verge of the comic." A business concern may be said to be "*on* the verge of ruin," but it cannot be said that it has been "*brought on* the verge of ruin;" in the latter case, it would be proper to say "*brought to* the verge of ruin." At page 277 (l. 11), we find the phrase "a *relict* (? relic) of the

astrological vocabulary of the times." *Relict* is evidently a misprint for *relic*. Such a misprint, however, is unpardonable in a book which has run through, at least, half-a-dozen editions, all printed at the University Press at Glasgow, and published by Messrs. M * * & Co. An equally unpardonable misprint is to be found in the spelling of the poet's name as "Spencer," occurring at page 249 (l. 20). Will the Indian agents of Messrs. M * * & Co., be pleased to advise the home authorities to see to it that such mis-spellings do not disfigure their publications in future. Let not the books that are sent into this country for the consumption of our students be mere "pot-boilers." In the notes to Canto. X., stanza 2, "sinews woxen weak and raw" is paraphrased as sinews "fallen out of training." Could anything be more clumsy? "Sinews disused and grown weak" would be a decent enough rendering.

In Mr. X's other performance, we mean his edition of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, we find, to our great surprise, that the word "Chorus" should have, in almost half-a-dozen instances, a singular verb given to it, to be followed immediately by a pronoun in the plural number. We give three instances: (1) "The Chorus *invokes* a blessing on Samson, and in so doing *they* utter one of those unconscious prophecies that characterise the Chorus in Greek dramas: (2) "Though the Chorus does not say so, the drift of *their* remonstrance implies it." (3) The Chorus *tries* to reason with Samson..... To *them* he replies, etc." What is still more outrageous is that the same word should have once a singular, and again, a plural verb assigned to it:—"The sober Chorus *sympathises* with the more rational hopes of Manoah, but *refrain* from noticing the fond belief that he has just expressed (page 175, ll. 25-26)."

In the late Mr. D * * * 's *Introduction* to his edition of Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part II*, we come across a few specimens of English which, we must confess, we do not know in what

category of *isms* to include, unless, we choose to place them under what, for want of a better expression, we may christen "I. E. S.—isms." These will be read with considerable interest, we feel sure, by our college-goers, who have mainly to depend upon D * * * 's editions of Shakespeare's plays to pull them through their B.A. and M.A. tests. We are prepared to offer a prize to whoever among them will take the trouble to construe grammatically the following sentence :—"We first meet with Henry in the opening scenes of *Richard II*, where his rivalry with the Duke of Norfolk *and in it* the disturbance of his country's peace, he is banished from England (page xiii)". The italicised portion, we candidly admit, is wholly beyond our humble capacity properly to construe. The removing of *and* and the placing of *involving* immediately before *in it* will make the sentence easily capable of being construed. The substitution of *the consequent* in lieu of *in it* will equally obviate the difficulty. A no less awkward sentence is the following :—"He knows what he wants, and goes straight forward to his point (pp. xiii-xiv)." To "go *straight* to one's point" is nothing unusual ; but it would be difficult to conceive of a queerer combination than to go "*straight forward* to one's point." At page xvii we find : "With Sir John are his low associates, who *on* (? in) the first scene in which the Prince comes before us, have arranged a robbery of some travellers during the night." At page xxviii, we come across the following sentence :—"He is unable to resist the charm of his witty bulfoonery, and cannot for the life of it take him altogether seriously." What may "for the life of it" mean, we wonder ? "For the life of him" is what is wanted here. Do we ordinarily speak of a "cloud" "falling in rain ?" At page 174, we find :—"The metaphor is that of a *cloud falling in rain*." A cloud is usually said to "dissolve itself in rain ;" but it may well be a question if it is quite elegant to speak of a *cloud falling in rain*. At page 169, we find a very curious expression :—

"His hand is all generosity, when his heart is softened by a tale of distress." "He is all generosity" would have been simply irreproachable; but the temptation of the antithesis between *hand* and *heart*, apparently, proved too irresistible to the writer to make him think of the more usual form of the expression. If "his hand is all generosity" is to pass muster, then why not "his mind is all attention?" Here is a sentence from the same Editor's *Introduction* to his Edition of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*:—"So pressing was the emergency that the Consul, Publius Servilius, was obliged to suspend the laws and liberate those confined *to* (: in) prison." (Page xxii). A rainy day may confine a man *to* his house, or, for that matter, an attack of the gout; but nobody ever heard of a debtor being confined *to* prison. At page xx, occurs the following sentence:—"But the time is at hand when she must *make choice* between her country and her son." The italicised phrase should be "make *a* choice." The following sentence is rather awkward:—"The people built a temple to Fortune to commemorate her patriotism, but *her monument is the memory of all time*." What is evidently implied is, that her memory, cherished through all time, is her monument. "The memory of all time" may be replaced by "her memory for all time."

A few more instances, and we have done. In the *Introduction* to Mr. E——'s Edition of Milton's *Sonnets*, published by Messrs. L * * * & Co., we meet with the following sentence:—"He cried for freedom from the lower laws of the world in order to leave no obstacle in the way of implicit obedience *in* (? to) the higher laws." (P. 4). Even' an Indian school-boy knows that obedience is always followed by "to," and in no circumstances, by "in." "In order to leave no obstacle" is not at all happy. The sentence needs to be recast:—"He cried for freedom from the lower laws of the world *in order to ensure* obedience to the higher laws that should govern it." At least "in order

to leave" ought to be something like "so that there may be no obstacle," or, "in order to remove all obstacle." At page 40 of the book we read:—"Milton being deeply *read* in classical *learning*, etc."—Is it ordinarily said that a man is "*read* in classical *learning*?" One may be said to be "*deeply read* in classical *literature*," or, "*deeply versed* in classical *learning*." At page 45, *exposition* is followed by *upon*, and not, as might be expected, by *of*, in the following sentence:—"Tetrachordon, or expositions *upon* the four chief places in Scripture which treat of marriage." At page 38 occurs the following:—"It (Milton's fitness) shall come in the fulness required by the destiny or mission which he feels to be his, *viz.*, to become a great poet." Not quite an elegant sentence this: it would much improve by being put thus:—"It shall come *in the fulness of time necessary for the fulfilment of* the destiny, etc." At page 62, we find:—"This phrase plays *with* (? upon) the double meaning of the word *light*: (i) the natural light of day: (ii) the sight of the eyes." "*By* loss of his ears" ought to be "*with* loss of ears" in the following sentence:—" (His) writings against Episcopacy and play-acting were punished *by loss of his ears*." (P. 51).

Mr. D * * * of Muir Central College, Editor of "The Indian Library of English Poets" (published by the O * * * Press), generally writes excellent English but there are one or two things in his *Introduction* to Coleridge's poems which, though by no means ungrammatical in the least, are not altogether what one might expect they should have been, in view of the fact that the writer ordinarily writes so well. Would not "sense of colour" be a better substitute for "feeling for colour" in the following sentence, which occurs at page 15 of the *Introduction*:—"This *feeling for colour* shows itself throughout the *Ancient Mariner*?" We are not quite certain if we have followed the sense of the writer in the following sentence:—"When not grossly material, their ('Monk' Lewis and Mrs. Radcliffe's) apparitions

are obviously unearthly and remote ; *they admit no doubt of their origin.*" (P. 20). So far as we can make out the writer's meaning seems to be—"Their (of the apparitions) origin admits of no doubt," in other words, their origin is palpable. *Rarity* for *rareness* is not at all common in ordinary English, as we have it in the following sentence :—"The *rarity* (? rareness) of the gift is too often forgotten." (P. 12). Thomas Hood, no doubt, speaks of "the rarity of Christian charity" in his *Bridge of Sighs*, but the word is ordinarily used in the sense of "tenuity," as when we speak of the *rarity* of the air in the upper regions. In the *General Preface*, which is common to Mr. D—'s editions of Wordsworth and Coleridge, we read :—"Much as they desire that he will in time become acquainted with those authors in their entirety." (P. 4). Do we *read authors in their entirety*, or *their works* ? *To study an author in his entirety* is anything but a happy combination. We need not multiply instances. Faultless English is hardly a commodity which is to be always found in the writings of even the scholarly Englishmen who come out to this country.

From what has been already pointed out, one may as well be pardoned for having a sympathetic corner in one's heart for the unfortunate Babu, notwithstanding that he may, every now and then, be betrayed into fatal lapses of grammar and idiom in his none too successful attempts at handling that exceptionally delicate thing that is called *The King's English*. The Babu need not hang down his head in shame for sinning against English grammar and idiom, when he has so many delinquents in the ranks of English scholars, whose mother-tongue is English, to keep him in countenance. Will the redoubtable Colonel Saheb be pleased to remember this simple truth, for it will be an eye-opener to him and take off, in an appreciable measure, the keen edge of his hatred of the Babu, because of his inability to handle adequately the Colonel Saheb's mother-tongue ?

Physician, heal thyself ! “The Humour of the Babu” is not alone what makes the life of the Saheb bearable in this “Land of Regrets.” “Sahabce” English may, in no uncertain measure, occasionally contribute towards the same end. So the Babu is not *the only unconscious humourist of the East*, as the Colonel Saheb has been at such considerable pains to demonstrate to his countrymen.

BABU

ALONG THE MARGE OF YOUTH'S BRIGHT SEA

Along the marge of youth's bright sea,
My fairy pinnace rare I ply ;
Across that sea I'll carry ye,
On wings of love my bark would fly.

Fair blows the wind, the hour is ripe,
Full-rigg'd the bark its course to run :
On board the Loves their ditties pipe,
The Graces fair their tresses sun.

Before, behind, above, below,
Are heard rare strains of dulcet sound :
No heart but thrills with passion's glow,
For Port of Bliss they all are bound.

O'er swelling tide, the barge doth ride,
Full-mann'd with Pleasure's laughing crew :
They shout in glee, their souls are free,
No care they have that storms may brew.

They near, at length, the Bower of Bliss,
On farthest shore of brimming joy :
Where rain for aye sweet showers of kiss,
And there is nought of soul's annoy.

JYOTISHCHANDRA BANNERJEA

THE GENESIS OF THE *TIMES* ARTICLE ON A BANKRUPT UNIVERSITY

Of late, there has been a good deal of conjecture as to where the *Times Educational Supplement* article on "A Bankrupt University" was manufactured, whether "beyond the seas" or "much nearer home." *Re* this topic much ink has been spilt and much paper wasted. It may be as well to attempt to ascertain the genesis of the article in question. *The Leading Monthly of India*, in the December number, thus delivers itself on the subject:—"It has been insinuated that *The Times* is hostile to the Calcutta University and its Vice-Chancellor, and that the article in question is an inspired article, and that therefore what it has written deserves no attention." The Editor has been at considerable pains to enlighten those interested in the subject as regards the mode of operation usually followed by the authorities responsible for the *Times Educational Supplement*. There is a quotation from "The Literary Year Book," according to which, only those articles find a place in the Literary Supplement which "are arranged mostly with experts by the Editor." We are further told that "articles relating to India are most probably written by experts of some standing, whether they reside in India or in England." So much for the pronouncement of the *Modern Review*. We may not altogether unprofitably theorise a bit, if only to arrive at fairly reasonable conclusion regarding the article which has been the subject-matter of so much discussion.

It is well known to our readers that in order to determine the approximate date of any of Shakespeare's plays, we have to depend upon both *external* and *internal* evidence, of which the latter, it need not be said, is much more valuable than the former. Let us endeavour to apply the test of "internal evidence" in determining the probable authorship of the

article on "A Bankrupt University." Before we proceed to do so, we cannot help asking ourselves as to why *The Leading Monthly of India* should be so particularly anxious to assure its readers that the article in the *Educational Supplement* of the *Times* is not an "inspired" one, nor "a stray contribution by some occasional contributor" either. In its concern to prove its contention, it "protests too much," we are afraid. Be that as it may, let us see what an examination of the *internal* evidence may reveal. The precious contribution could never have been from the pen of an English "expert" on the staff of the *Educational Supplement*; and we have the best of reasons for our conjecture. No English "expert" could possibly have written the kind of English in which that precious contribution is written. And not only that; none of the articles in the *Educational Supplement* may be supposed to have been written by an English "expert." A few instances, we presume to think, will suffice for our purpose. We begin with the article which appeared on April 22, 1922, a portion of which is quoted in the December number of the *Modern Review*. We find a few curious specimens of English in the article:—(1) "Lord Ronaldshay spoke with the greater authority on this subject because he has occupied the dual capacity of Chancellor of the University and Governor of the Province" (*Modern Review*, p. 790): (2) "Their complaint is that under his dominating influence the Senate has allowed an *imperium in imperio* to be built up, and to be an excessive drain upon the University resources, etc." (P. 790). The English of neither of the two sentences are at all of the *Times* type: they are both "Sircar-ese," if we are not much mistaken. Can it be said of a person that he *occupies* a dual *capacity*? A man may *act* in a dual *capacity*, or *fill* a double *position*, but he cannot *occupy* a dual *capacity*, if ordinary English is not to be ruthlessly sacrificed. As for the second sentence, we entirely fail to construe "and to be an excessive drain upon the University resources."

What is it that is implied to be "an excessive drain upon the University resources?" Is it the *imperium in imperio* which the Senate has allowed to be built up? If so, *and to be after built up* does not admit of a decent construction. *Which is before an excessive drain*, in lieu of *and to be*, would make it easier to construe the sentence. A short paragraph is quoted in the *Modern Review* from an article which appeared on August 12, 1922. In that paragraph a most uncouth phrase occurs, as will appear from the following extract:—"The letter from the Registrar reached the Government of India after its special relations with the University had been closed by transfer to the Bengal Government." (P. 790). "*Relations with the University had been closed*" is, we feel certain, no English "expert" would have written. He would undoubtedly have written—"relations with the University had ceased." "By transfer to the Bengal Government," might as well have been "by its transfer to the Bengal Government." The article of the 14th October is not wholly free from occasional lapses. The first sentence occurring in the article is as follows:—"The unhappy financial position of the University of Calcutta investigated by the Accountant-General of Bengal, and his report discloses, etc." (P. 790). Had the "unhappy financial position of the University of Calcutta" and "the report of the Accountant-General of Bengal" been one and the same thing, the verb might have been singular; but no one will maintain that the two things are identical. And so we do not see why it should be "discloses" and not "disclose." Elsewhere we read:—"There are costly professorships and readerships which, with few, if any, students are almost sinecure." "Professorships and readerships" "with few, if any, students" does not appear to be what an English "expert" would ordinarily write. He would probably have written—"There are costly Professorships and readerships which are almost sinecures, in view of the fact that there are few, if any, students to profit by their establishment." What are we to say of sentences like this!

“ At present little heed has been taken of the advice of Lord Ronaldshay in his farewell speech ” (P. 791). What is evidently meant is, “ *up till now*, little heed, etc.” If *at present* is to stand, the sentence may as well be—“ At present, little heed is being taken, etc.” Another sentence is hardly very happy:—“ This haughty tone was at variance with the fact that the *discussion had been originated by* applications for large and supplementary grants.” (P. 791). The italicised portion would improve if it is changed into “the discussion *had originated in.*”

We venture to think, that from the instances we have cited, any fair and impartial man will have little difficulty in concluding that the “English expert” theory falls to the ground. The composition part of the different articles referred to above, makes the conclusion almost irresistible that they had their origin, not “beyond the seas,” but “much nearer home.” The English, to our mind, is unmistakably of *The Leading Monthly of India* type, as also, the sentiments expressed. *Internal* evidence, at any rate, favours this conjecture, or, if we may be pardoned for saying so, proves it beyond all doubt.

ONLOOKER

Correspondence

ORIGIN OF HINDU DRAMA

(A Rejoinder)

FLENDYSHE, FEN DITTON.

CAMBRIDGE.

Sept. 21, 1922.

FROM

PROF. SIR WM. RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., F.B.A.

TO

THE EDITOR, "*The Calcutta Review.*"

DEAR SIR,

My friend Sir George Grierson has sent me a cutting from your *Review* (May 1922) with an article by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar on Indian Drama, in which he refers to my views and dismisses them summarily. He evidently has not read my Chapter on the Drama of Hindustan very carefully (Dramas and Dramatic Dances, etc.) or he would not have assumed that I hold that all kinds of dramatic performances, Comedy as well as Tragedy, arose from the worship of the dead. On the contrary both in that Section and in my general Appendix on Comedy, I maintain that Comedy has had an origin everywhere perfectly distinct from Serious Drama. It is the latter only which I derive from ancestor-worship or the worship of the dead in India as elsewhere.

2. Moreover he himself admits an original Vedic ritualistic drama, but as this drama was closely bound up with the worship of the ancestors, he admits my thesis.

3. He also admits that the worship of Rama, Krishna, Siva, etc., played a great part in the development of the Hindu Drama. But as he does not deny what I maintain with the vast body of Indian and European scholars, that these deities were once men deified for their great exploits, virtues, etc., he again admits the importance of the worship of the dead in Hindu Serious Drama.

4. In the *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1921, I have brought forward a large body of evidence in support of my doctrine, supplied to me by Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, Dr. L. D. Barnett and the late Dr. James Anderson, tracing the evolution of serious drama from Vedic times down

to the present day. May I ask you to be so good as to give space to this letter in your valuable journal?

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY

[EASTER TERM 1920: ' At a General Meeting of the Society held on Thursday, 6 May 1920, in Professor Housman's rooms, Trinity College, a paper was read on "The Origin of the Hindu Drama: additional evidence," by Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, and Dr. L. D. BARNETT (Keeper of the Oriental MSS. and Books, British Museum) of which the following is a summary :

The evidence given in the Indian Section (*Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*) led to the conclusion that in Hindustan serious drama arose not merely from the cult of Krishna, whether regarded as a deity from all time, or as merely a vegetation abstraction, but, as elsewhere, from the worship of the dead, often deified, e.g. Rama, Krishna and numberless others termed "gods" by the Hindus. Since S. Lévi (1892) suggested that the cult of Krishna formed the chief element in Hindu drama, the overthrow by that god of his uncle Kansa (*Mahabhashya*) has been cited as the earliest evidence of Hindu dramatic performance. But a whole work, *Bharata-natya-sastra* (Bharata's Treatise on Drama), ascribed to the 2nd century B.C., i.e. the same date as the *Mahabhashya*, has an account of the first beginnings of drama and the first dramatic performance. Mr. Haraprasad (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V (1909-10, pages 351 sqq.) gives an account of this work and the origin of the drama there set forth. In the Second Age of Vaivasvata Manu men became miserable, so Indra and other gods prayed to Brahma for something to benefit all. Brahma summoned the four Vedas, and a Fifth Veda, Drama, came into existence by their aid. Bharata the sage asked Brahma to let him and his sons perform the new Veda. Brahma answered: "The ceremony of raising the Flagstaff of Indra is at hand: show your skill in the ceremony." Bharata and his sons accordingly performed a drama representing the great battle in which Indra defeated the Asuras or demons. Krishna is not even mentioned in this account of the first drama nor amongst the gods who are associated with the building of the first theatre. The Jarjara or Flagstaff of Indra became henceforth the emblem of the stage. It might be of any wood, but usually a bamboo, covered with cloths

of different colours. This staff and its connection with drana recalls the pole called Gohei, "Imperial Presence," by the Chinese, Mitegura, = Lordly-Cloth-seat, by the Japanese. It represents the tree planted over the dead, with its offerings of cloths, etc. on the branches. One of these stands before the shrine of each Japanese god, and as it is supposed to attract the spirit, it is regarded as the seat of the god, and even the god himself (*cf. Dramas* pp. 211, 297—8, 393). The *Mahabharata* (Adh., 63) says that King Vasu was told to set up a bamboo pole adorned with garlands, and with it perform the worship of Indra. Poles of the kind are still often set up in Hindu festivals. The worship is performed on the 12th of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, to ensure good crops and general prosperity (*cf. J. J. Meyer, Hindu Tales* [Old Jain], page 143), "The nautch girls danced, poems were sung, a multitude of men danced, etc." The whole performance thus closely resembled the modern Holi festival at the equinox (*cf. J. C. Oman, Brahmins, etc., and Indian Life*, pp. 66, 73 sqq.).

That the vast majority of Hindu deities were once human chieftains there can be no doubt. *R.-F.*, x, 129, is probably the earliest evidence for this. How the gods got immortality is told in *Satapatha Brah.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIII, p. 336, x, 4, 3, sect. 1—10). In *Dramas* it was shown that the ritual in spring was regularly directed to the spirits of the dead to procure good crops, and the autumn festival after harvest was simply offering first fruits to the dead in gratitude and to win their further aid. For these ceremonies in China see also Ridgeway, *Quart. Rev.*, April, 1919. All four seasonal sacrifices were performed to the ancestors, Spring and Autumn being the most important. So at Athens the Spring festival, Anthesteria, was mainly concerned with offerings to the dead; whilst the Eleusinia was a great harvest thanksgiving to the two goddesses, heroes and other dead. The Indian Holi festival at the spring equinox and connected with the wheat harvest in western India, is a good example. It honours, says tradition, a giantess slain by Krishna, who, when dying asked to have her memory commemorated by a festival. Ceremonies for the dead are intimately bound up with it, the lighting of the cremation bonfire and the sound made by beating the mouth with the back of the hand form part of the funeral rites all over India. More significant still is it that amongst the Marathas proper the *vir* or people who died on the battlefield are "danced" by their descendants, who go round the fire with a drawn sword until they get into a trance, or believe themselves possessed by the spirits of the heroes. The prescriptive right of lighting the chief bonfire and of dancing the *vir* round it are still respected by all Hindus (Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, pp. 88—90). In *Dramas* it was suggested that as the actors

in sacred dramas are Brahmins, "because for the time being they are the gods," this indicates that they are or were regarded as mediums of the spirits of those represented, as is the case with the Burmese, Chinese and Japanese actors, etc. The belief that the dancers of the *vir* become the embodiment of the heroes confirms this view, which is also corroborated by the fact that (by laws of Mann) at a sacrifice made to a god or a dead man, the Brahmin not only personates the god or the spirit, but is regarded as the medium. Amongst Ceylon Buddhists there is a like survival (*Sacred Books, etc.*, Vol. XI, Introd., xliii). Dramatic performances were held at spring festivals, e. g. the *Dutugada* (Dramas, pages 164—5) was performed at the Dhooly festival, March 7th, 1243, in honour of the ancestor of the reigning king. That Indian kings were deified after their deaths is shown by an inscription from Kurgod, but Rajaraja I of Tanjore did not wait for this but built (in 1055) a temple in his own honour with a troupe to act the play of Rajaraja, i. e. a play on his own exploits (*South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, pages 306—7). But at this hour there is a performance in honour of a dead king at Anekal. Outside the temple is a circular mound, said to represent Saindhava, slayer of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, the great Pandava chief, and during the festival a huge head is fixed on the mound and cut off. Sham-lights also take place in imitation of the great battle in the *Mahabharata*, on the 2nd day of which Abhimanyu slew Lakshmana, son of Duryodhana, but on the 13th he fell fighting against fearful odds. His son Parikshit became king of Hastinapura. In the cult of Osiris a chief feature was the sham-fight showing the overthrow of Set his murderer, whilst in the cult of Wu the founder of the Chou dynasty, his victory at Mu (B. C. 1122) was regularly performed.

There are dramatic dialogues in *Rig-veda*, which treat of saga and myth and presuppose interlocutors. In the age of the *Brahmins* there were recitations of old sagas, e. g. *Pariplava*, at the *Asvamedha*, which told the valiant deeds of the king's forbears, whilst in other ceremonies Kshatriya lute-player sang verses referring to former victories, with the *envoi*: "He fought he won that battle" (*Satapatha Br.*, XIII, 4, 3, 5). In Vedic times the bones of warriors were honoured by dance and song; "So the next of kin, so the women, then the female dancers," etc. Like dances, dramatic or pantomimic, were held at the funeral of the Buddha, and it is therefore not strange that one of the oldest fragments of Hindu drama is a piece on the life of the Buddha. But these cases are not isolated. In hundreds of temples in Southern India, as well as in Bengal, not only are dances constantly performed by women before the images in the shrines,

but dramatic performances relating to their lives are given. The deification of human beings is likewise there in full operation. Thus a late Chairman of Town Commissioners has been deified since 1910, within a very short time after his death, and is worshipped as "The Chairman God." The foundation-deeds of Temples constantly direct the benefactions to be applied to *Ranga-bhoga* ("scenic representation" of the life or legend of the deity). Subrahmanya (*Historical Sketches of South India*, Vol. 1, page 337, 1917) says: "In the temples of Southern India, there was invariably a spacious *Ranga-mandapa*, and almost all days dancing was practised there and on special occasions dramas were staged conveying religious instruction." Mr. Pillai (*Some Mile Stones in History of Tamil Literature*, 1895, page 4) treating of Tiru Nana Sambhandha, the greatest of Tamil Rishis (flourished 7th cent. A. D.) says: "There is scarcely a Siva temple in the Tamil country where his image is not daily worshipped. In most of them special annual feasts are held in his name when the leading events of his life are dramatically represented for the instruction of the masses." In Travancore the chakyars or dramatic reciters give performances at the festivals in the chief temples on the proper legends. Dr J. D. Anderson and Pandit Dinesh Chandra Sen amply confirm from Bengal the evidence of the rest of India. Every village has a Chandi-mandapa, and dances are given there in honour of Chandi (Fortune) and other deities and saints. Dinesh Sen states that the Bengal *Mangala Gāns*, which grew into melodramas, began as short odes in praise of Manasū Devi, Mangala Chandi and other local deities, to each of whom was attached some story of might or glory. The recitation of these poems was held to be indispensable to, and formed part of, the ritual of worship. As particular gods and goddesses became more popular, the poems became more elaborate, and were no longer recited but sung and played before the deities whose acts they described by professional troupes, and the dramatic element increased, the lyrical still predominating. All this is still done before an image of a deity, when he is worshipped. The *Mangala Gāns* and *Yātrās* have all originated in this manner, the *Yātrās* being more dramatic in form, often with prose dialogue. The chief place for performances has always been the Chandi-mandapa, or the courtyard facing a temple. Even when the performance is not for a festival, a picture of the deity associated with the play is set up in front of the troupe, and the performers begin by bowing down to it.

There can therefore be no longer any doubt that Hindu Serious Drama arose in the worship of the dead.]

Reviews

A History of the Maratha People ; By C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, Vol. II, from the Death of Shivaji to the Death of Shahu, pp. 332, Oxford University Press, price Rs. 7.

Mr. Kincaid writes in a fascinating style and he has carefully avoided those dry details that might have been distasteful to that gradually increasing class of readers who turn to History as a diversion. His History of the Maratha people will, therefore, win more popularity than has as yet been the lot of any other work on the subject. We can confidently assert, that so far as Maratha History is concerned, his second volume is decidedly better than the first. Mr. Kincaid has wisely selected Mr. Sardesai as his guide and a safer and more reliable guide is not available to-day. We get in the volume under review an extremely readable and interesting account of the rise of the Maratha people. The pen pictures of the leading men have been rendered almost life like by a judicious selection of a number of anecdotes but a serious student may well wish that some of the *panoramic* legends and myths had been replaced by a little more detailed account of historical events.

The period which Mr. Kincaid surveys in the present volume is almost romantic. The death of Sambhaji under well-known circumstances, Rajaram's flight to Jinji, Dhanaji and Shantaji's brave struggle for their king and country and last but not the least the return of Shahu and the rise of the Peshwas under him cannot but interest any student of history, Indian or European. The latest results of research by Maratha scholars have been made available in English and a non-Maratha reader will find the genealogical tables very useful.

It is needless to say that all students of Maratha history will not agree with Mr. Kincaid in his estimate of Kalasha or Kalusha's part in the tragedy that ended with Sambhaji's cruel death. Kalusha was a Kanojiya and it appears that Kanojiyas have enjoyed a sinister reputation in Maharashtra, the pretender Sadova was a Kanojiya and the notorious Ghasiram came of the same stock. Mr. Kincaid has made a chivalrous defence of

Rajaram and an attempt to establish his innocence so far as Shantaji's death was concerned, but here also there is considerable room for difference of opinion. But such difference will always exist.

There are some minor inaccuracies which, we hope, will be removed in the next edition.

On p. 1 Mr. Kincaid asserts that Sambhaji was present at his father's funeral and the only evidence he cites in support of this statement is a Raygad tradition. But all chroniclers and historians agree that Sambhaji was ignorant of his father's death, the circumstantial evidence also goes against Mr. Kincaid. Soyrabai's conspiracy to deprive Sambhaji of his inheritance would hardly be possible if the latter had been really aware of his father's demise.

On p. 11. Mr. Kincaid writes—"About this time an Abyssinian named Sidi Misri, a relative of Sidi Sambal, who with Sidi Yakut and Sidi Khairiyat had deposed from his command the Afghan Fatih Khan deserted to Sambhaji." Yakut Khan had at this time become the hereditary title of the chiefs of Janjira so the sentence quoted above is rather ambiguous if not misleading.

P. 7. Jaswant Sing can hardly be styled as "one of the chief pillars of the Moghul throne." He was a sworn enemy of Aurangzib and had often made common cause either openly or secretly with the Emperor's enemies.

On p. 76 occurs the following statement—"He created specially for him the office of Pratinidhi or the King's Mirror and gave him a precedence superior to seven of the eight ministers and equal to that of the Peshwa himself." The salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, as compared to 13,000 Hons, the salary of the Peshwa. The Pratinidhi was in status superior to all the eight including the Peshwas.

On p. 160 Mr. Kincaid narrates the story of that well-known affray between the troopers of Chinkulieh Khan and a woman named Zahra who had insulted Chinkulieh. The author then observes "such was the unpromising beginning of the career of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, the ancestor of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad." This is hardly accurate. Chinkulieh had already served under Aurangzib in the Deccan with distinction and renown and the beginning of his career was certainly not unpromising.

On p. 169 Mr. Kincaid states that Shahu was granted by the Emperor,—"*babti* or twenty-five per cent. of the whole of the revenue, the *sahotra* or 6 per cent. of the whole of the revenue and the Nargaunda or three per cent. of the whole." It is rather surprising that Mr. Kincaid

does not say on what authority he makes such a statement. Shahu certainly got an imperial farman for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. As for *batti*, *sakotra* and *Nargannda* it is generally known that they were mere subdivisions of the total Maratha revenue. Elphinstone, Grant Duff and Sardesai, all explain these revenue terms in the above manner. It is therefore all the more necessary for Mr. Kincaid to state what evidence there is for a statement that is opposed to all known authorities.

On p. 298 Ramraja is described as Rajashai's husband's nephew. Ramraja was a grandson of Rajaram and Rajashai was the latter's wife.

One of the chief attractions of the present volume is the English translation of several new Marathi documents among which are two letters of Shahu that may be styled as his death-bed will.

The book is well bound, well illustrated and well printed, though there are several misprints, certainly a new feature in a *Milford Publication*, but very few books published in India are free from it.

SURENDRANATH SEN

Catalogue of the English Records, 1758-1858, preserved in the Historical Record Room of the Government of Bengal—will be very useful to those who may wish to study the original records of the Bengal Government. The records it appears have been classified according to the subject, and department they deal with.

"The Cathedral"—(*A Novel*)—by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan).

The scene is a Cathedral town, the chief actors are a Bishop, Dean, Archdeacons, Canons and, generally, the members of the Cathedral Chapter, and the author is the son of a Bishop. Great expectations are aroused in the reader and—fulfilled. Mr. Hugh Walpole has been eminently successful in his new novel. He has favoured us with a slice of life—the self-centred, ecclesiastical life of a Cathedral town, with its petty scandals and scrambles for power. This narrow world of "Polechester" Archdeacon Brandon doth bestride like a Colossus. The story ends, as it begins, with him, is full of him. From the smooth-faced arch-enemy, Ronder, to the gossip-gathering, insignificant Mrs. Combermere, all the actors are grouped round him as their centre, and the Circus, no less than the Jubilee, is in the story because of

him. In the rapid succession of the hero's sufferings, in the conception and development of his character, in the almost rigid observance of the classical unities, "The Cathedral" is at once a "Book of Job" and a Greek Tragedy. And, in his conception of the part played by the Cathedral in the action of the tragedy, Mr. Walpole betrays a beautiful bias. He pictures the Cathedral standing stern, severe, majestic, like an avenging deity, exerting a sinister, though silent, influence on the lives and fortunes of the weak mortals who render it homage and worship. At no moment, is the dominating, commanding presence of the Cathedral permitted to be forgotten: it perpetually, ominously, ironically asserts itself.

"The Cathedral" has once more revealed Mr. Walpole as a novelist of superior powers.

P. E. D.

Calendars; by the Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy; (P. O. Box 151 Madras).—Eight Calendars with coloured portraits of Lokmanya Tilak, Mrs. Naidu, Desbandhu Das, Pandit Malavya, Messrs. Mahammad Ali and Saikat Ali, Pandit Matilal Nehru and a perpetual Calendar (Date Card) have been sent to us. They are all nicely printed. Our congratulations to the management.

S. K.

Purātattva: Vol. I. No. 1. (A Quarterly Magazine; yearly subscription Rs. 5. Published by Rasiklal Chhotolal Parikh, Ahmedabad.)

This new quarterly magazine published in Gujarati aims, as the name implies, at investigating the past history of our country (especially of Gujarat) on scientific and approved methods. This is part of the general movement indicating that India is coming into her own and that her own people are now coming forward to interpret her history and her ancient glories instead of depending solely on the authority of the Western scholars. Roughly speaking, the history of Indian scholarship in all branches can be divided into three phases. In the first which lasted from about the beginning of till about the last decade of the 19th century it was the case of accepting without question light from the west. No statement was acceptable until some European scholar's name was quotable to back it up. The second phase is marked by a natural reaction against this "intellectual slavery" and it is not yet over. It coincides with the quickening of the

national consciousness dating roughly from the advent of Lord Curzon. In this phase there is a clearly marked sentimentality for everything Indian and a tendency to exaggerate everything Indian and a corresponding desire to pass over the shortcomings in Indian culture or at any rate to minimise their effects. The third phase is now beginning, where the position of equilibrium is being attained. The right perspective is being attained in exact proportion as the scholars take *truth* to be their goal. The second phase has been responsible for a good deal of the ridicule cast upon Indian scholarship by Western scholars. But as the third phase gains ground and as our scholars become more and more impartial we will surely command the respect of the rest of the world. Truth will always command a respectful hearing. This new quarterly is professedly an exponent of the third phase and as such it will surely do good work. The following are some of the articles in the first number: "Our historical literature," "The extent of Buddhist literature," "An historical Jaina *pramāṇī*," "The great poets Vijayapāl and Śrīpāl." Another notable feature is a Gujarati translation of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* with annotation. The first number is distinctly good and we extend our cordial welcome to it and we hope it will keep to its high ideals—the search for truth—and will do better and better as time goes on.

I. J. S. T.

Umar Khayyam and His Age: Otto Rothfeld, B.A., I.C.S. F.R.G.S., M.L.C. (D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay: price Rs. 7-8-0).

Mr. Rothfeld is one of those Englishmen who think it worth their while to study deeply the thoughts and aspirations of the people among whom their lot is cast. I remember having read many years ago his two books of Indian tales and I have ever since been partial towards him. His book on Umar Khayyam shows us a sympathetic and deep scholar though one cannot always agree with his interpretation of the inner meaning of Umar's philosophy. He has rightly emphasised the worth of Whitfield's translation. Fitzgerald's version, however charming in itself, is not for the deeper student. The most valuable part of the book is that dealing with the age of the poet. Unless we clearly understand the times when the poet lived we can never hope to understand his message. This is what Mr. Rothfeld has done in his book and it is most valuable for the general reader. As to the interpretation of Umar's philosophy, each

individual must form his own opinion. Mr. Rothfeld's view is undoubtedly fair but still typically English. So perhaps a person brought up in oriental surroundings may not quite agree with him. Still his interpretation is a possible one and as such it may be recommended to all lovers of Umar Khayyam.

POST-GRADUATE

Creative Revolution ; by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, pp. 166. (Ganesh & Co. Madras, price Rs. 1-8.)

The author in a series of essays explains the aims and utility of what is popularly known as the Baroli programme. He makes many observations on the political condition of the country and indicates the reforms both moral and political that should at once be effected. One of the causes according to him of the failure of the N. C. O. movement was lack of honesty. Some of the pretended disciples of the Mahatma cared more for their purse, than for their soul and it is no wonder that the huge Congress fund has disappeared like a mist. Prof. Vaswani says—popularity is no test of truth. It is easy to preach Swaraj when cheers are given us. But it cannot be roses, roses all the way! We must, I humbly submit, have the courage to say *unpleasant* things in the service of truth. Don't wish to be popular,—I say to every young man. Have the *courage* to speak the truth and walk according to your light.

We agree with the Professor. Courage and honesty are essentially necessary for the salvation of a nation and popularity is certainly no test of truth.

S. N. S.

Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India ; by Bimalacharan Law M.A., B.L., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ; Published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., price Rs. 8 only.

A scholarly and entertaining account of some of the clans who played an important part in Ancient Indian History. The Licchavis occupy the place of honour as a matter of course and the author has, with admirable industry, brought together all that is known about their government, history, religion and philosophy. He has also dealt with the Videhas, the Mallas, the Sakyas, the Balis, the Koliyas, the Moriyas, the Bhaggas and the Kalamas. Mr. Law has practically exhausted all the available sources of the History of these clans, but his monograph leaves an impression that

after all we know very little about these once great and now forgotten brave and liberty-loving peoples. The author possesses many qualities that go to the making of an accurate historian and he has done a real service by supplying a much needed handbook on the Ksatriya clans of Buddhist times.

S. N. S.

The Principles of Hindu Ethics; by Maganlal A. Buch, M.A. (pp. 18, xi, 600; published by M.A. Buch, Hathipole, Bareilly.)

The title of the book would perhaps lead one to suppose that it deals with purely abstruse, ethical problems as expounded by the ancient savants of India—rather an uninviting subject to a layman. But that would be a mistake; and we can vouch that both scholars and ordinary readers will immensely profit by a perusal of the book. One would find in this book along with an exposition of the abstract speculations of our ancient sages, a fair presentation of Aryan culture and civilization in all its aspects, social, juristic, political and moral. We have been struck by the depth of scholarship evinced by the author and the facile, lucid way in which he has handled many a knotty problem of Hindu Ethics and Sociology. There is no room for speculation that the author is a sincere admirer of Hindu culture and a strong under-current of sympathy and reverence enlivens all his writings. But his admiration has not blinded him to some of the obvious defects and back-slidings and he has boldly presented them to the reader along with the excellences of Hindu civilization. But there is everywhere that genuine sympathy and spirit of reverence, the lack of which has been responsible in certain quarters for a good deal of confusion and irreverent criticism.

The author's bold, clear and scholarly exposition of such subjects as 'womanhood,' 'marriage,' 'caste-system' '*ahimsā*,' '*Saṃnyāsa*' and other allied topics will serve to clear away the mist of confusion that has gathered round them, and our social reformers and political workers would do well to read the pages dealing with these. In conclusion we must say that the author has done an excellent service to the cause of Hindu civilization and culture, and his popular, lucid and excellent exposition of the ethical values of the Hindu institutions and customs will be of great service in the matter of re-assessing the ethical values of a large body of customs and usages prevailing at present.

S. M.

Ourselfes

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Our Frontispiece.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had the following characteristic paragraph in its issue of the 5th December, 1922 :

"M. Clemenceau has thrown a bombshell in America by his latest speech calling upon America to join England and France in an attack against Germany for her failure to meet Reparations obligations as imposed on her by the Big Four. The American Press and public men have not, it seems, caught at the pacific proposal of the *French tiger* very enthusiastically and so the "old" tiger came in for some trenchant criticism which, he said, was what he had come to America for. *By the way, those who have seen the portrait of the French "tiger" declare that his face bears an uncanny resemblance to the great Bengal tiger now presiding over the Calcutta University.*"

This attracted the notice of a well-known young artist, Mr. Atul Bose, who forthwith drew a portrait of the Vice-Chancellor in charcoal. This was exhibited at the annual exhibition of the Fine Arts Society under the telling designation of "the Bengal Tiger." We present to our readers a faithful reproduction of this picture as a New Year gift.

Professor Cullis.

Professor C. E. Cullis, who has just vacated the Harding Chair of Mathematics, has been made Emeritus Professor by a unanimous vote of the Senate. The Vice-Chancellor emphasised the special excellence of the scientific work of the Professor and was not slow to dwell upon its recondite character.

Professor Saha.

We are pleased to learn that at the last meeting of the International Astronomical Union held at Rome, Professor Meghnad Saha of the University College of Science was elected a member of the said Union, and attached to the Section for the investigation of Stellar Spectra. The distinction was conferred on him in recognition of his contributions to Astronomical Physics.

The International Astronomers Union is an international organisation and is composed of representatives of all the civilised countries of the world. It meets every five years—the next meeting taking place at Cambridge, England, in 1925. The personnel of the Committee to which Professor Saha has been attached is composed of the following men of Science :—

Adams (Pres)-Asst. Director, Mount Wilson Solar Observatory, U. S. A.

Bohr—Prof. of Physics, Copenhagen ; Author of the Quantum Theory of line-spectra.

Fowler—Prof. of Physics, Imperial College of Science & Technology London, discoverer of the lines of ionised Helium.

* Hertzsprung—Prof. of Astrophysics, Leiden, Holland.

* Russell—Prof. of Astrophysics, Princeton University, N. J. U. S. A.

Cannon—Curator, Harvard College Observatory ; author of the Henry Draper Memorial Catalogue containing accounts & classification of the spectra of more than two hundred thousand stars.

Newall—Prof. of Astrophysics, Cambridge.

Shapely—Director of the Harvard College Observatory.

Lockyer—Director, Sidmouth Observatory; son of the famous astronomer, the late Sir Norman Lockyer.

Wright—Asst. Director, Lick Observatory, U.S.A.

* Joint authors of the modern form of the theory of stellar evolution.

Dr. Sahayram Bose.

Our congratulations to Mr. Sahayram Bose, whose thesis has just been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Mr. Bose took his M.A. Degree in Botany in 1908. Notwithstanding his love for the subject, he drifted for a time into the domain of law, but he had the courage to return to the fold before it was too late. He ultimately joined the staff of the Carmichael Medical College, and under the generous auspices of the authorities of that institution, undertook very important researches in Botany which necessitated a journey to Ceylon. The thesis he submitted for the Doctorate dealt with the subject of Monograph of Bengal Polypores. The Board of Examiners consisted of Professor A. C. Seward, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., of the University of Cambridge, Professor V. H. Blackman, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington, and Dr. E. J. Butler, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.B., formerly of the Imperial Research Institute, Pusa, now Director, Imperial Bureau of Mycology, Kew (Surrey).

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University Ideals.

His Excellency the Chancellor presided at the function held on the "College Day" of the Scottish Churches College on Monday the 11th December, 1922, His Excellency is reported to have made the following observation in the course of the interesting address delivered by him :

"May I also say one word to your students. As you say, I have made rather a special study of the needs of the Indian students in Great Britain. I have visited every University in England and Scotland and discussed with the Indian students there their difficulties, their needs and their interests. I hope that the labours of my Committee may do something to help

the Indian student in the future to gain admission to the University of his choice and to make the best use of his time while he is there. But my main anxiety, I confess, is to see the education available in India in all branches of study so improved that it will not be necessary for Indians to go abroad at all. I believe that the best service that could be rendered to India would be to enable her sons and daughters to get all the education they require in their own land and to save them the time and money at present spent on an education abroad."

This has been precisely the ideal of those that have laboured for years to transform the University into an institution for Post-Graduate study and research. People will wonder how the ideal which His Excellency has in view can be reconciled with the theory that the expansion has been "thoughtless" if not "criminal!"

University Mining School.

Our readers will be glad to learn that the scheme for the transfer of the *Basanti Bijay School* at Ikhra to the University for the establishment of a University Mining School has at length been completed by the execution of the requisite deeds by Babu Prankrishna Chatterjee and his co-sharers. It is expected that the arrangements for instruction will be shortly taken in hand. Much credit is due to the energetic Head Master of the Institution, Babu Sasibhushan Bose, who is one of our earliest M. A.'s in Geology and Mineralogy and is keenly interested in the success of the present project.

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Study of Agriculture in the University.

It is well-known that the University authorities have for a long time been anxious to provide for instruction in Agriculture. On the 5th February, 1921, in the course of a letter

addressed by the Registrar to the Government of Bengal under the direction of Sir Nilratan Sircar, then Vice-Chancellor, it was requested that a sum of two lacs of Rupees might be granted for initiation of studies in Applied Botany including Agriculture. It was explained that as a preliminary to the undertaking of instruction in Agriculture, the most urgent requirement was an experimental farm. This need not be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta; a site in some place easily accessible by rail would be sufficient; the acquisition of land and the construction and equipment of such a farm would cost at least a lakh of rupees. Subsequent to this communication to the Government, a very important step was taken by the University, when two conferences were convened of Head Masters and representatives of Managing Committees of recognised schools to discuss the question of the introduction of vocational instruction. The proceedings of the Conferences were in due course communicated to the Government of Bengal. We shall set out here the correspondence which followed:

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated Durgeling, the 17th June, 1922.

I am directed to request that with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate, you will be so good as to inform the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) whether the University has formulated any definite scheme of Vocational Education and if so to send me a copy of the scheme at an early date.

From the Registrar, Calcutta University, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, dated the 27th June, 1922.

With reference to your letter No. 1161Edn., dated the 17th June, 1922, enquiring whether the University has formulated any scheme of vocational education, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to inform you that the following steps have been taken by the University for the purpose:

A Conference of the Head Masters of recognised schools was held at the Senate House, Calcutta, on the 7th May, 1921, to consider what steps might be taken up by the University to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in schools. Copies of the Proceedings of the Conference together with a note thereon by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor were forwarded for the information of Government along with my letter No. G 491, dated the 28th May, 1921. Another Conference

of the representatives of the Managing Committees of recognised schools was held on the 9th, 11th and the 12th June, 1921, for the purpose of discussing the steps to be taken to give effect to the resolutions of the Conference of Head Masters. Copies of the Proceedings of this Conference also were forwarded for the information of Government. When the reports of the above Conference were placed before the Syndicate on the 29th July, 1921, they were referred to the Joint Faculties of Arts and Science for consideration. The proceedings of the joint meeting of the Faculties of Arts and Science were laid before the Syndicate who ordered them to be placed before the Senate with the recommendation that the draft Regulations for the Matriculation Examination as framed by the Joint Faculties might be adopted. The draft Regulations are now being considered by the Senate. Copies of the Proceedings of the Senate will be forwarded in due course; meanwhile, the draft prepared by the Faculties which is now under consideration by the Senate is enclosed herewith.

The Syndicate has already placed itself in communication with the schools with a view to ascertain how many schools are willing to take up the different vocational subjects. A summary of the replies received is given on page 119 of the Proceedings of the Conference of Representatives of the Managing Committees of the Schools. Ninety one of these schools, it will be observed, have expressed a desire to take up Agriculture and Gardening. Many of these schools have, however, expressed the apprehension that suitable teachers will not be available on a moderate salary. This, the Syndicate realise, is a real difficulty, and many other Schools, specially in the mofassil, would no doubt have expressed their readiness to take up Agriculture, if they could be assured that teachers would be available. The Syndicate accordingly consider it essential that arrangements should be made by the University for instruction in Agriculture, and particularly for the training of such persons as might desire to be teachers of the subject in secondary schools. The matter has been considered by the Gurniprasad Singh Professor of Agriculture and by the members of the Botany Department. It has been found that arrangement could be made for this purpose on a modest scale in the Palit House at Ballygunge which has a compound exceeding twenty-five bighas in area. This was the reason why in my letter No. A318, dated the 14th February, 1922, a request was made that an initial grant of Rupees one lac should be made to enable the University to initiate without delay vocational education, particularly agriculture and technological.

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, University of Calcutta, dated Calcutta, the 11th July, 1922.

I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter No. 7818, dated the 27th June, 1922, on the subject of the introduction of vocational education in secondary schools in the province and to say that the question is under the consideration of Government.

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, University of Calcutta, dated Calcutta, the 30th November, 1922.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with this Department letter No. 1369-Edn., dated the 11th July, 1922, regarding an initial

grant of Rs. 1,00,000 to the Calcutta University for the arrangement of instruction in Agriculture, and particularly for the training of such persons as might desire to be teachers of that subject in Secondary Schools.

2. In reply, I am to say that in view of the present financial position of the province, it is not possible for Government to consider the matter. The scheme has not also been fully worked out. If, however, a complete scheme is placed before Government, they would be prepared to examine it and, if it meets with their approval, they may try to provide money for it when the finances have improved.

The Syndicate have resolved to inform Government that in view of the financial stringency mentioned which makes it impossible for Government to consider the matter, they propose to defer further correspondence on the subject. The situation speaks for itself and comment is superfluous.

Bachelor of Commerce.

The Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Commerce framed by the Senate have at length been sanctioned by the Government. The correspondence on the subject furnishes interesting reading and is set out below :

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, Education Branch, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, No. 1597 Edn., dated the 3rd August, 1922.

"I am directed to convey the sanction of the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education), under the provisions of Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act No. VIII of 1904, as amended by the Calcutta University Act No. VII of 1921, to the draft regulations for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce and the amendment in the regulations for the Intermediate Examination in Arts forwarded with your letter No. G. 435, dated the 19th June, 1922, with the exception of clause 3 of the regulations for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. In this connection I am to suggest whether it will not be advisable to make the clause clearer by adding a time definition to the phrase "a regular course of study" and by adding the phrase "in the subjects included in the course" after the words "University lectures." Government will also be glad to be informed whether in the present financial condition of the University, it is in a position to contemplate post-intermediate teaching in Commerce, however commendable such an attempt may be.

2. The Government of Bengal recognize that in the regulations for the Intermediate Examination in Arts the cultural side of education cannot be ignored but in view of the demand of general public for the introduction of vocational subjects in these courses, I am to suggest for the consideration

of the University whether it would not be desirable to include subjects like precis writing, commercial correspondence, etc., in the intermediate stages at a suitably early date."

From the Registrar, Calcutta University, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, dated the 15th September, 1922.

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 1597 Education conveying the sanction of the Government of Bengal under the provisions of Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 to the regulations for the degree of B. Com. and the amendments in the I.A. regulations. Your letter under reply conveys sanction to the B. Com. regulations with the exception of clause 3. I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, to point out that under section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, sanction cannot be granted with a modification, whether the modification be by way of omission, addition or alteration. This is the interpretation which has been uniformly placed upon that section since 1904, and also upon the corresponding section of the Act of Incorporation of 1857. It may further be pointed out that there has been some misapprehension as to the scope of clause 3. Clause 3 was not intended to confer any new power on the University authorities which are unlimited as is clear from section 19 of the Indian Universities Act. The object of clause 3 was to regulate the mode of exercise of the power possessed by the University authorities under section 19. It may also be explained that there is no intention on the part of the University authorities to embark upon undergraduate instruction specially if the undertaking involves new expenditure. At the same time there is no reason why the University teachers in the department of Economics and Commerce should not within the limit of the time at their disposal assist such students as may be anxious to qualify themselves for the B. Com. degree. The desirability of such a course, to the extent it may be feasible, is obvious when the fact is borne in mind that even the Government of Bengal does not appear to be at present in a position to provide for instruction in the subjects of the B. Com. Examination in the Government Commercial School at Calcutta.

As regards the suggestions that subjects like precis writing and commercial correspondence may be introduced at the Intermediate stage the Faculty of Arts have been consulted and they have expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to proceed cautiously and to watch the effect of the new regulations, for some later time."

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated Calcutta, the 7th December, 1922.

With reference to your letter No. Misc. 2177, dated the 15th September, 1922, and in continuation of this Department letter No. 1597, dated the 3rd August, 1922, I am directed to say that in the circumstances stated in your letter under reply, the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) sanction, under the provisions of section 25 (1) of the Indian University Act VIII of 1904 as amended by the Calcutta University Act of 1921, clause 3 of the draft regulations for the degree of the Bachelor of Commerce forwarded with your letter No. G.405, dated the 19th June, 1922.

University Reform.

We reproduce here a series of remarkably thoughtful articles on University Reform from the columns of the *Bengalee*.

I

To reform a University is a problem requiring considerable knowledge and skill. The problem is acute when it becomes the subject of a rancorous controversy, when there are divergencies of opinion as regards its functions, and when it has forfeited the sympathy of the Government. In the case of the Calcutta University, the public mind is so much excited over its administration that arguments, however reasoned and logical, are likely not to appeal to their judgment and sanity ; and the complexity and technicality of the question enhance the difficulty to such an extent that a solution satisfactory to all concerned becomes difficult to find. At the same time, all these circumstances should not stand in the way of a solution, if the matter is judged from a calm, broad, and national point of view. It is not our object to discuss the merits and defects of the existing system, which has already been exhaustively analysed and examined by the Sadler Commission. Our purpose is to explain the fundamental principles which should guide the legislators in their reforming activities. We concede that the fundamentals of academic questions are not suitable things for discussion in the columns of a newspaper ; but events have been given such a turn by some of the legislators that it is incumbent upon us to educate the public mind as to the right course which they should follow in such a momentous issue. We, therefore, propose to discuss, in as popular a way as possible, the following fundamental aspects of the question : (1) the functions of a University and its place in the educational system of a country ; (2) the organic character of the educational system ; (3) the application of the representative system to the administration of education ; (4) the relation between the legislature and the University ; and (5) State control of education.

The University occupies in the educational system of a nation a position similar to that occupied by the Church and the Caliphate in the Christian and the Mahomedan religions system respectively. Its function is to minister, directly or indirectly, to the moral, material, spiritual, and intellectual needs of a community. If this function is too great and wide for a single University to perform, and there is a demand in the country for the care of all the faculties of its youths, the number of subjects taught and of the Universities must necessarily have to be multiplied. But it must not be forgotten that its function is universal and all-pervasive, comprehending all aspects of human life which call for development by education. The University never represents any particular type of education as is wrongly supposed ; but it represents innumerable types corresponding to the innumerable types and tendencies of the human mind. It is the centre from which emanate all the activities in every

possible sphere of life, in which the application of the intellect is the determining factor. Whether it be letters or fine arts, science, or the utilitarian branches, such as commerce, agriculture, technology or any other pursuit,—wherever intellect plays a part in discovering new processes of work and new avenues to social and human advancement, there is the need for a University. The University occupies a place in the social organism similar to that occupied by the brain in the human organism. It is the centre of social consciousness: destroy it, and you destroy the life and intellectual activities of society. It betrays a mistaken conception of University education to say that it is not a bread-winning type of education; because the teachers as well as the initiators and organisers of every kind of education must come from the University, which imparts or ought to impart knowledge in all branches of intellectual activity—be it utilitarian or cultural,—technical or literary or scientific or artistic. The educated Indians who are the products of the Calcutta University, when it was merely an examining agency, find it difficult to distinguish between the functions of a true University and the University with which they were familiar: for traditions and ideas die hard. Their knowledge of the functions of the old University is too narrow to enable them to grasp and appreciate the mission, and the possibilities, of the post-graduate department which has been inaugurated for the development of education in all its branches; but it is unable to undertake them all, because it is handicapped for want of funds, and the public seem to believe that the teaching which it now imparts benefits only a particular class. This is a mistaken notion; its sin is not the sin of expansion and extravagance: but its inability to expand freely in all the diverse directions which offer scope for the development of every youth who has his own individual or peculiar talent to develop, first, for the benefit of himself and, secondly, for the benefit of society. The University of Calcutta errs on the side of restriction rather than of expansion, and all complaints about its activities would, we are sure, be hushed into silence, if it were given a crore of rupees to enable it to expand freely in all possible directions. Some politicians place a wrong emphasis on vocational education and think that it should be fostered at the expense of cultural education: but they do not appreciate the absurdity of this proposition. Cultural education is the basis and mother of vocational education; the former furnishes ideas and principles, the latter facilities for organisation and to carry out the details. Cultural education means the extension of the bounds of knowledge; vocational education implies the application of this enlarged knowledge in particular times and circumstances, and cannot thrive without cultural education. In short, University education in any country can never be uniform: it must be diversified to suit every talent, every capacity every natural or hereditary aptitude, and lastly, it must suit the environment in which the recipient lives and is destined to work. In any attempt to suppress cultural education, we run the risk of suppressing the opportunities of the fittest and best talents. It means the waste or destruction or suppression of the best brains which supply the motive power of all intellectual activities in the country; it means the destruction of the centre of social consciousness, and, with it, the destruction of all activities to which the intellect supplies the necessary stimulus.

II

In the last article published on this subject in the "Bengalee" of Saturday last, we defined the functions of a University and emphasised the absurdity of divorcing cultural from vocational education, because, in the opinion of many persons, who have not studied nor have any experience of educational problems, the University does not, and cannot, form the centre of vocational education. The second point on which we laid stress, in connection with proposals for the reform of the educational system of a country, is that no branch of this complex and many-sided system can be reformed or changed without its effects being felt throughout the entire system: in other words, the educational system of a country is organic, *i.e.*, all the branches or organs of education are inter-dependent, each drawing its nourishment and vitality from, and supplying them to, the others. The defects of University or high, education, if they are grave and patent, may be attributable to defects in the earlier stages, *viz.*, the primary, the secondary, and the collegiate stages. Conversely, if there are defects in the 'pathsalas', schools and colleges, they may be attributed to the defects in our University system. The reason is obvious: a bad University system supplies inefficient teachers to schools and colleges; and a bad school and collegiate education feeds the University with students who come to it, with faculties not sufficiently developed to appreciate and assimilate University education. Whether we look at the primary, the secondary, the collegiate or the University education in its many-sided aspects—such as scientific, literary, or technical—we observe that no branch can flourish and thrive without the others. There cannot be an exclusively literary system or an exclusively technical system, unless there are University systems to supply the necessary ideas and agencies. Every branch of social service is managed by lay and expert knowledge. Lay knowledge corresponds to ideas and principles by which educationists study the educational problems of a country with special reference to its social and political conditions. These ideas and principles are contributed by cultural education, and their application is the subject of vocational education. Higher educational institutions, such as Universities, are essential for the creation and dissemination of ideas and principles: vocational schools and colleges are necessary for the practical application of these ideas and principles. Just as principles and details must work together for the production of useful and beneficent results, so vocational and higher institutions must be associated in organic connection to produce valuable results in society. It is the function of 'principles' to devise the means by which the needs and requirements of society can be determined and solved; it is the function of 'details' to work out how they can be determined and applied in practice with reference to surrounding conditions, the hereditary pre-occupations, and the individual aptitudes and tendencies of the young men of a particular geographical and ethnic division. Just as the connection between principles and details is close and intimate, so is the connection between the University and other educational institutions. These and other examples (which can be multiplied) are expected to convince the reader of the organic connection between the different parts or branches of an entire educational system. The University is the vital organ of that

system of which the primary, secondary, technical and other schools are the limbs. This organic connection, which is not appreciated by men in the street, will be patent from the fact that the falling-off of the numerical strength of the students in schools and colleges reacts on the University; but the converse case, namely, that the falling-off in the strength and vitality of the University affects the strength and vitality of the schools and colleges is more difficult to appreciate although both the propositions are equally true. If the schools and colleges cease to function in the organism, the University will also cease to function; and, conversely, if the University ceases to perform its many-sided functions, the schools and colleges will wither and die. It must not be overlooked that, by "schools and colleges," we do not mean schools and colleges which impart literary education only; but they are meant to include medical, legal, technical schools, and technological colleges and schools, and colleges for the study of commerce and agriculture,—indeed all institutions for the education of youths organised with the help of ideas, principles, knowledge, higher skill, and intelligence, which are developed by University education and worked by persons who have learned to apply these qualities to practical problems. It is, therefore, a misconception of the educational system of a country to assert that the University can be destroyed without destroying the life of the schools and colleges organically connected with it, or that utilitarian or technical schools can be successfully started in a region detached from the University. The life and nourishment of the one depend on the life and nourishment of the other, and they are inter-dependent and inseparable.

III

In the preceding article on this subject, we pointed out the organic character of the educational system of a country, and argued that the different organs,—be they literary, technical, medical, legal, commercial or agricultural—are mutually inter-dependent, being parts of an organic whole, whose heart or centre of consciousness is the University. In the present article, we propose to discuss the character of public opinion and its influence on education.

A representative assembly, like the Bengal Legislative Council, is believed to be 'representative' of public opinion. This is true only with certain reservations. In all representative legislatures, a convention has grown up that the government of the country is not always bound by the resolutions of the legislature. This is not without significance and reason. The genesis of this convention is that, although the government is bound by the public opinion of the country, it is not bound by the opinion of the legislature, which is not always a faithful reflex of the opinion of the public. Representative government is normally conducted on party principles; a resolution of the legislature, moved by a party politician and supported by party followers, who are bound to the party by many subtle, though material, bonds, may not express the will of the people. It is true that "public opinion" may be created or manufactured under certain circumstances, but, in order that it may be accepted as such, it must be strongly founded on knowledge of facts, and not on mere opinion, which is the

very opposite of knowledge. After the opinion is expressed by a single man or by a group of men united in associative work, it is subjected to analysis, criticism, and discussion in the light of skilled knowledge, superior wisdom and empiric facts, and by the action and interaction of many subtle and invisible forces, it finally emerges as "public opinion," when it is acquiesced in by the general public. The value of public opinion on any question is measured by technical skill, knowledge of facts, and superior intelligence brought to bear upon its formation. "Public opinion," therefore, remains in the stage of mere *obiter dictum*, if it is not shaped, moulded or modified by knowledge and experience. A 'representative' who represents other than educational interests and has no expert knowledge of the principles and problems of education cannot be expected to express a correct view on educational reform. True and effective public opinion may not exist within a representative assembly, but outside it. A resolution of a representative assembly, though it may be adopted by a large majority, is not necessarily an exact image of the public opinion outside. If it survives the scrutiny and discussion of the educational section of the public outside, then it is acceptable as public opinion. A resolution of the Council is not always a faithful expression of public opinion, for it may be the accidental result of party voting. It is not invariably the result of a free, well-considered, and well-reasoned opinion of that section of the public which is peculiarly competent to express its opinion from its expert knowledge of facts and principles. It is, therefore, an insecure and irrational basis of determining the principles of university reform. To identify a Council resolution with "public opinion" is to betray a lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles of representative government. The duty of a 'responsible' Minister is not to accept that resolution as public opinion, as a passive or irresponsible person would do; but his supreme duty is to submit it to the bar of public criticism and judgment with incontestable facts supported by expert knowledge and higher ideas of public good, and to guide the public in the formulation of true public opinion. A "responsible" Minister ceases to be responsible to the public if he blindly accepts a resolution arrived at by its representatives without gauging the depth and intensity of public feeling in the country. He is gravely mistaken if he believes that he is 'responsible' to his followers in the Council alone, and is 'irresponsible' to the great body of the outside public, for whose welfare and to guard whose interests he holds his office as Minister. A "strong feeling" in the Council, however, strongly expressed by persons bound to the Minister by party loyalty and party ties, and other personal obligations which these imply, is not necessarily a "strong feeling" of the public, which is governed by higher and wider considerations than these. A "strong feeling" in the Council is, therefore, a wrong and delusive index to public feeling, and is valueless as "public opinion," because it admits of being easily manufactured. To dignify a "strong feeling" in the Council into true and "general public opinion" is not a happy diagnosis of "public feeling."

Incidents abound in English political life to show that measures may be hatched in party caucuses and clubs for gaining victory in elections; but they are liable to be rejected by the general public opinion of the country. This is a contingency which is taken into account by leaders of the ruling party in England, however strong in party cohesion, to submit measures

first to the judgment of the public, before they are submitted to the judgment of the representatives. They are not projected in secrecy and carried through the legislature by the dictates of Party whips and then flung as laws on the public. This is a fundamental principle of representative government which we ask the Education Minister to take to heart. He ceases to be a 'responsible' Minister, as soon as he chooses to carry out only the wishes of his party followers, but has not the courage to face the large volume of intelligent and well-informed criticism of the wider public outside, and render an account to that body. Political tactics and subtlety are different from political straightforwardness. The former may serve some purposes for some time; but the latter will serve all purposes for all times. Legislation for university reform is neither a personal nor a party question: Education stands above personal or party considerations, and is a question of national importance. It is, therefore, essential to bring to bear upon the solution of this question the highest virtues of statesmanship, the loftiest considerations of public good, and all the sane and stable elements of human nature, and not mean considerations of personal ends and the unstable elements of human nature, such as passion, prejudice, and abuse of power.

IV.

In our third article on this subject, we attempted to explain that a Minister ceases to be "responsible," when he blindly follows the dictates of the Legislature without regard to the higher dictates of public or national welfare. That would be the denotation of an automaton without any individuality, or judgment or reason, which are the attributes of a 'responsible' Minister. In the present article, we shall discuss the relation between the Legislature and the University.

The Legislature is usually a large and heterogeneous body, which, perhaps, is incapable of administering such an important and technical branch of the public service as Education. No one has stressed this point with greater logic and emphasis than Mill, and his arguments bear repetition: "There is a radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it. . . . In many cases, its control over everything will be more perfect, the less it personally attempts to do it. It is one question what a popular assembly should control; another, what it should itself do." Among the few kinds of business which a large assembly is competent to perform properly, the voting of taxes is considered by Mill to be the most appropriate. With regard to the rest, its proper province, he says, is not to do it, but to take means for having it well done by others. "An assembly can deliberate better than administer, and it is the least fitted to dictate in detail to those who have the charge of administration. Even when honestly meant, the interference is almost always injurious. Every branch of administration is a skilled business, which has its own peculiar principles and traditional rules, many of them not even known, in any effectual way, except to those who have at some time had a hand in carrying on the business, and none of them likely to be duly appreciated by persons not practically acquainted with the department. The interests dependent on the acts done by a public department, the consequences liable

to follow from any particular mode of conducting it, require, for weighing and estimating them, a kind of knowledge and of specially exercised judgment, almost as rarely found in those not bred to it, as the capacity to reform the law in those who have not professionally studied it. All these difficulties are sure to be ignored by a representative assembly which attempts to decide on special acts of administration." The advent of representative government has clothed the legislators with a certain amount of political freedom, attended with certain powers. New freedom accompanied with new powers, like new wine in old bottles, is liable to have dangerous consequences. The tendency to interfere in details of administration becomes very strong in transitional periods, and there arises a stronger temptation to make excessive use of these newly-acquired powers. It is commonly supposed that the Legislature, being the supreme authority, has the right to interfere in administration. But this conception of the supremacy of the Legislature is entirely wrong. That the Legislature is a repository of supreme power is conceded, but a constant exercise of this power destroys the judgment, the independence, and the initiative of the administrative authorities and reduces them to mere automata. The supreme power is usually kept in abeyance, sometimes for an indefinite period, because it is supreme, and ought not to be exercised until a real occasion for it arises. And even when it does arise, it should be exercised not in the form of direct and actual assumption of administrative functions, but in the indirect and remote prescription of new and improved principles for the guidance of the administration. The supreme power should seldom be active: for, when it is roused to activity, all other powers are silenced and reduced to inactivity. It is like a wild tiger let loose among a crowd, whose powers of resistance are benumbed and stupefied in the presence of a great power and who lose all powers of self-defence and self-control. The Legislature can, therefore, best perform its functions while asleep: when it is roused to administrative activity, it produces strifes and revolutions in the State. It has never been the function of the British Parliament, which is the model of the Indian Legislatures, to actually administer any service or department, and we are not aware of any instance in which the affairs of a University in the United Kingdom have been the subject of detailed Parliamentary discussion. No member of Parliament has ever interpellated the Education Minister about the qualifications of teachers, their relations to persons holding positions of authority in the different Universities of the United Kingdom, the number of hours they work, or the subjects taught by them. These are all matters of internal management, with which the University authorities are trusted. The real control of Parliament comes in when it is required to vote funds: and funds are voted or refused not according to the strength or weakness of the feeling expressed in Parliament, but according to the considered and informed opinion of recognised experts who are entitled to speak with authority on University matters. Such an authority in the case of the Calcutta University is the Senate, and an authority higher than the Senate is the Sadler Commission. The Bengal Legislature, by ignoring the opinions of these two expert bodies and relying on the opinion of a few members supported by a majority, is acting in a way which is contrary to all accepted principles of responsible government.

V

In the fourth article on the above subject, we discussed the relation between the Legislature and the University, and emphasised the fact that the control of the former should be limited to the voting of funds and the laying down of the constitution on such broad and elastic principles as would admit of the University exercising a free hand in the pursuit of its multifarious activities. In other words, the control should be mainly legislative leaving ample freedom to domestic administration. The State control ought not to be carried to such excesses as undue interference with details involves. An educational authority like the University of Calcutta, which has studied the problem of national education from a time long anterior to the birth of democratic government in India, is surely competent to judge where it is defective and by what means the defect may be rectified. It is probably more conscious of the educational needs of the diverse classes of our people than the Government can be expected to be at this incipient stage of its existence; for the University is, to all intents and purposes, the educational committee of the State which has complex and various duties to perform and a multitude of interests to harmonise. The State, in its complex structure, has many phases: economic, political, commercial, industrial, artistic, educational, moral, etc., and the University represents one of these phases only, *viz.*, the educational. The University is the expert committee, instituted by statute for devising the best types of education suited for various individuals and classes, because it is the body pre-eminently fitted for such a task, owing to the possession, as Mill says, of "peculiar principles and traditional rules." The Government, standing in the position of a mediatory and corrective authority, can hardly be expected to function for such a duty. These principles and rules are the sole property of the authority which has a practical hand in the skilled business of education, and cannot be found in any authority, however high, which is not bound to it. It would be an assumption of super-human powers by the State, if it were to take upon itself the herculean task of doing every business itself without the intervention of an expert authority. If this were attempted, the activities of the Central Government would be soon paralysed and the work itself would result in a muddle.

It is, therefore, highly undesirable to control the details of the University without an adequate and practical acquaintance with the rules and principles which are peculiar to that body, and which have grown with it. The details refer to academic questions in respect of which the University ought to enjoy complete freedom. The new principles, sought to be introduced by Government with a view to reform should be of such a character as would promote and not hamper the carrying out of these details and would serve the public ends in a higher and better way owing to changed conditions of society. If the conditions under which funds are to be granted promote this object, the conditions are necessary and beneficial; if they hamper the object, they are the reverse. There may exist, of course, a difference of opinion as to whether the conditions are beneficial or otherwise; but this difference can be adjusted by consultation, co-operation, and compromise. This in our opinion, is not, however, a material issue. The material points are: (1) to what extent funds should be allotted to the

University; and (2) to what extent the Government should control the application of these funds. These points can be decided by a common test, *viz.*, how far the autonomous (*i.e.* academic) functions are promoted by the grants from Government. The answer lies plainly, not in the restriction, but in the expansion, of University activities as has been done; because the University is the best authority to judge the educational needs of the various classes of people within its special jurisdiction. If the Government, for reasons of financial stringency, is unable to provide the funds, the University would be glad to meet the wishes of Government, and all causes of conflict would cease. But it would be contrary to all sound educational principles if the Government were to take upon itself to dictate the lines on which the education of our youths should be conducted, because the University has not sufficient money to pay its way.

Finally, we feel that the Hon'ble Minister is not quite clear in his ideas, nor precise and certain in his language, about the four cardinal principles which he has recently enunciated. In the first place, he would give autonomy to the University, both in academic and financial matters, but would make some provision to limit its activities to its "available resources." Apart from the fact that this is a new definition of autonomy, we are inclined to ask what should the "available resources" be? Will they be the existing resources, supplemented by occasional doles wrung from him by protracted and acrimonious correspondence and negotiations, in which the University's distress will be taken advantage of to put it in chains? Or, is the University to be free to raise fees and free to expect generous grants—not generous in the estimation of the Minister but generous in the estimation of the recipient? Will the "available resources" of an autonomous University then consist of such income as it will be free to raise and free to receive without going down on its knees? In the second place, he would give the persons who have made education as their vocation better opportunities to participate in the affairs of the University. Does it mean that the participation would be direct or indirect? He should remember that the administration of the highest affairs of education is a 'skilled' business. It is the business of the aristocracy, and not the democracy, of intellect. Elective principle and democratic government are attractive catch-phrases to capture public conscience; but they are not sound principles to be applied in practice. Educational reform requires the highest exercise of the highest type of intellect, and cannot safely and profitably be left to the mercy of Democracy. Even in the most democratic countries Government is either aristocratic or autocratic. And nowhere can the principle be abused with greater mischief than in this country, where the politicians hold mistaken and exaggerated notions of the scope and possibilities of representative government, which is, after all, a new wine in an old bottle. Especially is this principle liable to be abused by such a body in solving the great problem of education.

Again, how does he propose to extend the elective principle consistently with academic interests? The provisions of Mr. Mitter's projected Bill of which we gave a summary a few weeks back, may give effect to the elective or representative principle, but are, without question, subversive of academic interests. His idea of a Senate, with apparently no expert academic council, constituted on the broadest elective principle, intermixed

with a communal element, may be a stately council, but will be inefficient as an academic body. With all his good intentions, he has been unable to reconcile democratic principles with academic interests: and, as this is a problem which has taxed many very distinguished men, he may probably be excused for his enthusiasm for new-fangled democracy.

There is a fundamental difference of opinion as regards these "cardinal principles" between himself, on the one hand and ourselves and the Senate, on the other. But we have reasons to hope that a reconciliation or adjustment of this difference will not be long in coming, and the Minister, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Senators, and the Legislators will be prompt and sane enough to come to an understanding, so that the University of Calcutta may again be in a position to advance the cause of higher education and culture and move along the line of progress. But here we must be quite clear and definite as to what 'progress' means. In the present economic condition of society, the activities of the University must be multiform, if it is called upon to satisfy the demands of our young men for fuller material or intellectual life. This means inevitable expansion. Indeed, the University is struggling to expand in just response to the economic and intellectual demands of the country. This expansion is reform, and this reform means money. University reform is, therefore, a question of more and more funds. People may talk glibly of "University Reform": but, from all serious proposals, these words had better be omitted, if no adequate provision for its expansion can be made. It is one thing to reform the University, another to restrict its activities, within a restricted sphere with restricted funds. Where would "academic freedom" and "University Reform" be, if the financial chains are tightened round the necks of the Senate? Academic freedom, and freedom to spend money, go together. If there are not adequate funds for expansion, a mere reconstruction of the Senate on elective principle will not answer the primary needs of higher education.

University Finance.

In our issue for October and November last (Vol. 5, pp. 249-264) we set out the full text of a letter addressed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) to the Registrar of the University regarding the grant of financial assistance, together with the report of the Accountant-General on our financial position. We mentioned that the Senate had referred the matter, on the 9th September last, to a Committee of nine members, namely, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir P. C. Ray, Principal G. C. Bose, Rev. Father F. X. Crohan, Rev. Dr. George Howells, Mr. Kaminikumar Chanda, Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray and Dr. Jatindranath Maitra. On the 11th November last, the

Committee submitted a unanimous report.¹ The text of the report occupies 102 pages and the appendices take up 184 pages. It is impossible for us to reproduce the report here. We need only state that the report is of abiding value to all interested in the history of the transformation of our University into a Teaching and Research Institution.

The report was placed before the Senate for consideration on the 2nd December, 1922, and was adopted *nem com* on the motion of Sir P. C. Ray seconded by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen. The occasion was historic and the report of the debate which we set out below will be read with interest by all our readers :

The Senate proceeded to consider the report of the Government Grant Committee appointed on the 9th September, 1922.

Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray :—May I inquire how it is that extracts from the Report of the Committee, which has been sent to us marked confidential, appeared in the "Statesman" last Tuesday occupying five columns and were commented on the following Thursday ; was any copy of the Report sent to the "Statesman" ?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—As soon as the "Statesman" came out with several columns on this subject, the Registrar addressed a letter, dated the 28th November, 1922, which I shall place before the Senate. It is as follows :—"My attention has been drawn to your issue of this (28th November) morning which contains extracts from the report submitted by a Committee of the Senate on a letter from the Government of Bengal relating to the grant of financial assistance to the University. The report has not yet been considered by the Senate. Copies of the report supplied to the members of the Senate were marked "confidential till considered by the Senate." No copy was sent to you by this office for publication before the Senate could meet to consider the report. I shall be obliged if you will let me know how the report has come to be published by you before the meeting of the Senate."

The following reply was received on the 30th :

"Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. G. 88 of November 28th."

Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray :—Is that all ?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—Yes.

Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray :—Very kind of the Editor.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—I shall make no comment.

¹ Copies of the Report may be had from the Registrar for a nominal price.

Sir Praphullachandra Ray, while moving that the Report of the Government Grant Committee be adopted, said :

I submit this report for adoption by the members of the Senate. I do not think it is necessary to inflict a lengthy speech. More so because I confess I lack the capacity. The report has been circulated, I hope, to the members in time, and, I trust, they had had ample time to go through it, as many momentous issues are involved. In the first place, I draw the attention of my colleagues to two points. Much capital has been made in the Government letter of the report of the Accountant-General on the finances of the University. It is asserted that the report reveals the fact that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. The report has been dealt with at some length in the report of the Committee, page 50, and I hope the perusal of it will convince any unbiassed person that the Report of the Accountant-General, if it points to anything, points to the extreme inadequacy of the grants made to the University from public funds. The contributions by Government in the year 1921-22, out of a total expenditure of 8,09,793-4-6 in the Departments of Arts and Science, were Rs. 68,135—a little over 8 per cent. I leave it to my colleagues to consider whether the grant is at all adequate. It will be in the memory of the members of the Senate that it fell to my lot to resist the proposal to saddle our countrymen with additional expenses by increasing the examination fees of the poor students. My point was not in any way to paralyse the activities of the University but to force the hands of the Government. (Reads an extract.) The Accountant-General does not say that the University Funds have been misapplied or misappropriated. I now come to the conditions of the Government grant. A perusal of the Government letter leads us to the conclusion that the Government desires to utilise the present financial embarrassment of the University to obtain control over its affairs in a manner not contemplated in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. It reveals the attitude adopted by the Imperial Government since the year 1912. It seems to me, Sir, that there is an unseen hand working from behind with dark and sinister purposes since the year 1912 onwards. While the Government of India had been putting off the claims of financial assistance for the post-graduate scheme on the score of want of funds, it could easily spare something like ten crores of rupees or more for the construction of new Delhi. A well-informed Calcutta daily went to the length of characterising this expenditure as "wicked waste." The Government of India also could make up its mind to earmark 150 crores of rupees during the next five years for the rehabilitation of the railway. One-hundredth of it, *i.e.*, one and a half crore could rehabilitate the University.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Ray : Even less.

Continuing **Sir P. C. Ray** said: Let us come to the Government of Bengal, which I find is the legal inheritor of the noble traditions of Simla. What am I to say of the Bengal Legislative Council which would not give us even $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees? Is this the first fruit of the so-called Reforms Act, an earnest of what was expected of an Indian member as Minister of Education? In that case, I am afraid, we have to exclaim, "Lord, deliver us from such a reform." The Provincial Council says that it is the custodian of public funds. The Council may grant five or six lacs if it comes to providing comfortable quarters for married Sergeants; the Councillors are quite willing to grant two or three lacs for Hospital Nurses' quarters. Are these things of far greater importance to Bengal than higher education? I need not take up more time by dilating on this point. There are other and more veteran exponents. If I am zealous of scientific education I never maintain that it should be carried on at the expense of culture. I am as much for the Humanities and Liberal Culture as for Scientific Education. Culture and Science go hand in hand. When I come to my own College of Science, I am apt to lose my balance of mind. I can scarcely restrain myself. I find that the people of Bengal in some shape or other contributed sixty lacs for the College of Science; in endowments alone—I speak subject to correction—it amounts to about forty-five lacs. Out of fees from my beloved poor students throughout Bengal we have got as much as ten lacs. Out of other funds we have got something like five lacs. All this makes up sixty lacs. But the Government has given a precious grant of one lac and twenty thousand—twelve thousand a year. Is this to be expected of a civilised Government, when we have to make up lost ground? I hold in my hand the latest issue of a scientific journal in Chemistry. Look at the number of original papers. Look at the record of one month's work in Chemistry alone? It amounts to 588 original papers by as many authors. A list of authors is given in alphabetical index. It represents only one branch of science. There are similar activities in Physics, Biology, Bacteriology, Botany, Physiology, and so forth. I need not amplify the names. There are several thousands of papers published in Europe, America, and Japan every month. What is the contribution made by Indians? Barely one or two. We are practically nowhere if we take our students' contributions in the scientific world. Such being the case, one might have expected of the Government of India, or of its successor, the Government of Bengal, to come forward with a liberal grant to uphold us in this struggle we are making in advancing the cause of Science? Only this morning one of my colleagues, the Professor of Physical Chemistry, an ardent student of science spoke to me with reference to the inadequacy of equipment in the College of Science. Just two years ago, about this time, while I was in London it was my privilege to attend a Conference of Chemists, at which papers on Colloid Chemistry and on other subjects were read, and amongst these papers there was one

contributed by this young friend of mine. The "NATURE" remarked that of all the papers read in the Conference, the most important was the one by my young friend who need not be named. We were fortunate in securing his services on a pay, which is the initial pay of the Indian Educational Service. He was complaining to me this very morning that he could not send an order for a small table so that he might put up apparatus for making experiments. I, as responsible head of the Department, was taken to task by the Education Minister, because I had ordered a few thousands worth of articles in anticipation. We have to anticipate orders for scientific apparatus at the Presidency College. If we have to order anything, as is contemplated in the new scheme, we shall have to wait in the ante-chamber, not only of the Minister but his advisors. I think we had better show a bold front. The conditions which have been imposed are so humiliating, so gallingly derogatory to our self-respect, that we had better close down the concern, lock up the gates of the University and go about the country for support. It appears that the Government has actually abdicated its function. Strange doctrines of Political Philosophy are being enunciated. We are told that the primary function of the Government of India as well as of the Government of Bengal is the maintenance of "law and order." Hence they were very careful to see that only military expenditure and that of the Police of the Provincial Government were provided for. Other departments might well be left to take care of themselves, to starve, to shiver in the cold shade of neglect. We cannot put up with this state of things. Let the Government abdicate its function if it likes. I must play the role of the professional beggar. I have gone about the country with the beggar's bowl. Last year I got in this way three lacs for Khulna famine. This year I have got more than five lacs. I think the patriotism of Bengal will prove equal to the occasion if the Government adopts this strange attitude. Government was unstinted in its liberality when it came to decorate the ball room at the Belvedere. A grave crisis is looming large in the horizon of our national intellectual progress. We are threatened with a national disaster. So it behoves us to take concerted action and try our best to avert the calamity. We should gird up our loins and see that the noble heritage which has been granted to us is not bartered for a mess of pottage. I feel very very strongly on this occasion. In the evening of my life I thought I might hand down to our successors the lamp which we have been able to light so very dimly, so that it might burn very brilliantly. That feeble light is about to be extinguished. That is the reason why on this occasion I have not been able to keep my vow of silence. Seldom or never have I taken any active part in the debates of the Senate. I was content simply with recording a silent vote. On a memorable occasion, more than a century ago, Raja Rammohan

Ray, the maker of modern Bengal, nay of modern India, addressed a letter to the then Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, saying that silence on his part would be construed as a great dereliction of duty. On that occasion the illustrious Raja pleaded the cause of Western Education, in the interest of not only literature and philosophy, but also in the interest of my own favourite subject, Chemistry. The appeal which he made in the interest of high education yet appeals to the heart of the later generations. We shall not go down on our knees. Let us go to the people of the country, headed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and a deputation of the Senate, and make a house to house visit—or rather a visitation. Come what it may I am sure the cause of education will not suffer. I need not speak further. I have said what I had to say and I could not keep myself under anything like restraint.

About this barter of our birth-right, I should beg to read a very notable extract from the speech of Mr. Fisher, late Minister of Education in England. We have concluded our report with it, we cannot do better than to lay special stress upon it. It is an inducement to refuse to accept any Government grant on humiliating terms. The Minister of Education distinctly says that no one appreciates more fully than himself the vital importance of preserving the liberty and autonomy of the University as laid down in the statute. I make a final appeal to the Education Minister to read and digest every word of the report and think twice before he pursues the course which he has contemplated. With these words I submit the report for adoption.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen seconded the motion, observing that every member of the Senate should be proud of this monumental report.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—The matter is now open for discussion.

Prof. Hiralal Halder :—The report of the Committee should be an eye-opener to many. It is an effective reply to those who say that the University has wantonly and in unnecessarily bitter conflict with the Government made arrangements for Post-Graduate teaching and research. What are the main facts? The Act of 1904 definitely requires that the Calcutta University should be a teaching University. In accordance with its provisions, arrangements for Post-Graduate instruction were made as soon as that Act came into force. The Government of India at first viewed with sympathy the efforts of the University in this direction. For some reason or other that sympathy gradually changed into indifference and indifference into hostility. A strong and influential Committee was appointed to inquire into the teaching activities of the University. That Committee presented a unanimous report. The Government of India intimated that they would be prepared to give their sanction to the recommendations of the Committee if the Senate accepted them.

The Senate approved of the scheme and the organisation for Post-Graduate teaching came into being. How then can it be said that the Vice-Chancellor alone is responsible for the development that has taken place? It is not necessary to be exceptionally talented to understand that in this imperfect world nothing can be done without money. While money was not wanting for the unnecessary creation of new Universities—nothing was available for the premier University of India. Not only the Government of India did not help the University, but it refused to allow it to help itself. The Government rejected the proposal for increasing the examination fees. At this juncture an important change of scene took place. The Government of India made their exit. The Government of Bengal entered, looking very agreeable and smiling most pleasantly. So bland was the smile that even a sedate man like Sir Nilratan Sircar was captivated. The outlook seemed to be bright and hopeful. This was in February, 1921. But in February, 1922, the smile most unaccountably was changed into a frown, and a few days later in March, came the famous outburst. March is, no doubt, a season of thunderstorms, but so sudden a thunder clap on the very first day of the month was scarcely expected. "Thoughtless expansion," "almost a criminal act," exclaimed the Minister of Education! But in spite of this indictment, the Vice-Chancellor is not in the prisoner's dock. On the contrary he happens to be in excellent company, in the company of no less a man than the renowned philosopher, Edward Caird. The result of his efforts to reform the University of Glasgow is thus stated by his biographers—"There ensued a rapid and large development of teaching power in the University. A great many lecturers and assistants were appointed, more subjects were taught, and the ways in which subjects could be chosen and grouped for degrees are now not easily numbered. Moreover, the influence exerted by the large younger staff of lecturers and assistants upon both the Professors and the undergraduates is, to put it modestly, informing for the latter and stimulating for both." By what strange mischance is it that what is praiseworthy in Glasgow becomes criminal in Calcutta?

If, after the vituperation of March and July last, the money voted by the Council had safely arrived, it would have been some consolation. But it is not within sight, and we poor teachers of the University are still starving. There is a Bengalee saying "Dog, wait in expectation until the month of *Pous*, rice will be given to you then." The month of *Pous* is coming. I wonder whether the Minister of Education is going to give us rice then.

Why the letter of the 23rd August was written is a mystery. The best course for the Government would have been, as Principal Bose suggested at the time, to send the report of the Accountant-General to the University with the request that necessary action might be taken. If the object of the Government really was to improve the financial position of the

University, they committed a sad blunder in writing a letter like that. If, on the other hand, their object was to humiliate the University, they have admirably succeeded in achieving that purpose. I have heard people asking why the University could not accept the conditions of the Government, some of which at any rate were not unreasonable. The answer is that they could not be accepted because they are presented as an ultimatum. No self-respecting body that values its freedom can tamely submit to dictation. Sir, they in the Ministry of Education would do well to study Psychology a little. They will then understand that it is not easy for a self-respecting man or a self-respecting body of men to accede to demands made at the point of the bayonet.

Although the University cannot sell its birth right for a mess of pottage, we are not obstructive in spirit and are not unwilling to do what we can, to put our house in order. Of our own motion, we have in the budget rules adopted most of the suggestions of the Accountant-General. There has been a large reduction of expenditure in the Post-Graduate department. The Government has absolutely no cause of complaint now. Then why keep up the strife any longer? As I said on a former occasion, if there be good will and an honest desire to settle differences, the whole difficulty can be easily surmounted within a short time. Where there is a will there is a way. Eliminate personal considerations, do not ask to humiliate the University, and there will be no further difficulty. I appeal to the Minister of Education to take a broad statesman-like view of the whole question and to remember that the progress of a country depends more on University education of the right type than on primary education. I cannot think that the Minister of Education really wishes to go down to posterity as the man during whose time the Calcutta University was ruined. The policy he is pursuing is dangerous. It has brought him to the very verge of the inexpressible sin of killing his own *alma mater*, the greatest University of India. It is to be hoped that he will be saved from this disgrace even at the eleventh hour.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose :—I very much regret I have not been able to agree in many of the findings of my colleagues. Therefore, I cannot support the resolution which has been moved. In the first place, what appears to me the most regrettable thing is that the Committee got an opportunity to improve the relations between this University and the Government and it has let that opportunity slip. Next, the line of action which the Committee has recommended to the Senate for adoption is one which, in my opinion, is further widening the gulf, and the very strained relations between the parties will make it impossible to advance the cause of higher education in the province. So much has been said about the conditions of the grant that I shall make only a few observations on that matter. The grant is conditional. Every grant made for any purpose is almost

invariably conditional. The grants which the Government of India has hitherto made to the Calcutta University, or the grants which we have received from private persons, were all subject to certain conditions which we never hesitated to accept. The Committee have advised us to reject the grant, because it is conditional. But there is nothing in the conditions which makes the grant unacceptable. In the first place, in the Government letter the advice has been given, which is based on the report of the Accountant-General who finds certain irregularities in the system of our keeping accounts, framing budgets, and recording Proceedings, that our system of keeping accounts should be put in order. Therefore the Government imposes the condition that the accounts should be kept properly and our house should be put in order. This is at least one of the few conditions. Now, as regards the balance sheet and the proceedings, so far as the conditions are concerned, we have already adopted certain budget rules which, I think, for the most part comply with many of those conditions, so that I do not think there is any cause for quarrel between us and the Government in this matter. In all fairness it must be said that the irregularities and the defects noticed by the Accountant-General, in spite of the pleadings of the Committee and the arguments put forward in defence, do exist, and it is only reasonable to accept certain budget rules whereby we can put our house in order. You should not incur any expenditure for further expansion of the University until your finances have improved. I take that as a friendly hint. Every friend will give that advice—until your finances have improved you should not expand. What is the harm? It is simple truth and no body can deny the soundness of the suggestions which have been made by the Government. Now, did we give proper attention to this matter? I do not think we did. For this reason let us see how our funds stood in 1908. We had a surplus. Our income went on increasing until 1918 when we had a deficit. Of course, we did incur expenditure without giving proper attention to our sources of income. Neither any institution nor any person ought to incur expenditure without the means. This is one of the conditions of the Government. Out of two lacs and fifty thousand Rupees, pay the staff and the fees of the examiners. This is a condition which the Government has imposed. I do not think we can raise any objection to it. The Committee have dealt with the ground of the Accountant-General who makes the Post-Graduate department mainly responsible for the deficit of the University. The Post-Graduate system came into existence in 1917. We had more than 2 lacs of Rupees as surplus; at the end of that year the surplus came down to 19 thousand Rupees.

• **The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor:**—Do not take everything on trust.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose :—He is an expert Sir. In 1918 there was a surplus but there was a debit balance of Rupees 38 thousand. Next year the debit balance increased to one lac and in the year following it swelled still. If that is so, can we say conscientiously that in managing our finances of the Post-Graduate department we were very prudent in our action? Did we examine carefully what our income was? Of course there was the point that the Government ought to have come to the help of the Post-Graduate department. But the question is, did not we receive any assurance with reference to the allocation of certain funds upon which alone we should depend?

Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjee :—Never.

Dr. Bose :—They put it down that we must not depend on them.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee :—That is your view of the matter.

Dr. Bose :—I leave that point. Then there is one matter and it is that the Committee have accused Government of not helping the University for raising the examination fees of the students. When this proposal was brought before the Senate, it was my privilege to oppose it, although the opposition was in a minority and the majority carried it. After that a very strong agitation was set on foot all over the country and there were also protests in the papers, against the action of the Senate. The agitation was carried on all over the province. Can you blame the Government in refusing the proposal of the Senate in deference to public opinion? These are some points in the findings of the Committee, in which I do not agree. There is another matter—the Committee ought to have come to a constructive conclusion instead of coming to the conclusion that we should reject the Government Grant.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—No, we have not rejected it.

Dr. Bose :—The Committee should have made some friendly suggestions as to how to meet the present deficit. This I think is what we expected of the Committee. Before the Senate accepts this resolution, I would simply ask for the assurance how the deficit is to be made up. Otherwise, it would not be wise for the Senate to adopt this course.

Rev. Dr. J. Watt :—What will be the position of the Senate if the resolution is accepted in the terms in which Sir P. C. Ray has proposed it? Does it mean that the grant will be refused on the conditions offered?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—I am not in the secrets of the Government of Bengal. Why assume that if the Senate were to say that it is not prepared to accept the conditions, the Government of Bengal would say—here is the rifle at your head and we would shoot you down?

Rev. Dr. G. Howells :—I am sorry Dr. Chuni Lal Bose does not see his way to accept the main contentions of the report. It is undoubtedly a sound principle that no institution should spend money beyond its income. That applies to individual institutions and also to Government. When we hear that the Government of Bengal has a deficit of some 87 lacs, and when it comes to us with a very superior air and seeks to chastise us for the few lacs that we have gone beyond our income, it is only human nature to reply—"Physician heal thyself." At any rate it does not strike me that the Government of Bengal is in a strong position there. As to the conditions, I first thought that they might be accepted by the University with a little protest. But the more I studied the matter and the more it was discussed on the Committee, the more it became perfectly clear to me that there was a spirit behind these conditions that was really dangerous to our existence as an autonomous institution. We have these conditions to-day. Accept them and to-morrow the conditions will be much more rigid. In order to get rid of the temporary difficulty should we yield and go against the best traditions of University administration all over the World? Instead of remaining an autonomous institution should the University become a department of the Government? At any rate, as educationists, we should feel very little interest in being simply a Government Department. The conditions and specially the spirit behind them are against the traditions of progressive Universities all over the World. In view of all the facts placed before you in the report, can a single autonomous University of standing in the Western World, for instance, accept conditions of this kind? Oxford and Cambridge would certainly reject them without hesitation and say—"We will go on as an inefficient institution rather than yield to conditions of this kind." I admit we shall be in difficulty. But it seems to me that we shall have a great deal more of public sympathy than hitherto, when the facts will become known after the publication of this report. I do not think for a moment that the people of Bengal will consider that we have done our duty if we sell our birth right in this matter. When Sir P. C. Ray spoke of the possibility of appealing to the people of Bengal and going from door to door with the Vice-Chancellor at the head of the procession, I noticed there was a little smile, yet the University must have real national support. Its defence must be based on the support of the people. We, Welsh people for instance, look back with pride when more than 50 years ago the first University College was established in Wales; it was a feature of real pride to us that one-fourth of the population contributed their mite or something bigger than their mite to the foundation of what was known at that time as the "University College of Wales." Surely rather than become a mere department of Government with all its red tape, with all its political expedients and intrigues, we would rather go from door to door. We cannot yield to humiliating conditions. We are here to maintain the

great principles that are associated with University life, and it must be recognised that when a University becomes a department of Government, things are too often decided from the standpoint not of education but of political expediency. Such an atmosphere is fatal to the real educational character of our institution or of any similar institution. Therefore, while I deplore the difficulties of the position, I am strongly against selling our convictions. It will be a betrayal of the great trust imposed on us as a University, if we yield, and with no small regret I have come to the conclusion that we have no alternative but to refuse the conditions.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri:—I accord this resolution my whole-hearted support. I regret there has been a dissentient voice with regard to it. I fear my honoured friend has not very carefully studied the report, so carefully as it deserves to be studied. The recommendations are set out in the report and I do not find there is such recommendation as referred to by him. Conditions ought not to be imposed without consideration. Conditions may destroy the authority of the institution. Authorities are cited in the report itself in support of this view. The Government has laid down various conditions. Do you think the University is devoid of common sense that it sanctions schemes for which there is no money forthcoming? There is no ground for such complaint. In February, 1922, our letter said *money was not needed for new work to be undertaken*. Is it conceivable that the Government should have misunderstood it? We say there is so much in deficit. We do not want money for new schemes. We wanted money to meet the deficit. We said it was required to meet liabilities which have been already incurred. Is there any indication in the letter, any ground for suspecting that it was intended for any other purpose? Has there been anything said or done by the University since that time which indicates that we wanted to expand the Post-Graduate or any other scheme? There is no justice in the complaint made by my friend Dr. Chunilal Bose. Why are we forgetting the change which has taken place so far as the constitution of the University is concerned? When I came out from England after finishing my career in the Cambridge University I thought our system defective. The Calcutta University was said to have been founded upon the basis of the London University. I examined that statement. I remember having spoken in the Albert Hall where I likened the Calcutta University to a cabbage. In those days the Calcutta University was very much like a cabbage—one of the quickest and completest of vegetables without much substance. So far as the London University was concerned they had elected Fellows. I described the Fellowship here as the last rag of dignity in the gift of the Crown. That was one of the reasons which I believe led the Government to say, "we shall allow the graduates of Calcutta to elect." I am one of the four Graduates who were elected at the very first election.

The complaint in the country was then that the Calcutta University was not a teaching University but merely an examining University. In 1904, in February, during Lord Curzon's time, the University Act was enacted and the Act received sanction in March of the same year and the University was converted into a teaching and research University. We were asked to frame regulations under that Act,—I was a member of the Senate then. We did our best to frame regulations but we were late. Without extending the time the Government disregarded the resolutions as framed by us as they were incomplete and appointed a Committee for the purpose of framing the regulations. Chapter XI of the Regulations says that *there shall be Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science*. Grants came from Lord Curzon. From 1904 to 1910 and 1911 we received grants. Then question arose what was to be done about Post-Graduate Studies. The matter was referred by the Government to a Committee called the Post-Graduate Committee. In 1916 the Post-Graduate Committee made its report. The Government wanted it to be placed before the Senate and the Senate approved of that report. The Government then sanctioned that scheme. The report set out the details of the work that was being done. The Government having sanctioned this in September, 1917, the University established Post-Graduate teaching. Now I ask—was Post-Graduate teaching established without the sanction and support of the Government? If we have sinned by taking up the work, we have sinned at the instigation of the Government. But we have not sinned and we claim to have done good work with the sympathetic support of Government. We expected the Government to support us. We made frequent appeals. When these appeals were made, was there a straightforward refusal at any time? There were ambiguous replies—"your appeal will be considered in connection with other educational requirements." This is the way they went on putting us off. In the meantime, you know what happened. New Delhi is being erected, but there is no money for the Calcutta University. We asked for money for a good Chemical Laboratory for the Presidency College, but no money was forthcoming although there was plenty of money for the ball room at Belvedere called the "Darbar Hall." We apprehended and the Government knew very well that during 1919 and 1920 there would be a deficit. The reason for the deficit is fully set out in the report. There was a leakage of University questions which involved us in loss to the extent of 60 thousand Rupees. That was unforeseen. Then there was the Non-co-operation movement and our fees fell off. The University pointed out that owing to the Non-co-operation movement the fees had fallen off. There were protests that we had exaggerated the effect of the movement. We had not done so. A careful note was made to show how the matter stood, which has not been challenged by any one. The University had expected that their income would continue to grow but the

Non-co-operation movement sapped our strength. We believed that financial help would be forthcoming from the Government but it did not come. We have starved, but have not ceased to live. The University will live long and live to grow and bring glory to the country. What we have said in the report now before you is this. We have asked the Government—will you kindly give us help? We want your help. What are the conditions to be imposed? Can the Government say—we pay so much to you but you must not teach the Vedanta, or the Quoran? Cut down such and such branches of study. Can it claim to have that right? We ask—Is money forthcoming to give effect to the Act? We regret this has been lost sight of. I am tempted to cite the case of a big Zemindar who did not grudge paying lacs in litigation but curtailed his fish allowance of six annas a day. As for a friendly talk with the Minister, which has been suggested, what will be the friendly talk about? Friendly talks are sometimes effective. They are particularly effective in domestic affairs. The boudoir is a very desirable place for settling domestic disputes. But with regard to public matters, a private conference has never proved to be useful. I refer Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose to the policy enunciated by Mr. Herbert Fisher as Minister of Education of Great Britain, which has been quoted with approval by the Royal Commission:—"No one appreciates more fully than myself the vital importance of preserving the liberty and autonomy of the Universities within the general lines laid down under their constitution. The State is, in my opinion, not competent to direct the work of education and disinterested research which is carried on by Universities, and the responsibility for its conduct must rest solely with their Governing Bodies and Teachers. This is a principle which has always been observed in the distribution of the funds which Government has voted for subsidising University work; so long as I have any hand in shaping the national system of education I intend to observe this principle." This is exactly what we are saying. I refer you to another passage quoted from the report of the Royal Commission by Sir Harcourt Butler in the Convocation address delivered by him on the 4th November, 1922, as Chancellor of the University of Allahabad:—"That the attempt of the State to control opinion in the Universities and Colleges broke down in 1688, and was never revived, is a great fact that has distinguished our University system from that of France and Germany. It is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. If there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion in the Universities, it might be the less of two evils that they should decline in efficiency, rather than lose their independence in order to obtain adequate means. But the ways of thought and feeling of the modern British Community are hostile to any development in the direction of State control of the academic spirit, and the public grants already enjoyed by the

old Scottish and new English Universities have not led to State interference with opinion and tendency in those Institutions." We ask the same to be done in our case. We are living from hand to mouth. This state of things is not confined to the poor Calcutta University alone but exists also in bigger Universities. Has it ever been suggested to the English Universities that money was to be paid to them upon similar conditions? Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, while dealing with the question of a Reserve Fund in a University, said :—"I have yet to find the University which builds up a reserve fund, as a submarine cable company builds up a reserve for the renewal of its cables, knowing that some day or other the crisis must come. Our poverty has made us opportunists; we live from hand to mouth. Probably we are right to concentrate on present efficiency—to take no thought for the morrow. If saving can be carried out only at the cost of usefulness we do well not to save." Do they suffer from want of intelligence? Bureaucratic interference is frequently pettifoggery and stupid red-tapism, as the *Times* once said. Should we not be congratulated on our loyalty to the University? Should Government raise a false issue and come and say that we must build a reserve? They know that as constituted we cannot now build it up so far as our fees are concerned. The Sadler Commission says that fee income is precarious. It must vary from year to year. When we wanted to raise it Government felt it should yield to public clamour against it and did not let us raise them. On their suggestion the tuition fees of the Post-Graduate classes have been raised. But the conscience of the Government sleeps from time to time. The Government considered our proposal for increasing the examination fees as a desire to slaughter the innocents. I doubt if I made a wise suggestion while talking with a member of the Executive Council some years ago at Simla that an Indian should be made the Minister of Education in the Imperial Government, because education was a matter essentially ours. I thought then that was the best thing to do. I do not know I should be prepared to support that in its entirety now, because an English graduate carries with him the traditions of his *Alma Mater*. I regret matters now under discussion should have taken such an acrimonious turn. I fear there may be invisible hands in the matter, but although Ghosts may be abroad they avoid open day light. I think it is our duty to support this report. I beg that you will accept the report which has to-day been presented to you.

Mr. K. K. Chanda :—We know the Minister cannot grant any money without the sanction of the Council. I do not know how the Minister has taken that attitude about imposing conditions. There was no discussion about it at the time. We also find that he has made a deviation, in response to our appeal for meeting the deficit of five lacs, only half that amount has been voted and the Minister directs us to pay the salaries of the teachers at once.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee :—Out of compassion !

Mr. Chanda :—I do not know how the Minister directs that out of the grant of two and half lacs the teachers and the examiners should be paid at once. I do not know how the matter stands. After all, the conditions are imposed by the representatives of the people not by the Bureaucracy. My friend Dr. Halder seemed to have doubt whether the Minister was the representative of the people. Is it a sound thing to say that it is safe to place the University under the Government ? Well, Sir, we are told there is a responsible Government in this country now. Some people believe it and some say it is only the first instalment. I find some difficulty in distinguishing it. Every student of constitutional history knows that to make responsible Government successful in the country, there should be two parties, one for the Government and the other, the Opposition. What is done by one party, is undone by the other party. Once you make education a part of politics, the result will be disastrous. Dr. P. C. Ray has placed before you opinions of several distinguished people. I only hope our first Minister of Education will accept these authorities. You will find other opinions also quoted. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri has said that the Government of India sanctioned the scheme. So it was morally bound to support the scheme. Lord Chelmsford himself supported it and so also did Lord Ronaldshay. The Commission also recommended that an immediate grant should be made to the University towards the maintenance of the Post-Graduate department. Is the University to blame then ? Is it our fault that the Government has not helped us ?

Mr. Herambachandra Maitra :—I am sincerely grateful to our friend Dr. Chunilal Bose for having forcibly presented to the Senate his view of the case. There is no life where there is no difference of opinion. May I invite the attention of the Senate to one fact of vital importance which has been pressed upon our attention and which, I am sorry to find, has been lost sight of by my distinguished friend ? It is a report of the Accountant-General, upon which is based the grave charge that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. This makes it necessary for us to consider the report very carefully. The Accountant-General has stated that three lacs out of a total deficit of five lacs and a half is due to causes over which the University had no control. Shall we be far wrong in coming to the conclusion that the Government, in declaring the financial administration of the University to be unsatisfactory on account of a deficit which has been so largely due to causes beyond our control, laboured under preconceptions of which it was unable to divest itself in dealing with this question ? It is quite clear that it has not viewed things in the dry light of truth. If only the Government had followed the ordinary procedure of sending the report of the Accountant-General to the Syndicate and waiting for its reply before giving judgment,

there would have been no occasion for this most unhappy controversy, which no body laments more than I. It is most desirable that there should be a friendly understanding between Government and the University. We are not free from shortcomings. We are human beings and ours is a human institution. But let us place the report of the Accountant-General and the reply of the Committee side by side, and say whether it is just to base a charge against the University on that report. My learned friend said that he was unable to give his support to the views of the Committee in spite of its pleadings. But I find no "pleadings" in the Committee's criticism of the statements made by the Accountant-General. I find an array of facts drawn up in a manner which made me recall to mind Lord Morley's pronouncement on Burke's *Report on the Lords' Journals*. I may now cite the Committee's reply to the charge so often brought against us by the public that the University has been lavish in expenditure. I see not far from me a friend who on one occasion advised us to economise in order that we might get out of the difficult situation in which we are now placed. Very sound advice. And what has the University done? It declared its readiness to economise *before any criticism hostile or friendly emanated from the Bengal Government*. The Registrar said in his letter of the 14th February last to Government: "It is necessary to point out that no fresh liabilities are being incurred. Wherever practicable, vacancies on the staff have not been filled up; when it has been found absolutely necessary to fill up a vacancy, a person has been appointed for the shortest possible term, and on the lowest pay acceptable." It is much to be regretted that in spite of this we should be repeatedly told that the University has gone on increasing expenditure and does not agree to cut down expenses. My friend Dr. Bose says that whenever there has been a grant of money, conditions have been imposed. We are willing to accept conditions consistent with self-respect. Government officers are deputed to examine our accounts, and they audit the accounts year after year for ten months in the year. In spite of this we are asked to send accounts to the Government every month. To do this would be to convert the University into a department of the Secretariat.

I wish to say a word on the post-graduate classes maintained by the University, from the point of view of Indian teachers. My illustrious friend Sir P. C. Ray has made out a case for the Science College with great ability. I feel I ought to say something for the University classes in Arts. I once drew the attention of my learned friend Mr. James to the fact that the noblest sentences in Plato's *Republic* read like translations of the *Upanishads*; and he said it was the duty of Indian scholars to point out these coincidences of the best thought of the East with the teachings of great Western thinkers. We Indian teachers have something to say on the relations of the literature of our country to the literature of the West—we have something to say on the transcendentalism of

Germany, England, and America from the Indian point of view. The University post-graduate classes have proved an incentive to work on these lines for many of us. They have created opportunities of useful work for us which we did not before enjoy.

We are grateful to the Committee for its thorough investigation of the questions involved. But I am constrained to say I wish certain passages of the Report had been omitted or altered. I confess I do not like the reference to inflated salaries and hill allowances. If people in high places throw off the mantle of dignity in which they ought always to be clothed, we as an academic body ought not to imitate their example.

Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjee :—The poet has sung—

“ Strange was the sight and smacking of the time,
And long we gazed, but satiated at length,
Came to the ruins. ”

I am reminded of these lines in connection with statements made about the finances of the University by members of the Bengal Legislative Council, by the Accountant-General and the Minister for Education, as well as the Rai Bahadur for whom I have great respect and esteem. I listened very patiently to the utterances of the Rai Bahadur, just as I very carefully studied the utterances of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council, and the Minister for Education, and the Report of the Accountant-General. The more I have studied these, the more, Sir, has the feeling been brought home to me, that, in the words of the poet, we have witnessed strange spectacles and seen strange sights. The first attack that was made by the Minister for Education on this University, was made when there was no occasion for it, as his department had not been attacked. The Minister is expected to be on the defensive only when his department is attacked, but strangely enough, on this occasion he went out of his way to attack the University and charge us with “criminal and thoughtless expansion of the Post-Graduate Department,” without any occasion for it. Again, when the proposal for the appointment of a Committee to look into the finances of the University was made in the Bengal Legislative Council, a member of the Council went the length of saying that it had been alleged that there were members of the Post-Graduate staff who were not equal to their work. Again, another member of the Council said there were Post-Graduate teachers who had neither the knowledge nor the training necessary for teaching their subjects. He also said that the unusually high percentage of passes at the Matriculation Examination revealed an abnormal state of things, as if sickness was the normal condition and a large percentage of failures was consequently normal. Sir, such statements were fraught with the gravest consequences, and strange indeed is the sight we see and have been seeing for some time. Later on, another strange scene opened. The Accountant-General

wrote a report containing statements of an erroneous character. The Report now before the Senate fully shows that in connection with the Ramtanu Lahiri Fund and other things, the Accountant-General has made erroneous statements, and yet, the Minister for Education, without waiting to hear what we have to say passed judgment on us to the effect that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. Sir, what shall I say? When I consider the Rai Bahadur's utterances, I am fully confirmed in my belief that we are seeing strange sights. I yield to none in my loyalty to Government, not even to the Rai Bahadur. You may ask me why I have singled him out. Because, Sir, as ex-Sheriff of Calcutta he is a most prominent citizen. I claim that though like him I am loyal to Government, and render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, I render unto God the things that are God's. Now, loyalty to truth is loyalty to God, and hence, if it is necessary, on any occasion, in the interest of truth, to criticise Government, I am bound to do so. The Rai Bahadur has said that the Report of the Accountant-General is that of an expert, and therefore ought to be accepted. But experts are human beings, and to err is human, and the Accountant-General is not an exception to that. This has been conclusively proved in the Report of the Committee now before the House. Then again the Rai Bahadur has said that the Government of India possibly refused to enhance the fees for the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations, because there was a popular clamour against it. But I ask the Rai Bahadur—Does he mean to hold the view that whatever the people clamour for is right—and Government should therefore accept the views of the people on every occasion? Then Sir, it follows according to his logic that as the Non-co-operation movement was supported by a large section of the population, Government should have associated itself with this movement so that the Government might go down to posterity emblazoned in letters of gold, with those of the Non-co-operation party. The Rai Bahadur will at once see the absurdity of his contention. Again, the Rai Bahadur has said that all grants are conditional. But he has forgotten that there are conditions and conditions. The Minister for Education has laid down conditions, the acceptance of which would deal a death-blow to the freedom we possess as a corporate body, and to the rights which we enjoy as a University under the existing Acts. As an illustration of this, I refer to the condition that we should send every month an account of our receipts and expenditure to Government. Now, Sir, while I find that, in the West, distinguished men have been fighting for the freedom of Universities, passages from whose writings have been quoted in the Report now before the House, the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education wants to reduce the Calcutta University to a condition of slavery and servitude. Hence, Sir, I say, with all the emphasis I can command—"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

We have seen, Sir, the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education putting the coping stone on the proud Babel it has been rearing, not on the plains of Shinar but on the plains of Bengal, by laying down conditions which will fetter our freedom, enslave us thoroughly and put an end to our rights as a corporate body. I, therefore, most emphatically support the resolution moved by Sir P. C. Ray, for, believe me, the acceptance of such conditions as have been laid down, not only is impracticable, so far as some particular one is concerned, but most undesirable, for no one should barter away his cherished rights for a certain amount of money. Sir, the poet has said "we came to the ruins." It indicates the ruins of statesmanship to reduce the University to a state of slavery. As the University has problems of its own to face and solve, it must be granted a considerable measure of freedom and independence, for the University men are just the men fitted by their special knowledge and experience to tackle such problems. Educational problems and connected matters require educational experts for their proper handling and this is a vision which all ought to see if the interests of the University are to be safe-guarded.

Mr. Khagendranath Mitter read the following:—Sir, I rise to speak with a sense of diffidence, because I am in the unenviable position of serving two masters. Whichever side I may take in this debate I cannot avoid the motive of having an axe to grind. But I have a duty to those who elected me. On an occasion like this when the very existence of the University is at stake, I shall not be justified in recording a silent vote. But I cannot, however, say that the Report of the Committee is based on a very strong and incontestable proposition. One of them is that we must have education and the best amount of education. The other is that we must not tolerate interference from any outside authority. These two propositions will appeal to most people. They will appeal to me and I hope they will appeal to you. They are abstract propositions. But I would just suggest a little caution. Because, the report has struck me as unsatisfactory in this that it presents only one side of the case. This is very deplorable for the reason that all sides of the case must be represented in order that nothing may cloud our vision, also in order that we may have a dispassionate view of the case which is so very essential. The report gives the idea that the Government is guilty of a dereliction of duty. It has never given money, and our financial bankruptcy is entirely due to the fact that we are not receiving additional assistance from the Government. To a certain extent it is true. We may not agree with the view but the Government knows how much it can spend on education. I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that the Government of India left us in the lurch, because our distinguished countrymen made such magnificent endowments for the Science College but the Government of India did not supplement their funds. I do not know why. But the fact is that. We have

not taken into account the difficulties of the Minister of Education. When the burden of the bankruptcy of the University fell upon the new Government of Bengal, there was not much money at the disposal of the Government. Besides, there was a great volume of hostile opinion inside the Bengal Legislative Council, also outside of it, against the administration of the University. The Minister of Education took that into account. Now, if I am permitted to review the history of Post-Graduate teaching in this University, I think it will be well to refresh our mind. The Government imposed the conditions and the Committee accepted it that there was no prospect of any grant from the Government in the near future.

Mr. Girischandra Bose—The Senate did not accept it.

Mr. Mitter—Allow me to proceed, Sir; you will have your chance. The idea was in the mind of the Senators that the Post-Graduate department should be self-supporting.

The Hon'ble The Vice-Chancellor—No.

Mr. Mitter—The University wanted to enhance the examination fees but the Government did not agree. I do not know why. It may be in deference to popular opposition. Or it may be due to the consideration that the Post-Graduate Department was based on conditions that the existing resources would be utilised for its maintenance. Then, Sir, we find that as we were struggling, we were expanding. The Government warned us against expansion beyond our means, still we went on expanding, like the Frog in *Æsop's Fables* till we burst. Sir, you have got your limits. I cannot accept the recommendations of Sir P. C. Ray that the Science College should be an ideal college and the Post-Graduate Department should be an ideal Department though there is no fund at the disposal of the Government.

I come now to the question of State interference. The conditions attached to the Government Grant constitute, it is said, an undue interference with the freedom of the University and therefore "we cannot escape from the conclusion," says the report, "that the acceptance of the conditions is not merely undesirable but impracticable." Sir, this argument is more likely than the others, for some people will make a political capital out of it. In these days of Non-co-operation and strikes a section of the public will only be too glad to claim a body like the University into their ranks. But Sir, that is all the more reason why we should think twice before taking such a momentous step. Do the conditions really constitute a restriction of our freedom as an academic body? The learned speaker who preceded me examined the conditions in detail and it remains for me only to offer a few general remarks. First, let me ask, do the Government conditions imposed contemplate periodical inspection by the Government? Do they contemplate bureaucratic regulation? Do the

Government propose to define the courses of study for us? Do they put any restriction on the appointment of the staff or on the freedom of opinion or religious or political creed of the Lecturers. This—any one of these things—will constitute State interference and I should be the last person to suggest that the University should sell its academic freedom for a mess of pottage. All the conditions mentioned in the Government letter relate to control of finance. We should not expand, they desire, till our finances improve, we should not appoint any lecturer in anticipation of sanction, lest further financial liabilities should be incurred, which we can not meet. Budget estimates should be prepared in time, so that the Senate may be able to exercise greater control on the funds of the University, the Board of Accounts should meet more frequently so that the autocratic methods of spending money may be put an end to. All these conditions without exception relate to finances and not to any academic matter whatsoever. Conditions are always irksome, and I agree with the opinion which the Committee has quoted in its Report with approval, *viz.*, “that with Government money given in large quantities will go Government control.” Again “while Government money will have to be given to the Universities in large quantities and control exercised, such control means no more and no less than an assurance that the money is well and properly spent.” The writer in the “Times Educational Supplement,” who has been quoted in the Report before us, thinks that this assurance can be secured without any derogation from the dignity of the University.

I shall refer to one other point and I have done. This is a point to which I refer with considerable hesitation, for I am trying to touch upon a legal aspect of the question before an assembly in the composition of which perhaps the lawyer element preponderates.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri :—No, we are only 20 out of one hundred.

Mr. Mitter :—What is lost in quantity is gained in quality.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri :—We hope so.

Mr. Mitter (continuing) :—Sir, I am referring to the legality of the refusal to accept the Government offer to help the University in its financial crisis. Are we justified in rejecting pecuniary help from Government, when that help is necessary to the very existence of the University? My submission is that we are not. If we can carry on without State aid, it is quite up to us to tell the Government—take off the conditions or take off the contribution. But if we cannot do without it, then I venture to think it is not open to us to reject the offer of help. The Government of Bengal has granted us two lacs and a half and promises to approach the Council for a further grant to wipe out our deficits. Can we afford to do without

these grants? The offer no doubt is hemmed in with conditions, which, let us admit for arguments sake, we cannot accept. Is the University justified in spurning away the offer? Sir, you will be able to answer the question better. We are merely managers of the University. But my contention is that the University has no right for the time being. The University is a national institution and not our personal property. So when we cannot manage it, let others come who can. If we find it beneath our dignity to accept the offer, those who will take our place may not be of the same view. In any case, the vote of the nation is necessary, before we can decide the question in the way in which we propose to do it to-day. We have no power, I beg to point out, to shut up the University and go our own way. It is a constitutional point which requires to be cleared up before we can record our vote for or against Sir P. C. Ray's proposal.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray:—I cannot agree with Mr. Mitter. He is absolutely wrong when he says that the Committee is opposed to any interference. As I read the report, the Committee is anxious that no outside authority should hamper the University in its work. Beyond this, the Committee did not go. Mr. Mitter says that there was a great volume of public opinion against the University and suggests that this circumstance prevented the Minister from making an adequate grant to the University. I shall read to you an extract from the official report of the proceedings of the Bengal Council of the 11th of July, 1922, when the demand for the grant of 2 lacs and 50 thousand Rupces to the University was under consideration. Mr. S. N. Mallik, the present Chairman of the Corporation, who must be taken to be a person in responsible position said: "To my mind, as you know, it is best to take medicine in an empty stomach. The University has been going with an empty stomach for four months, and this is just the time when we can give a drop of medicine. It will do them good, for is it not a fact that the University has now come down? Are there not apparent signs of that? Whether they are willing to say that or not, or whether their friends here so chose to admit it or not, the fact is that they have come down. They have written a letter to say that they are willing to expose all their accounts and give information to you. Why? It is only because of the hunger that is there. There is no question about that. They are coming down, and this is just the time when we should give to them that help, for, after all, we are the mightier body. It is the mighty who alone can be relenting. And who is mightier of the two? We can be relenting to those who are smaller than ourselves. They are now down on their knees and asking for money. Is this not the time when we can be relenting?" I ask Mr. Mitter, is this the public opinion to which he refers? Rai Babadur Chunilal Bose also will no doubt appreciate the sentiment. There is the humiliating and unreasonable character of the conditions, but the Senate must

also spurn a grant when it is accompanied with such sentiment, such sense of duty, such sense of decorum, and such sense of decency on the part of those who hold the purse at the present moment.

Mr. Girischandra Bose :—I was of opinion that it would be more fitting if none of us, signatories to the report, spoke on this occasion. But one of the signatories has already spoken. The Report contains everything that could be said. I became a member of the Senate when I was rather young, and I have grown pretty old in its service. All along I have been a little bit of a fighter. I did so fight on many occasions, even if single-handed, often without a seconder. I have not yet got over that instinct of fighting. It is quite plain from the Report that I have signed. I have done it deliberately. My friend on the left (Dr. Chunilal Bose) has offered opposition, which, I take it, is the sauce of debates. I thank him heartily for giving an enzyme which has set up this fermentation. Every body seems to fall foul of my friend Rai Bahadur Dr. Bose.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose :—I never mind.

Mr. Bose :—Everybody is taking his name, saying some thing against and very little for him. He is quite welcome to express his views and his suggestion is that we shall be in a critical position if we do not accept two and a half lacs which have been offered, and we may have to shut up the University. Both he and Mr. Mitter seem to have forgotten that the Act of Incorporation of 1857 has laid down clearly that the Senate "shall have the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns and property of the said University." We can sell our assets, movable or immovable, if necessary. The Rai Bahadur need not be anxious as to how we shall proceed in case the Government withholds any grant.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri :—The Government said that we could mortgage.

Mr. Bose -We have so much power. Look at our limitations. We are required by the same Act to submit accounts *once a year* to the Government for such examination and audit as the Government may direct. We do submit accounts every year; what more do they want? If the Senate have gone beyond their powers, I shall be the first to fight against the Senate. The Rai Bahadur is an estimable friend of mine. I have a very great respect for him. But I must say that his fear as to how the University would be run, is perhaps due to his want of appreciation of what the sons of Bengal are capable of. If we do not accept the Government grant I am sure we shall be able to run the University. If Dr. Ray goes out with the begging bowl, he will be able to capture all Bengal, even India. As for the proposal to raise the examination fees, to which reference has been made, when it came before the Senate many members of the Senate spoke in favour of it, but an amendment was moved

by my humble self opposing the proposal, although my past experience was that perhaps it might fall through for the want of a seconder. I was fortunate to get a seconder in my friend on the right, Dr. Ray, who is a friend of poor students. All the members voted against the amendment excepting five.

A reference has been made to the past history of the inauguration of the Post-graduate Department, in respect of which the position taken up by me at the time has, it seems been much misunderstood. Then, as now, I consider, the said department to be the crown of the University, without which the University will be a headless lifeless corpse; what I did oppose was not the creation of it, but its method of making the Post-graduate studies a close preserve of the University. The colleges which had hitherto enjoyed the privilege were needlessly deprived of it to the detriment of their natural ambition for development and co-operation with the University. I take this opportunity of making a public declaration of my views to which I still adhere.

Sir Nilratan Sircar :—I shall take only a few minutes to deal with one or two points which have been raised by some of my friends. It has been said by Professor Mitter that the Post-Graduate Department has gone on expanding and expanding regardless of consequences. Rai Bahadur Chhnilal Bose also said that our expenditure has been increased without any heed to our resources. I emphatically repudiate the charge that we framed our budget without a proper examination of the possible sources of our revenue. But all budgets are framed in anticipation of revenue and expenditure and ours were no exception. The deficit was caused by unforeseen circumstances beyond our control.

While framing our budget we could not possibly anticipate that there would be a Non-co-operation movement next year that would deprive us of a large sum. The Accountant-General has justly held that at least three lacs out of the deficit of five and a half lacs were due to causes over which the University had no control.

There were also other causes, such as for instance—

(1) the loss of revenue due to the starting of three new Universities in the former jurisdiction of the Calcutta University;

(2) the increase of expenditure on account of post-War condition; and

(3) the increase of expenditure on account of the leakage of question papers. Any fair-minded critic would easily find that our deficit was due to other causes than *bad administration of our finances*.

Then as to the conditions of the gift. There are eight of them in one set and six others in another, the latter being the recommendation made by the Accountant-General. Of all

these, the fifth and eighth of the first set are the most important. I do not wish to discuss the humiliating fifth condition which has already received much attention at this meeting. But the eighth condition is simply impossible and impracticable. It runs thus :—"All arrears of salaries and at least half the amount of the examiners' remunerations amounting to Rs. 1,75,000 up to the 30th June, 1922, should be forthwith paid." I would remind the Senate that we received the letter containing this condition by the end of August. The accumulated "all arrears of salaries" alone at that time would come up to close upon three lacs and over and above that we were to pay "forthwith" half the examiners' remuneration, and all this out of a proposed gift of two lacs and a half. I am prepared to place the matter in the hands of Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and Professor Mitter for the purpose of giving effect to the conditions. It is in no refractory spirit that we reject the grant, but it is impossible to act according to many of the directions.

Mr. Jatindranath Maitra :—Sir, at the fag end of this debate, I shall not detain you long. I like to draw the attention of the Senate to one particular point which has up till now escaped the notice of the previous speakers. I would refer to the second paragraph of the letter from the Secretary, Government of Bengal, Education Department,—the letter which is the subject matter of discussion at the present moment. The letter says—"when the demand for a grant was made in the Legislative Council, during the last July session, there was a strong feeling that it should be rejected." Sir, the foregoing statement seems to me not only not true, but it is my personal impression that the truth is just the other way about. The pages of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council embodying the discussion of this particular matter, which I have got in my hand just now, would corroborate my statement. I find there were only two members of the Legislative Council, namely, Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar and Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq, who opposed the grant. Of the remaining members, several in number, who joined in the discussion, there was hardly any one who, in spite of his prejudices against the University, was not in favour of this particular grant. Even Mr. S. N. Mallik, Mr. D. C. Ghosh, and a few others, who spoke many things against the University, were in favour of this particular grant. Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar finally withdrew his motion. Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq also did the same and in doing so he distinctly stated that he had been round the House and talked with many of his Mahammadan friends—the majority of whom did not wish to wreck the University by starving their *Alma Mater* and that they would vote in support of the University. The Secretary, Education Department, however, writes, I think with the permission and knowledge of the Hon'ble Minister, "There was a strong feeling that it should be rejected." I have, however, stated the solid facts. How the Education Secretary arrived at this conclusion with the aforesaid premises I would better leave to the judgment of the Senators assembled

here including Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and my particular friend, Professor Khagendranath Mitter.

Sir, I was one of those who joined in the discussion, when the matter came up before the Legislative Council. There was a distinct feeling in the Council that the sum of Rs. 2,50,000 should be voted for; I had not the slightest suspicion that any condition would be imposed and naturally those members of the Council, like my humble self, who took the side of the University there, cannot but feel not only humiliated but even insulted by the Minister of Education and his Secretary owing to the sudden imposition of several unacceptable "conditions."

Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray :—The Rai Bahadur said that conditions should be imposed in every case of grant. Prof. Mitter raised the question of legality. We have got certain regulations to follow. One of the regulations of the Board of Accounts requires that the accounts should be sent once a year and the Government demands *monthly* accounts. Are we justified in going against the regulations?

Sir Praphullachandra Ray :—At this late hour and after the replies of Rev. Dr. Howells, Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Principal Maitra, Sir Nilratan Sircar, and others, I need scarcely say anything. So I conclude. We are not to cry "*peccari*." We are not Charity Boys. We are not Oliver Twists. If we have used strong language it is more in sorrow than in anger.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—It is now incumbent upon me to sum up this debate. I deeply regret that I have to ask for your indulgence to give me a hearing after you have listened to speeches for three hours. I do not deplore the difference of opinion which has been exhibited in the course of the debate, and though I have sometimes been described as a rather strict disciplinarian as regards time-limit, on this occasion I have given absolute liberty of speech, because I strongly felt that the freedom of the debate should be proportionate to the magnitude of the subject. I say in all sincerity that this is the greatest crisis in the history of this University, which I have witnessed during a period of 34 years that I have been privileged to sit round this table. Different men see the same subject in different lights, and I hope you will not consider me disrespectful if I were to set forth my views freely and without reserve. I feel that if I did not speak out what appears to me to be the essential truth, I would be guilty not only of disloyalty to my *Alma Mater*, but of treason to my country.

Let us go back for a moment to the 13th February, 1922. That evening, at 9 o'clock, on my return home from the University, I found a letter addressed to me by the Minister of Education. It was marked "confidential" and I shall not accordingly read it out. In short, it contained a request that an application should be made by the University

to the Government for financial assistance on a moderate scale before the 15th February. It gave me just one day; there was no time to convene a meeting of the Senate, not even a meeting of the Syndicate. I confess frankly that my first impulse was to take full responsibility and reply that we did not intend to make an application for financial assistance. You might ask me, why I should ever have thought so. The events which had taken place in the preceding year had created such a deep impression on my mind that this, I admit, was my first impulse. You might ask me what had taken place during the preceding year. On the 5th February, 1921, Sir Nilratan Sircar, then Vice-Chancellor, had directed the Registrar to send applications to the Government of Bengal for financial assistance, after he had been favourably impressed by a conversation he had with the Minister of Education. I could not forget what had happened to those two applications. On the 15th November, nine months after the letters had been written, a reply had been received which, to say the least, was not calculated to inspire hope. The Government had pleaded bankruptcy. Apparently, bankruptcy is sinful when we are concerned, but it seems to have a very different effect when people higher up are concerned. The letter of the 15th November, however, added that although the University had not sent any application for immediate financial assistance in its distress, still the Government would be prepared to consider such an application, if made. The letter indicated a complete failure on the part of the authorities to appreciate that the University required funds to carry on the work already undertaken, namely, to pay the Post-Graduate teachers decently and to provide proper laboratories and workshops for the Professors employed in terms of the great trusts created by Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose.

This letter was on the whole a document of an extraordinary character, and if you scan it, as I am afraid many of you have not done, you will now be able to realise its full significance. You will find it stated that the help so proposed would be given "under certain conditions and subject to certain contingencies." This was the first indication of a desire on the part of the Government to impose conditions in the event of a grant. The University had made applications to the Government after the Vice-Chancellor had felt impressed by his conversation with the Minister of Education. What was the result? We were told after nine months had elapsed that the Government were not prepared to consider the questions raised. On the other hand, when they received the report of the Board of Accounts which surveyed the whole situation and stated what the probable deficit would be at the end of the financial year, 1921-22, they recommended that we should renew our application in January with fuller details—as if "details" were not already in their possession.

In these circumstances, I admit, my original impulse was to write and say that we did not desire to apply. If I had done that, probably all this controversy, all this unpleasantness would have been avoided. But surely the responsibility was great. I did not also fully realise why it was expected that the application must be sent within 24 hours. The application was, however, drawn up and forwarded on the 14th February, 1922. That is the ill-fated application which has led to all this controversy. Remember, then, the letter of the 14th February was sent on invitation. The matter was, as required by the Regulations, reported to the Syndicate at its next meeting. The Syndicate approved of the action which had been taken. We waited and waited. Patience has its limit. We waited. The Budget estimates of the Bengal Government were produced, and need I say that not one single farthing was proposed to be granted to the University to meet its financial difficulties? On the other hand, although there was no question of giving assistance to the University under consideration of the Council, there came a most deplorable attack on its administration from the Minister of Education. I shall make no reference to that matter. It formed the subject of enquiry and examination by a Committee of the Senate and that chapter may well be taken as closed. In July, I heard that there would be a supplementary Budget and a demand would be made by the Minister of Education for a grant of rupees two lacs and fifty thousand to enable the University to meet a deficit of five lacs and forty-three thousand rupees—I take the exact words from a copy of the Budget estimates. I frankly confess I could not appreciate at the time how a deficit of five lacs and forty-three thousand could be met with a grant of two lacs and fifty thousand rupees.

The supplementary budget was brought before the Legislative Council. I am not an assiduous student of the proceedings of that Council; but so far as the reports were published in the papers, we found that there was some little opposition, though the majority was in favour of the grant. No conditions were mentioned at the time. The members of the Post-Graduate Department, starving people they were, excited the sympathy of a member of the Council, and he did not lose the opportunity to indulge himself in cruel jokes at their expense. The teachers came to me and asked anxiously if the money was really coming. They were starving; they could not feed their wives and children. I told them from what I heard that the money was not likely to come so easily as they expected. I heard rumours that conditions would be imposed. These rumours were in the streets of Calcutta. I was even told what the conditions were likely to be—some of them would, in short, be impossible to comply with. I declined to believe the rumours.

On the 25th July, 1922, the Accountant-General submitted his report to the Government. We waited. On the 23rd August, 1922, just about the time when the next following

session of the Council had commenced, when it was impossible for any member to put in a question as to why the conditions were imposed, although they were never mentioned when the grant was made, the letter under consideration was issued from the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. That letter contained a serious charge against the Senate of this University. The gravity of that charge has not been appreciated. What, I ask, is that charge? The charge is that the financial management of this University has been far from satisfactory, and that charge is sought to be supported by an appeal to the report of the Accountant-General. I do not refer to the conditions at the present moment. Do you suggest to me that when such a charge has been made, we should take it lightly,—a charge alleged to be founded on the report of the Accountant-General, which, in my judgment, taken along with other facts, does not really support the charge. It was a most astonishing procedure. The Government of Bengal had received the report from the Accountant-General. They proceeded to pass a sentence of condemnation on the Senate of this University before we have had an opportunity even to read that report, to meet the criticisms which had been advanced by the Accountant-General. Has such a thing ever happened in the history of this University, or, in the history of any public Institution? Why, I ask, was this done?

We next find that before the Senate could meet to consider the report of the Accountant-General and the letter of the Government, the newspapers in Calcutta published both the documents. Clamours for the destruction of the University could be heard here and there, and a friend of this University reported to me that there was a Tibetan dance in certain quarters. There, you find, is an assertion made by a responsible Government that the report of the Accountant-General reveals that the financial management of the University has been far from satisfactory, and, well, the sentence of death is passed. The letter was copied from paper to paper. All India read it. People in Northern India, Southern India, Western and Central India read that sentence of condemnation, before we, as members of the Senate, had any opportunity to consider that letter and that report. Was it a mere accident, or was it the result of design on the part of somebody who wanted to defame this University? What followed? The letter travelled 6,000 miles across the seas to the British Isles. We find an article in the "Times Educational Supplement," which bore internal evidence that it was inspired from, if not manufactured in, India. That article is published in the "Times Educational Supplement," which is said to have a circulation of more than 20,000 copies, and each of these 20,000 subscribers reads that notorious article headed "A Bankrupt University,"—as if bankruptcy is our monopoly. That article comes back across the seas to India. We are also not unaware of the

attempt made by the Publicity Office of the Government of Bengal to get that article circulated in newspapers in India. For what purpose? The design is obvious—to influence public opinion against this University, to carry on a campaign of libel which had been launched against us. Do not take these things lightly. There is a sinister, perfidious campaign against this University. Who are the heroes we do not know,—they may be men small, they may be men big. But a survey of the history of the last three months shows that there is a well-planned campaign against this institution. This is the reason why the members of the Committee sat down to write this report. Our reputation has to be saved,—not our personal reputation, not so much even the reputation of this University, as the reputation of the Bengali race. Our calumniators forget that if this charge could be established, it would prove that we Bengalis are not fit for self-government, for has not this University for years largely been served and managed by the flower of the Bengali race?

Our difficulties have been enormous; and sympathy, active sympathy has failed us in quarters where we had a right to expect it and confidently reckoned on it. Magnify our deficiencies if you choose, but do not overlook the good that has been accomplished. No friend of this University asserts that the institution which has thus been built up amidst many obstacles and difficulties does not admit of reform. But it claims reconstruction and development on the basis of a sound and generous educational policy, not destruction or curtailment according as administrators may desire. It requires help and nourishment in an ample degree, not occasional patronising compliments and least of all, incessant criticisms and directions. It is, let me repeat, not a case of “doles” to be given by way of accidental charity or compassion; we have an unanswerable claim on the public treasury.

If it is, however, assumed that financial embarrassment is an index of financial mismanagement, there is hardly an institution to-day which would be above reproach—not even such august bodies as the Government of India and the Government of Bengal would escape unscathed, notwithstanding their boundless resources and unlimited powers of taxation. This is, however, only by the way. Let me return to our Report. Its preparation was a supreme necessity. We have set out our views in the document. Pray read every single line of it. Forget your station in life; make up your mind to learn the truth, to think the truth, to speak the truth, no matter who is hurt thereby. Let me assure you that, along with each and every one of my colleagues who sat on the Committee, I take the fullest measure of responsibility for everything contained in the report, for every word and phrase that you will find there. We have spoken the truth, though truth is not always pleasant; we have done it at the most critical point in the history of modern India. Take my solemn assurance that this report was not drawn up to please

anybody, high or low. We had one unalterable purpose in view, and that was to speak the truth fearlessly, in the full belief that fighting for the truth was the noblest sport the world afforded. The truth must be known to everybody who has read that article in the "Times." Truth must be out; it cannot be suppressed. It must be known to everyone in Bengal, in India. We must contradict that infamous attack on this University. If anybody is hurt, we cannot help it. Let it not be forgotten that it was not we who launched the campaign. We have always been on the defensive and we cannot but repel an attack which, in our judgment, is unjust.

Now let us come to the contents of the Report. I do not propose to discuss everything which is set out there. Many points have indeed been emphasised already. Let me, however, lay stress on one fundamental point. You have the specific statement of the Accountant-General that out of the deficit, about three lacs are traceable to circumstances over which the University had no control. I admire the courage of the Accountant-General. That fact is often ignored. Why? Let us go back to 1921. Gentlemen who are not prepared to support the motion will, I trust, remember what took place in the early months of that year. The Senate House was barricaded for days. The Vice-Chancellor of the University stood at the gate for two hours, but he could not get an entrance. The candidates for the University Examinations found it impossible to get in. A lady candidate was openly insulted when she attempted to get admission. It seemed to every law-abiding subject of His Majesty as if law and order had disappeared from what was once the capital of British India. What happened to the Colleges? The students disappeared in a miraculous manner. Government Colleges, Missionary Colleges, Private Colleges found it impossible to keep control over their students. The panic spread. The students in the Post-Graduate classes and the University Law College struck work. They were sent for. They were packed up in this hall—1,200 of them. They listened to the voice of reason of one man. Next day eighty per cent. of them returned to work. The movement however spread in the mufassil. Students vanished from Colleges in Dacca and Mymensingh. Students left the schools in Eastern Bengal by hundreds. Where were the authorities? No one amongst them would venture to come out and address the students at that time.

The Vice-Chancellor and the members of the Syndicate discussed the situation; they realised that this meant certain ruin to the schools and colleges, and that the University had received an almost death-blow at the hands of non-co-operation. It was thought expedient that a statement should be drawn up. We sent round a circular and we found out that forty-two per cent. of the students had disappeared. People in high places, very responsible persons they were, said that non-co-operation was on the surface, that it was a

dying cult and that the students would come back after the summer vacation. But what happened? We discovered the facts which are set out in the Appendix to this Report. The position seemed appalling to any man, who was prepared to face the situation. The statement was submitted to the Chancellor. It was forwarded to the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. We have not learnt up to the present moment whether any notice was at all taken; our letter was at any rate never acknowledged. My learned friend Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri told me that my forecast was treated with contempt in high and responsible quarters. It was not so, however, with Lord Ronaldshay; when the statement was submitted to him, he decided to go into the matter himself. He did so. I was authorised by him to make a public statement, a statement before the Senate, because the position seemed to him to be of unsurpassable difficulty; he wrote to me a long autograph letter, discussing the details and agreeing with me in the view of the situation. The statement which I then made is published in the Appendix. We sent copies of that statement to the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. We have not heard that any notice was ever taken. We have not been careless, we have acted with the utmost caution, but we have not been able to get others to realise our difficulties. My judicial office makes it impossible for me to have anything to do with politics; so I express no opinion about non-co-operation; I am free, however, to speak of its destructive effect on our educational institutions. We gave repeated warnings, warnings which have never been heeded. Why this aspect has been ignored, I need not pause to enquire. Does the Accountant-General's report really show that our financial management has been unsatisfactory? Or does it show that the present financial situation is due, to the extent of at least sixty per cent., to causes over which we had no control? I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the statement made in the Government letter, which was widely circulated, has no foundation in fact. I am not concerned with motives, but I do feel that at that stage no condemnation should have been passed on us. The Government of Bengal would have acted wisely, if they did not commit themselves to any opinion before they knew what the University had got to say. This is the root question. The whole of the letter is dominated by one idea, namely, that our financial management has been anything but satisfactory, that our financial difficulties are the result of our mismanagement; the inference follows that we should not be trusted and should be put in chains. This is the conclusion. If the charge of financial mismanagement does not hold good, where is the justification for the imposition of conditions?

I do not propose to discuss all the points raised in the report of the Accountant-General. We have dealt with them in our report, but there is one fundamental point which has not been mentioned by speakers this evening. The Accountant-General

has proceeded to criticise the educational activities of the University. I am constrained to enquire, what are the functions of an Accountant-General; what are the functions of an auditor? An auditor is an official whose duty it is to receive and examine accounts of money in the hands of others, who verifies them by reference to vouchers and has power to disallow charges incurred without authority. It is not the function of an auditor or an Accountant-General to discuss the question of policy of an institution. Where is the Accountant-General, who will come forward to examine the accounts of the Government of Bengal and say,—you have a deficit of forty lacs, sixty lacs, or eighty lacs, so you should not have four members of the Executive Council, or three Ministers, or so many Divisional Commissioners, or District Officers, or Superintendents of Police? Where is the Accountant-General who will come forward and say that Mr. Montagu or Lord Chelmsford did not launch forth a wise policy? Where is the Accountant-General who can say, while auditing the accounts of the Military Department,—you do not require so many officers or so much artillery? Where is the Accountant-General who, while examining the accounts of the railway system, can say,—you do not require such a big establishment, so many departments, officers, or, for the matter of that, so many engines? The Accountant-General is trotted out as a great authority on educational matters. But, I ask, is he here to review the educational policy of the University? That must be done by persons qualified for the task, conscious of the requirements of a great University for the people of this country. Do not, pray, be frightened by his criticisms of the educational policy of this University. He went beyond his mark, he made a grievous mistake, when he remarked that the ordinary function of this University was to hold examinations. The Accountant-General is an intimate friend of mine. He is no doubt a very capable and distinguished officer of the Finance Department. But University Education is not his speciality. I make no secret that I read with astonishment the venture that he had made and I thought that we might probably hear some day that the Accountant-General had walked into the Sanskrit College and said: "You do not require so many Pandits." But what will happen if Pandit Asutosh Sastri is sent about his business?

I must mention to you some of the extraordinary blunders he has made, even while the Accountant-General was within his province. I would refer you to his remarks about the Ramtanu Lahiri Fund. When I read them I said to myself that I must have forgotten the history of this University. I never knew that a farthing had been contributed to that fund. The Accountant-General misconstrued the whole thing. Then, again, he knew nothing of the work of the Carmichael Professor, and, unconsciously perhaps, he made the same mistake about the Carmichael Professorship Fund. The people who have helped us in that great work include neither members of the Government

of Bengal nor the Accountant-General. They are Sir John Marshall and Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda.

But the portion of the Accountant-General's report that took my breath away was the charge with reference to the University College of Science. The Accountant-General has taken out three items, and he has said that, in each of these cases, the amount actually spent exceeded the budget grant. The inference, therefore, is that there has been a "loot" in the University College of Science, and Sir P. C. Ray, Professor Raman, and others have gone off their heads! But, really, does the Accountant-General portray the whole picture? What about the other Departments? What about the next year? Why does not the Accountant-General mention that in all other departments the expenditure was kept within the budget grants? We have fully met this charge in our report. A friend of mine in the Accounts Department was justifying the Accountant-General. He said that it was his business to find faults, to condemn people and not to give praise even where praise was due and legitimate. He then gave me a parallel, saying that when an Inspector of Schools or Colleges visited an Institution, it was his business, at least so the Inspector thought, to find faults and criticise people, and never to praise anybody. But, unfortunately, the remarks of the Accountant-General are apt to create the impression that there is a screw loose in every department of the Science College, and that scientists like Sir P. C. Ray, Professor Raman, and others cannot be brought under control by the authorities.

Then, there is one other point which has not been touched upon by any one round this table, and that is about the amalgamation of funds. I must at once point out that the University has as many as 150 separate drawing accounts in the Imperial Bank, and the assertion which is often emphatically made in many quarters that our funds are all mixed up has the merit of being untrue. In one portion of the Government letter, the University is asked to accept the suggestions of the Accountant-General. That expert officer suggests that some of the funds should be amalgamated. One of the conditions imposed by the Government, on the other hand, is that the funds should not be mixed up. Which of these two suggestions should be carried out? We cannot perform impossibilities. We cannot keep all our funds separate and at the same time amalgamate some. But, really, whether we have a separate drawing account in the Bank in regard to each fund or not, has nothing to do with the question of financial stringency. It does not at any rate add a penny to the funds; it is merely a question of keeping accounts. We were fortunately able to find very weighty precedents for the course that we have adopted. We find that the Government of Bengal from time to time received grants from the Imperial Government for the use of this and another University, which were merged in their own accounts and not kept separate for the benefit of the Institutions concerned. Do

not imagine that I blame the Government of Bengal; I only say that example is better than precept.

Then come the conditions.—As we have demonstrated in our Report, the conditions, taken as a whole, do disclose a desire on the part of the Government to obtain control over the affairs of the University in a manner not contemplated by the present law. I have already observed that the idea of imposing conditions did not originate with the Government after the receipt of the Accountant-General's report. In their letter to the University, dated the 15th November, 1921, the Government explicitly stated that any help that they might render to the University would only be "under certain conditions." And, you should not forget that the Accountant-General submitted his report eight months after this letter had been written. No conditions were imposed by the Council, and a constitutional question has been raised as to whether the Minister has properly treated the members of the Council. I am not sure whether it is fortunate or unfortunate that I am not a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. One gentleman thus solemnly asked me, "If you had been treated like that, what would you have done?" I only said, "Had I been there, no Minister would have done so." However, let that alone.

My friends Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose and Mr. Khagendra-nath Mitter have said, "Accept the conditions." I regret I cannot act upon their advice. It is manifest that there are conditions which we cannot fulfil. These are conditions which—I cannot make out why—have not been mentioned by the Rai Bahadur or Mr. Mitter. We are asked to give the assurance that we shall carry out the recommendations of the Accountant-General. One of the recommendations is that the deficit should be
out. I have not got an Alladin's lamp at my disposal to work out that miracle; some future Vice-Chancellor may perchance have it and accomplish the feat. But, really, how are we to do it? Everybody knows that we have no cash available. The Government of Bengal propose to give us 2½ lakhs. If we accept the conditions, the Government may well ask at once, "Have you wiped out the deficit? Why have you not sold the Durbhanga Building? Surely you should have done that and adopted other similar drastic measures to carry out your undertaking." There is, indeed, the suggestion that we might mortgage our immovable property. All I can say is that people live to learn. The Government of Bengal desired that we should make an application for financial assistance. Pursuant to that request, we sent an application. We asked for a grant, and nine months elapsed before we were offered an inadequate grant, clogged with conditions and accompanied by valuable advice and suggestions. What is the advice? Why, mortgage your immovable property. We can only turn round and say, "Thank you, Sirs, we do not need advice of that description." I am afraid we might find it extremely difficult to find a mortgagee for the Durbhanga Build-

ing; but if any of my friends opposite will help us to dispose of some of the University property, such as books and laboratory appliances, he will earn the gratitude not only of the present but also of every future generation.

The Rai Bahadur asserted that when private citizens made gifts, they also imposed conditions. When Sir Taraknath Palit sent for me and asked me whether we would accept his gift, what conditions did he impose? Did he ask us to send accounts to him every month? I admit that he urged that his money should be applied in the maintenance of Chairs which should be held only by Indians. Pray, do not for a moment overlook the spirit in which gifts are offered. Did Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghosh ever desire to insult us or humiliate us? If the Government said that they proposed to send us 45 lakhs in memory of Sir Rashbehary Ghosh, Sir Taraknath Palit, or Kumar Guru Prosad Singh of Khaira, and made it a condition that the amount should be spent on the College of Science, it would be a matter of rejoicing, and we would never think that the condition was intended to embarrass us.

Pray, do not be misguided by phrases. There are conditions and conditions; the conditions which are proposed by the Government are, some of them, the badges of slavery. I would urge all of you, as also those who desire to impose conditions on us, to make a careful study, in this connection, of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Here let me emphasise in the clearest possible terms that under the Act of Incorporation, our accounts are audited annually by officers deputed by the Government. That audit has been regularly conducted ever since the foundation of the University and is an elaborate operation spread over several months. We welcome such audit of the accounts which we have to submit once in every year in accordance with the statute. But, why this demand for the monthly submission of the accounts? Is it maintained that because the Government offer us financial assistance, they are entitled to utilise our embarrassment for the purpose of imposing conditions not contemplated by the statute?

We are all aware that the Government of Bengal have secured from the Government of India a remission of sixty lacs a year for three years, call it by any name you please, a grant, a gift or a concession. Have the Government of Bengal furnished the Government of India with a written undertaking that they will not embark upon new ventures till their finances improve? Have the Government of India imposed the condition that the Government of Bengal would submit monthly accounts to the authorities at Delhi and Simla for all time to come? Have the Imperial Government asked the Local Government to surrender their autonomy even for a limited period, in return for the gift of one crore and eighty lacs?

The truth is that the conditions which the Government seek to impose on the University disclose a most regrettable spirit of distrust. Let me assure you that I fully appreciate the

responsibility of keepers of public funds, howsoever temporary or transient their custody ; they are always apt to be oppressed with anxiety lest the funds should be misused or misapplied. We, on the one hand, claim to be treated as the trustees of a great national institution, who are able to realise their responsibilities. On the other hand, we urge the custodians of the public funds to realise the paramount need of a great University for the Indian people. We maintain that we have accomplished good work and that our contribution to nation-building—highly appreciated elsewhere—is not a negligible quantity. If the Government are fully convinced that this is true, and that public funds are at least as safe in our hands, as in theirs, let them give us money. If, on the other hand, they feel that our conduct has been dishonourable, that we have been wasteful spendthrifts, let them not trust us with money; for, deep distrust makes the giver and the taker alike miserable.

It is fortunate for the dissenters that our late lamented venerable friend Sir Gooroodass Banerjee is not here to-night, or else, I assure you, this hall would have rung with his protest against the manner in which the University is being treated by the Government. He would not have put up with it. He was sweet and amiable; but he was just, fearless, and self-respecting. It is fortunate that you have not amongst you here the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar. It is fortunate that you have not amongst you the late Dr. Rashbehary Ghose. It is lucky, indeed, that you are able to treat the matter so lightly when they can no longer be amidst us. It is fortunate, I say again, that there is no longer amongst us Mr. Anandomohan Bose or Mr. Kalichurn Banurji, or Bengal would have reverberated with their voice of protest against the treatment of this University by the Government.

Take it from me that as long as there is one drop of blood in me, I will not participate in the humiliation of this University. This University will not be a manufactory of slaves. We want to think truly. We want to teach freedom. We shall inspire the rising generation with thoughts and ideas that are high and ennobling. We shall not be a part of the Secretariat of the Government. Forget not that what is offered is not even a periodical grant, much less a perpetual grant. What is the offer? Two and a half lacs! And you solemnly propose that you should barter away your independence for it. Mr. Mitter raised a question of law. What authority, I ask, have we, who are assembled here to-night, to barter away for ever the rights and privileges of this University? What will Bengal say? What will India say? What will the Post-Graduate teachers say? They will resign to-morrow. They will go into banishment rather than take money under these humiliating conditions. What will posterity say? Will not future generations cry shame, that the Senate of the University of Calcutta bartered away their freedom for two and a half lacs of rupees? One of the dissenters said that he had to do his duty towards his electors.

I have also my duty to perform towards that very constituency, for how can I forget that I am the first Vice Chancellor chosen from among the representatives of the graduates. If you give me slavery in one hand and money in the other, I despise the offer. We will not take the money. We shall retrench and we shall live within our means. We shall go from door to door all through Bengal. We shall rouse the public conscience of Bengal, which has been lying dormant for some time past, and make the people of Bengal realise their responsibility for the maintenance, in a state of efficiency, of their chief seat of learning, their potent instrument for the discovery and dissemination of truth in all departments of human activity. Our cause is just and we shall not submit to humiliating conditions. Our Post-graduate teachers would starve themselves, rather than give up their freedom. Do not, my friends, believe for a moment that there is no Providence. If Science or Philosophy has taught you that, get rid of the blunder. If it is the design of Providence that high education should disappear from Bengal, let His will be carried out. But I have an unalterable faith in Providence; that has been my one, sole inspiration in moments of trials and tribulations. Reaction is bound to come. I call upon you, as members of the Senate, to stand up for the rights of your University. Forget the Government of Bengal. Forget the Government of India. Do your duty as Senators of this University, as true sons of your *Alma Mater*. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me.

The motion was put to the vote and carried, *nem. con.*, none voting against it.

Errata.

In this number of the *Calcutta Review*: Page 39, line 14, read “*are* defensible” for “*is* defensible” and page 194, line 29, read “*is* at all of the *Times* type” for “*are* at all of the *Times* type.”

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1923

LAST DAY OF THE YEAR

(Extract from "Withered Leaves.")

Eckermann relates that it was an invariable practice of Goethe to spend the last day of the year in silent meditation. We can well understand this. Most people make the last day of the year an occasion for extravagant joy, culminating in what they call seeing the old year out and the new year in. In his attitude, too, we can understand. It is of a piece with the mentality which, discarding the setting, offers its worship to the rising, sun. The old year will soon expire and merge into the past—boundless, irreclaimable, beyond recall. It has made its gifts. Perhaps it has done its worst. Let it then—so people seem to argue—vanish into limbo; but let us give a welcoming hand to its successor, with its infinite possibilities of pleasure and pain. Some such unconscious train of thought, passing through the mind of man, expresses itself, I suppose, in the tumultuous joy that accompanies the death of the old and the birth of the new year. In his exuberant enthusiasm he forgets the joys which the departing year has brought, as also the chastening, educative influence of its sorrows.

Man, 'tis said, is a thinking animal. This is fondly assumed as his distinctive attribute. But the most casual observation convinces us that the thinking man is an exception rather than the rule. The process of thinking is a painful process, involving strain, effort, weariness; and all such processes are unrelished by man. "Prejudice which he pretends to hate is his lawgiver. Mere use and wont lead him by the nose." He accepts things as they are, follows them, adopts them with unquestioning acquiescence, without a thought, heedless of their significance or implications. Virgil would not have sung with lyrical rapture "*Felix qui potuit rerum causas cognoscere*," if knowledge, circumspection, thinking, were the normal characteristics of man. And it is as well that it is not so. Else would the world have been robbed of its charm, and man of his sweetest pleasures. It is as well that we think little, and allow ourselves still less to be worried by the vexing, entangling, fruitless problems of life and fate. Well that we do as the world doth; think as the world thinketh; go as the world goeth, along its old, old, well-trodden ways. This rejoicing over the dying of the old year is perhaps a relic of ancient days, when life and property were insecure and precarious; when warfare was the order of the day; when chaos was rarely and fitfully relieved by gleams of peace and good-will. Yes! perhaps. For then—as might be expected—humanity would look forward with straining eyes to the New year to effect a happy change, or, perchance, to usher in the millennium—that mirage-like Golden Age which man has ever devoutly looked for, and—disappointments, nay despair notwithstanding—will ever continue to look for, till the end of time. Such a possibility—such a dream—such a hope—how it would stir the human heart! What passionate longing would it not inspire! What a vision of a land of plenty would it not evoke—a land where no fears would shadow happiness; where no sound of human sorrow would mar the beatific calm. It was presumably

the hope of such a prospect that led man to give a tumultuously emotional welcome to the New year. Intermingled in that celebration were hope, feelings of relief, desires for peace. But though conditions have changed, man has not. He cannot rid himself of his ancient heritage. Does not the savage peer through the thin veil of civilised man? And this undoubtedly is one of the many survivals of primeval man.

But to some—to the rare group of thinking men and women—neither the end of the old year nor the beginning of the new is a day of mere joyous feasting.

New year! new foes and old to face or fly;
Old friends, a lessening band, to grapple fast;
The end more near; another milestone past;
The shagreen of desires shrunk woefully.

It is a day of stock-taking of the year's promise and its fulfilment. Ah! what a gulf lies betwixt the two. Reality never conforms—not even approximately—to the dreams which ambition weaves in the silent chambers of the heart. We see that our resolutions—good and pious resolutions, seriously made, deliberately willed—have been broken, strangled, killed under the stress of circumstances—adverse or uncontrollable. We find that the task—set in all solemnity and undertaken with all fervour—is far, far from completion. We perceive ruins, wreckage, a wild, weary, barren scene, where we had hoped to behold bud, blossom and bloom. We sorrowfully realize that one more mile-stone of life has been passed, and the day of reckoning is drawing closer and closer to hand. The thought presses upon us, what account are we to render of our stewardship to the Author of the universe? Such is the strain which serious thought takes on that most solemn of days. Dissatisfaction sets in. Dissatisfaction with our achievements. Dissatisfaction with ourselves. Who, then, could really be in

light-hearted mood on a day such as the last day of the old year or the beginning of the new ? The two attitudes are perfectly understandable—the thinking and the unthinking attitude. We do not want pleasure banished, joy banned ; but we do wish to see the reign of serious thought and serious living proclaimed, established, in all its solemn splendour and undying force.

We would not have a race of mere philosophers, but to reasonably thinking men we say—

Do what thy manhood bids thee do ; from
none but self expect applause ;
He noblest lives and noblest dies who makes
and keeps his self-made laws.

All other life is living death, a world where
none but phantoms dwell—
A breath, a wind, a sound, a voice, a tinkling
of the camel-bell.

S. KHUDA BUKUSH

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—III

(4)

DR. BERNARD BOSANQUET

Dr. Bernard Bosanquet is one of the most eminent philosophers of modern times. As a logician, he has few equals. Although not a very lucid writer, he is deep and penetrating and never fails to be suggestive. His contribution to political philosophy is as notable as his contributions to logic, metaphysics and æsthetics. There are not many treatises on politics in the English language which equal his *Philosophical Theory of the State* in the insight with which the fundamental problems of social philosophy are handled. The theory presented in this book is, as he himself puts it, "to be found not merely in Plato and in Aristotle but in very many modern writers, more especially in Hegel, T. H. Green, Bradley and Wallace." The standpoint is much the same as that of Green in his *Principles of Political Obligation*, but he is more unhesitating than Green in insisting upon the value of the state to the ethical life of its citizens. The state, he teaches, is a much more real object than a plant or an animal and the study of it as it is and not the construction of an ideal society is the aim of social philosophy. "To depict what most people call "an ideal state" is no more the object of political philosophy than it is the object say of Carpenter's *Human Physiology* to depict an "ideal" man or an angel." Dr. Bosanquet makes the central idea of Greek political philosophy his own, the idea, namely, that "the human mind can only attain its full and proper life in a community of minds, or more strictly in a community pervaded by a single mind, uttering itself consistently though differently in the life and action of every member of the community." Such a conception was developed in ancient times in connection with life in

the Greek city states. It lost its supremacy with the increasing prevalence of an individualistic theory of life and has been revived again in modern times with the formation of nation states. The modern theory, however, differs from the ancient in this that it accords full recognition to the freedom of the individual and maintains that it is not by suppressing but by giving legitimate scope to it that the common social life can be realised.

Dr. Bosanquet begins by pointing out the contradiction involved in the conception of self-government and shows that on the basis of the ordinary dualism of self and others, the contradiction cannot be solved. The ground and justification of political obligation is self-government, but the question is, how the idea of self is to be reconciled with that of government. How can the authority which others must exercise over me, if there is to be government at all, be for me self-government? Law and government seem *primâ facie* to be opposed to the individuality of man, and yet without them the free play of personality would not be possible. Bentham thinks that in order to acquire rights, man must sacrifice part of his liberty, by which he understands the power to do what one pleases. Antecedently to law and government, rights do not exist. They, therefore, are necessary evils to which we have got to submit. But it is impossible to think of law and government as antagonistic to the self, if they are the necessary conditions of the unfolding of its capacities. That by means of which liberty is actualised cannot be destructive to it. The root of the difficulty lies in supposing that between self and others there is a fundamental opposition, and in the consequent failure to perceive that "the one, so far from surrendering some of his capacity for life through his fellowship with others, acquires and extends that capacity wholly in and through such fellowship." Mill's theory that an individual is free in everything that concerns himself alone and is subject to government in so far as his action affects

others is open to the objection that it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between self-regarding and other-regarding action. Every action done by me affects both myself and others. No fence can be put up round an individual so as to make him impervious to social forces, and no mistake is greater than to suppose that the more wayward and eccentric a man is the more he is free. We can get beyond law only by fulfilling it. It is a mistake to think that the difficulty inherent in the conception of self-government is removed if the government is democratic or, as the phrase is, government of the people for the people by the people. It is, on the contrary, increased. The people who rule are not the people who are ruled. The will of the majority is not the same thing as the will of the people, and the self-government of which one hears so much is not the government of each by himself but of each by others.

"On the basis of everyday reflection then," says Dr. Bosanquet, "we are brought to an absolute deadlock in the theory of political obligation." If this deadlock is to be removed, "we must take the two factors of the working idea of self-government in their full antagonism, and exhibit, through and because of this, the fundamental unity at their root, and the necessity and conditions of their coherence. We must show, in short, how man, the actual man of flesh and blood, demands to be governed, and how a government which puts real force upon him, is essential, as he is aware, to his becoming what he has it in him to be" (*Philosophical Theory of the State*, 3rd ed., p. 73).

The theories of writers like Bentham, Mill and Spencer, Dr. Bosanquet aptly calls "theories of the first look." They all assume that society and the individual really are as they immediately appear to be. No satisfactory explanation of self-government is possible on the assumption that human beings are naturally isolated from one another and are only artificially brought together in the state. All right is in

the state, says Bentham. All right is in the individual, says Spencer for whom "the state has become little more than a record office of his contracts and consents." Both fail to perceive that "if a right can only be recognised by a society, it can only be real in an individual. * * As long as the self and law are alien and hostile, it is hopeless to do more than choose at random in which of the two we are to locate the essence of right" (*ibid*, pp. 66-67).

The problem of self-government is more satisfactorily handled by Rousseau, because, on the whole, he manages to get beyond the individualistic standpoint. Dr. Bosanquet shows that the popular idea of Rousseau, based upon sentences like "man is born free and everywhere is in chains," is entirely mistaken. In spite of his continual relapse into individualistic ways of thinking and modes of expression, the essence of his message is that in the state the minds and wills of its members are fused into a single indivisible whole. "Each of us puts into the common stock his person and his entire powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and we further receive each individual as an indivisible member of the whole." The state is, therefore, a moral person through participation in whose life alone man ceases to be a stupid and narrow animal and becomes an intelligent being. We attain freedom not by setting ourselves in opposition to the state but by obedience to its laws in which the general will is embodied. With law one's everyday rebellious self may be at variance, but it is nevertheless the expression of one's deeper and more complete self. Conformity to it is, for this reason, the essential thing in self-government.

Rousseau is careful to distinguish the general will from the will of all. The object towards which the former is directed is the common good, whereas the latter is only a sum of particular wills. The will of all may be unanimous, because individuals, desiring not something general in its

nature but what is calculated to promote their various private interests, may nevertheless happen to agree in some particular point. The general will, on the other hand, aims at matters of common concern which may not be obvious to all. It is "that identity between my particular will and the wills of all my associates in the body politic which makes it possible to say that in all social co-operation, and in submitting even to forcible constraint, when imposed by society in the true common interest, I am obeying only myself and am actually attaining my freedom" (*ibid*, p. 100). What generalises the will is a common interest and not the number of votes recorded. The will of all is a mere aggregate but the general will is an organic unity. It is the universal principle that connects an individual with others and unites their particular wills into a coherent whole. "The unity of myself with others in a common good is the same in principle as the unity of myself with myself which I aim at in aiming at my own good." If the will of all were directed to the common good it would be transformed into the general will. The natural tendency of the great majority of men is to be guided by purely private interests but it requires some amount of effort to discern the common good and to make it the determining principle of conduct.

From the standpoint of the general will, the problem of self-government undergoes a transformation. The opposition between self and others and between self and government vanishes and sovereignty is seen to be the exercise of the general will, justifying the use of force to compel a recalcitrant individual to be truly free by being in harmony with the general will. In so far as laws and institutions are what they ought to be, they embody the general will.

Rousseau imagines that if free play is given to the particular wills, the general will is likely to emerge out of them through their conflict and the consequent cancellation of their differences. For this reason, he condemns representative

government and favours small republics in which the citizens can meet and discuss public questions. But this, Dr. Bosanquet thinks, is to appeal "from the organised life, institutions and selected capacity of a nation to that nation regarded as an aggregate of individuals," to enthrone, in short, the very will of all which he disparages. But in what Rousseau says about the function of the legislator, his judgment is sound. What people really want, they do not always know. If they got exactly what they clamour for, they would seldom be satisfied. "In order to obtain a full statement of what we will, what we want at any moment must at least be corrected and amended by what we want at all other moments ; and this cannot be done without also correcting and amending it so as to harmonise it with what others want, which involves an application of the same process to them" (*ibid.*, pp. 110-11). To do this work of criticism, to elicit the general will from the vague opinions and impulses of "a blind multitude, which often does not know what it wills, because it rarely knows what is good for it" is, in Rousseau's view, the task of the legislator.

The contradiction in self-government is due to the antithesis of self and others. It disappears as soon as we perceive that the average individual, absorbed in his private interests and pleasures, is not the real self. The social self extends beyond our private life, and we are genuine individuals only in so far as we identify ourselves with it. We become free not by dissociating ourselves from our fellow beings and doing what we like, but by acquiescing in a law and order in which our universal self is realised. If, in one sense, this law and order restrains our private wills, in another sense, it is the necessary means of our higher self-affirmation. The objective system of rights is the surest guarantee of our being able to become what it is possible for us to be. Self-government, rightly understood, means the subjection of our particular selves to an order which, to a large extent,

expresses the general will, and liberty is not mere absence of restraint but "being ourselves most completely." The man whose desires are not narrow and casual, so that in the satisfaction of them he "feels choked and oppressed like one lost in a blind alley which grows narrower and narrower," but whose volitions are connected elements of a total system of life is truly free. And institutions, without which the affirmation of such a will is not possible, are the embodiment of our liberty and, as such, have a claim on our allegiance.

The state is the incarnation, the concrete form of the general will. It is not the political organisation merely, but "includes the entire hierarchy of institutions by which life is determined, from the family to the trade, and from the trade to the Church and the University. It includes all of them, not as the mere collection of the growths of the country, but as the structure which gives life and meaning to the political whole, while receiving from it mutual adjustment, and therefore expansion and a more liberal air" (*ibid*, p. 139). The state nourishes and sustains the individual. It disciplines him, expands his ideas and "furnishes him with an outlet and a stable purpose capable of doing justice to his capacities—a satisfying object of life."

"Force," says Dr. Bosanquet, "is inherent in the state and no true ideal points in the direction of destroying it." It is not the basis of the state, but is implied in it as the whole that makes the mutual adjustment of laws and institutions possible. "We make a great mistake in thinking of the force exercised by the state as limited to the restraint of disorderly persons by the police and the punishment of intentional law-breakers. The state is the flywheel of our life. Its system is constantly reminding us of our duties, from sanitation to the incidents of trusteeship, which we have not the least desire to neglect, but which we are either too ignorant or too indolent to carry out apart from instruction and authoritative suggestion" (*ibid*, p. 141). The

stimulating effect of the social order on the minds of its members, in so far as these minds are inert, takes the form of force.

"Self-government," argues Dr. Bosanquet, "can only be explained if the centre of gravity of the self is thrown outside what we are continually tempted to reckon as our individuality, and, if we recognise as our real being, and therefore as imperative upon us, a self and a good which are but slightly represented in our explicit consciousness at its ordinary level." The error of thinkers like Herbert Spencer is to conceive of the state as a mere association of independent units whose nature is not affected by their membership of it. They do not see that it is an organisation in which the life of every member is determined not by his immediate and more or less accidental contact with others but by the plan and purpose of the whole. Their error is analogous to that of the associationist psychologists who regard the unity of mind as arising out of the arbitrary association of separate elements. But modern psychology tells us that the mind is a unified system of "apperceptive masses" in each of which a number of ideas are held together and organised under the control of a general scheme. It is not a single system but "rather a construction of such systems, which may be in all degrees of alliance, indifference and opposition to one another." But however great may be the opposition of these subordinate mental systems to one another, they must all be under the more or less explicit control of the whole, if the unity of mind is to be preserved. Now society also "is a vast tissue of systems of this type, each of them a relatively though not absolutely closed and self-complete organisation." Within each group, the plan and function of every member is determined by the nature of the group. And the same individual may belong to several such groups. Social life could not go on, if between these various groups a working harmony

were not maintained. It is the function of the state, as the most comprehensive organisation, to secure this harmony "by force if need be." The units of the state are not individuals but organised bodies of men.

Mind and the state are alike in "being organisations, each composed of a system of organisations." Further, "Minds and society are really the same fabric regarded from different points of view." What, outwardly, are social groups are, inwardly, mental systems. "Every individual mind is a system of such systems corresponding to the totality of social groups as seen from a particular position. The social whole is reflected in the mind of every member of it from his characteristic and unique point of view. It is a self-identical organisation aware of itself in a plurality of centres.

"The conception of society and the individual [being] correlative conceptions through and through," the question whether society is the means to the end of the individual or the individual the means to the end of society is entirely meaningless. There is no antagonism between the two. The universal and its differences are two aspects of one and the same thing. The end of the individual, therefore, is the same as that of society and the state, and this end is the realisation of the best life. It is not necessary for us to know in advance what in detail the best life is. Its nature is disclosed to us more and more as we make progress, because of our intolerance of contradictions, towards the attainment of a harmonious life of fully-developed capacities. The function of the state is to remove hindrances to and create conditions favourable for the realisation of the end. It is not in its power to promote the end directly. For this purpose, the spontaneous and intelligent action of self-conscious beings is necessary. It is such action alone that makes "the maximisation of our being," the widening of our self through its identification with the social whole, possible. Established and unchanging

customs, authoritative traditions, mere routine, unless these are helpful to self-conscious development by liberating energies available for the purpose, are obstacles to moral progress. It is their influence on life and not the encroachment of others on what I vainly try to make my exclusive sphere of action that destroys liberty. The menace to liberty comes from automatism and not from others. "As in the private so in the general life, every encroachment of automatism must be justified by opening new possibilities to self-conscious development, if it is not to mean degeneration and senility." In so far as automatism checks moral growth, the end of state action must be to remove it.

As the state is not alien to the life of the individual, the minimising of its power cannot be the true ideal. There is no limit to the authority of the state except that which arises from the nature of its own end. Without absolute power the state cannot effect a proper adjustment of the often conflicting claims of individuals and social groups.

In common with Green, Wallace and Ritchie, Dr. Bosanquet holds that the rights of an individual arise out of his position in the state. They are "claims recognised by the state, *i.e.*, by society acting as ultimate authority, to the maintenance of conditions favourable to the best life." They may be regarded from the point of view of the whole community and of the individuals who compose the community. From the standpoint of the community they are "the organic whole of the outward conditions necessary to the rational life." Rights do not belong to individuals in their isolation but depend upon the "state-maintained order in its connectedness as a single expression of a common good or will." Their end is the maintenance of external conditions essential to the full development of human personality. From the point of view of the individual, rights are powers secured to him by the state, in order that by the exercise of them he may make his unique contribution to the common good. Apart from the

position of the individual recognised by the state they have no existence. No position no rights. As rights are connected with social positions or vocations which "have their being in the medium of recognition," unrecognised rights do not exist. They cannot be based on my mere desire to do what it pleases me to do.

In the network of social relations, the rights which are claimed by one man are duties owed to him by others. My right to walk along the public road implies an obligation on the part of others not to obstruct me. Rights and duties are thus the correlatives of each other. But, in a higher sense, all rights are duties. They are powers belonging to me in virtue of my social position which I am bound to exercise in order to realise the moral end.

One of the distinctive features of Dr. Bosanquet's theory is that he conceives of the state as consisting of "facts as well as ideas and purposes as well as facts." The institutions of which the state is the organised unity are, of course, external facts in the natural world but they are also embodiments of ethical ideas. "An institution implies a purpose or sentiment of more minds than one, and a more or less permanent embodiment of it. 'Of more minds than one' because it is to fix the meeting points of minds that the external embodiment is necessary." Apart from the social mind, institutions are no more real than is the universe apart from the Absolute mind.

"The nation state is the widest organisation which has the common experience necessary to found a common life!' For this reason, "it is recognised as absolute in power over the individual and as his representative and champion in the affairs of the world outside." The state exists in order to maintain the outward conditions of a desirable life. But it is impossible to determine these conditions without reference to the kind of life that is to be realised, and it is only within the limits of a nation state that there can be a distinctive type of life.

In answer to the question whether state action can be judged by the same standard as private action, the essence of what Dr. Bosanquet has to say is that a state can be judged only in respect of its act of will as a state and not by what its agents may do on their own account in the name of the state. If they commit any breach of morality, they are certainly censurable, but their acts are not imputable to the state unless they are done with the active support of public opinion, in which case "the guilty state is judged before the tribunal of humanity and history." The important thing to remember is that state actions "cannot be identified with the deeds of its agents, or morally judged as private volitions are judged. Its acts proper are always public acts, and it cannot, as a state, act within the relations of private life in which organised morality exists. It has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community; the guardian of a whole moral world, but not a factor within an organised moral world. Moral relations presuppose an organised life; but such a life is only within the state, not in relations between the state and other communities" (*ibid*, p. 302) What the state does in order to fulfil its mission is, of course, subject to criticism and cannot be morally indifferent, but it is mere confusion to pass moral judgments on its acts in the same sense as on the acts of private individuals. A public act "is the act of a supreme power which has ultimate responsibility for protecting the form of life of which it is the guardian, and which is not itself protected by any scheme of function or relations, such as prescribes a course for the reconciliation of rights and secures its effectiveness" (*ibid*, p. 304).

There is no such thing as Humanity as a single organised community. The great majority of men are living lives scarcely worth living. It is true that in virtue of their intelligence they have capacities which can be realised, but as yet they remain unrealised. That being so, all men cannot

be effective members of a common society. "It does not follow from this that there can be no general recognition of the rights arising from the capacities for good life which belong to man as man. Though insufficient, as variously and imperfectly realised, to be the basis of an effective community, they may, so far as realised, be a common element or tissue of connection running through the more concrete experience on which effective communities rest" (*ibid*, p. 307).

Beyond the multitude of states and the idea of Humanity there are "fuller utterances of the same universal self which the 'general will' reveals in more precarious forms." In passing into the spheres of art, religion and philosophy, "the human mind, consolidated and sustained by society, goes further on its path in removing contradictions and shaping its world and itself into unity."

HIRALAL HALDAR

NOTE ON THE STATE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

Provision for technical education is made—in Great Britain—in four classes of institutions—the Universities, Technical Institutes, Technical Schools and Polytechnics. In most of the older Universities, for a long time, the only technical subjects included in their curriculum were Electrical and Mechanical Engineering. Thus at Cambridge, the institution of a mechanical science tripos and establishment of the Chair of Electrical Engineering marked almost an epoch in the history of the university, about thirty years ago. An agricultural tripos and a diploma of forestry have since been added but no further advance has, as yet, been made. But in all the newer Universities, technical subjects find a prominent place. Thus, the University of Birmingham,¹ which probably includes the

¹ The following brief history of the University of Birmingham mostly taken from an excellent article which appeared in the "Engineering," some years ago, will be found to be of interest still.

The beginning of the higher technical education in the Midlands was marked by the opening of the Mason College at Birmingham by Huxley in 1880. This building is situated in the centre of the city and forms part of the Chamberlain Square, which contains the Town Hall, Free Library, Art Galleries, and Municipal Council House. It is evident that what Mason desired was that some practical method of education in Science should be provided for those in the Midlands.

In 1892 the Birmingham Medical School was absorbed by the Mason College, and thus the first step towards real University work was taken. The College was then called Mason University College and many of the students were prepared for the London University Examinations. This Science College did good work in its time, and the Chair of Engineering was founded in 1881, and was endowed by Sir James Chance in 1900, and a Mining Professor was appointed in 1883, so that it will be seen that *applied science was taught from the outset*. In 1907, there were five applied science professors, in Mechanical, Electrical and Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy as well as lecturers on the same subjects, making altogether five professors, five lecturers, and three assistant lecturers in applied science.

It was in 1896 that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain publicly announced the idea of a Birmingham, or, as it might perhaps with advantage be called, a Midland University. The necessary

largest number of technical subjects, provides instruction in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining, Chemistry of Fermentation, as well as in Commerce and Journalism. In fact, the ideal sought to be realised at Birmingham is a school of general culture which would practically assist

money having been subscribed, and the requisite formalities gone through, the Charter was granted in 1900. The study of humanities is included as at other Universities, but while at Birmingham, a broad catholic education—in fact a real university education—in any subject is obtainable, yet it will certainly specialise in applied science and commerce. At this time, Mr. Andrew Carnegie forwarded a munificent donation of £50,000, with the admirable advice, that before anything was done in Birmingham, the council should be well informed of what was taking place in America.

The deputation to America: Accordingly, a special deputation (consisting of Mr. George H. Kenrick, Professor Poynting and Professor Burstall) was sent to the United States, some four years before the Moseley Educational Commission was despatched on its famous tour of inspection over the same ground. The report dealt with and recommended the American system of engineering education, and that report was adopted by the Council of the University. While this committee were busy with the preparation of their great scheme, other facilities and departments of the University were developing rapidly. Accordingly, the next step was taken to erect new buildings on a site of 25 acres generously presented to the University by Lord Calthorpe at *Bourne Brook* about three miles from its old site. In June 1900, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the new University, addressed the first meeting of the Court of Governors. In that speech, he emphasised the importance of research. "They believed that those were the best teachers who were themselves constantly learning, and that, without adding continuously to the common stock of knowledge, they would not be fulfilling their duties." He went on to ask for further endowment of a quarter of a million sterling. (They had received already promises of £330,000.) Mr. Chamberlain emphasised the fact that it must "not only be school of general culture" but it would also "practically assist the prosperity and welfare of the district in which it was situated by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures." He then went on to speak of the great Applied Science Universities in America which they hoped to imitate. "All that is wanted is money," he said, in 1900. In less than four years there was sanctioned a building contract for over a quarter of a million pounds for the huge laboratories for teaching applied science in a practical manner. It is clear that the Chamberlain ideal for the Midland University has always been a school of general culture, specialising in the facilities for training applied sciences. It is not a technical school; there was already a most excellent one in Birmingham before the University was erected. It is for training "Captains of Industry," not the rank-and-file or even the non-commissioned officers.

In the report of the Deputation to America, the authors state "that their object has been the establishment of a college, teaching science in its application to industry, and in the first place to the industries of the district, coupled with such technical instruction in handicrafts as will enable the students to complete their course in the University itself." They classify the industries of the district as follows: Mining, Metallurgy, Engineering and Chemical trades. They emphasised the need of creating Chairs in Applied Science which the University have since obtained; and one which will surely soon follow—a Chair

the prosperity and welfare of the district (the Midlands) by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures. Similarly, the University of Leeds includes courses in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical, Mining and Gas Engineering, besides Fuel and Metallurgy, Agriculture, Dyeing and Applied Chemistry, including Dyeing and Chemistry of Leather.

The largest technical institution in Great Britain is, however, the Institute of Technology in Manchester which includes a very extensive range of technical subjects. Indeed, the school is a very big place, six stories high, in which the Technological Faculty of the University of Manchester prepares students for the Degree of Bachelor of Technology.

It is to be hoped that, in due course, we shall have in Calcutta a technical college of the type of Manchester School of Technology. The line of progress should be to add different departments to the existing college at Shibpur, rather than to establish isolated institutions dealing with different technical subjects. For, instruction in any technical subject involves instruction in subsidiary subjects and, therefore, the establishment of isolated institutions involves undue multiplication of courses of the same kind which, with limited resources, it would be best to avoid. Thus, at Charlottenberg (the Berlin

of Applied Chemistry. They estimated that the total cost of land, buildings, machinery, and fittings would be £155,000. When it is mentioned that the buildings alone have cost over £250,000, it will be seen that the most hopeful expectations of this Committee concerning funds, has been exceeded. This Committee estimated that the annual cost of maintenance (including staff) would be £10,450 per annum. Already the Applied Science Staff alone receive something like £5,000 a year. There is a paragraph in the report of this Committee which our own rich men might lay to heart: "Everywhere we found that the wealthier citizens realise the importance of university education and encourage the Universities by generous gifts."

Thus, the University has grown out of small beginnings by the incorporation of allied institutions and the addition of new faculties and it has been bodily removed to a locality where it could have sufficient room for needful expansion.

Technical High School), in the Department of Architecture, the following courses of lectures are recommended :—

First Year—Practical Geometry, Experimental Physics, Experimental Chemistry, Surveying, Building Construction, Drawing, including Figure and Landscape Drawing, History of Architecture, the Antique, Modelling figure and ornament.

Second Year—Mineralogy, Geology, Building Construction (Higher Course), Principles of Design, Railways, Roads, Waterworks, Strength of Materials, History of Greek and Roman Architecture, Furniture, Antique, Renaissance, 18th Century Drawing, Plane Figures, etc.; Estimates and Specifications.

Third Year—Sanitary Engineering, Iron Buildings, Design of Buildings in stone, brick and wood. Design of Public Buildings, Gothic Buildings, Architectural Perspective, Heating and Ventilation; Figure Design from Living Models, Modelling.

Fourth Year—Machine Construction, Colour Decoration, Lectures on the History of Greek, Roman, Renaissance, and Gothic Architecture, the Design of Buildings in various styles and in various materials.

Such a scheme cannot obviously be attempted in an isolated institution dealing with special subjects.

Besides the Universities and larger technical institutions, there are technical schools, which are to be found in almost every municipality, often in connection with secondary schools or Schools of Art. As an example, the Brighton Technical School (which is located in a gorgeous building), provides instruction in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Science, Engineering (Mechanical and Electrical) including Tool-making and Wiremen's work, Building Trades, Languages, Commercial Subjects, Photography, Typography, Manual Training and Domestic Economy (for girls). The Building Trades include Building Construction and Drawing, Architectural Design, Hand Railing, Carpentry, Cabinet-making, Pattern-making,

Moulding, Turning, Plumbing, Sanitary Science and Quantity Surveying. The school prepares students for the London Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, City and Guilds Examinations, as well as examinations held by the Institute of Civil Engineers, Pharmaceutical Society, etc. One cannot help being impressed with the elaborate fittings of its workshops. The school seems in its technical branches to furnish an ideal to which the schools of the type of the Bihar School of Engineering should work up, in time.

Polytechnics are more advanced institutions than the Technical Schools. They prepare for London B. Sc. and similar examinations but the subjects taken up are similar to those in the Technical Schools. In all these Institutes (except in some of the Universities and the University Colleges) there are evening classes for those engaged in work during the day, in almost all the subjects. The fees charged in the evening classes are much less than in the day classes, a further reduction being allowed in the case of those actually engaged in the trades for which a particular course is specially designed.

But no scheme of technical education will be completed which does not make suitable provision for a course of training in the actual works. All authorities are agreed on this point. As has been well remarked by a former professor of the University of Leeds, "The college laboratory can do what cannot be done in the works and the works can do what cannot be done in a laboratory; both are indispensable, but each should do that which it is able to do thoroughly and not spoil both by attempting to combine them in one and the same place."

Taking the case of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering the following is often regarded as a suitable, though a somewhat elaborate, course of training. After receiving a good education, a youth should be sent to some small general engineering works, where he is more likely to gain useful experience than in a larger establishment, for about twelve or eighteen months;

he should, then, take either a two or a three years' course of instruction in a college; he should, next, go into some larger engineering works, where he can specialise in some particular branch for a period of not less than two years: finally, he should go into the drawing office for at least one year. Such a course of training will thus take from six to seven years, which in some instances may be more time than many parents can afford to give their sons. In such cases, the expense of the college course may be materially reduced by scholarships; but this, of course, entirely depends upon the ability and diligence of the student. Then, again, if youths do well, they will nearly always receive some remuneration during the third and fourth stages mentioned above.

Generally speaking, the importance of practical training after a college course, in all technical subjects, cannot be overestimated. In dealing with these, therefore, we are confronted with special difficulties. I have in a recent article¹ adverted to the difficulty in securing admission into works in England and elsewhere in the case of Indian students. It will be obvious, therefore, that in India, the difficulty of providing practical training in technical subjects will be very great,—in new subjects, almost insurmountable. In subjects, like Mining, Mechanical Engineering and Weaving, suitable provision can be made with greater ease in India than in England for practical training of students in actual works. There are others (Electrical Engineering and Metallurgy) for which and also, while some provision can be made in this respect (in certain departments), in respect of industries which have either not made a beginning or are in an embryonic stage, the plan to be followed is the one to which I referred in a recent article. In all cases, it is necessary to bear in mind the absolute necessity of providing for practical training, in every scheme of technical education that is at all worthy of consideration.

¹ *Vide, Calcutta Review, July 1922, Technological Studies.*

Finally, a reference should be made to a special type of schools, maintained by the London County Council, namely the Schools of Arts and Crafts. The Central School of Arts and Crafts was established (to quote from the prospectus) to provide instruction in those branches of design and manipulation which directly bear on the more artistic trades. The special object is to encourage the industrial application of decorative design and it is intended that every opportunity should be given to students to study this in relation to their own particular craft. It is the intention that the school should supplement and not supersede apprenticeship by affording to trade students opportunities for studying design and for practice in those branches of their craft, which owing to subdivisions of processes of production, they are unable to obtain in the workshop.

The instruction is adapted to the needs of those engaged in the different departments of building work (architects, builders, modellers, wood, stone and marble carvers, gilders, painters, decorators, cabinet-makers, metal-workers, etc., designers of wall papers, textiles and furniture and workers in stained glass, tapestry, embroidery, bronze, lead, etc.); also in work in the precious metals (enamellers, jewellers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, chasers, engravers, and die-sinkers); and in general book-production (book binders, compositors, black and white designers, book illustrators, illuminators and lithographers). New classes have been arranged in Typography, Building Construction, Dress-making, Lace-making, Tempera Painting, China-painting, Technical Carpet-designing, and Designing for Monumental Masonry. Other departments are being opened in response to reasonable demands.

According to the Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, one of the objects of the school is to keep up and develop the artistic talent connected with handicrafts

* My inquiry had led me to the conclusion that the difficulties are nearly as great in Germany and the United States.

against the inroads of the modern machine. In view of the decaying arts in this country, as in silver, gold, muslin, etc., a school of this kind—say, in connection with the School of Art, should prove a highly useful institution.

I must defer a detailed account of the German Technical Institutions to a future occasion. At present, I shall confine myself to a brief description of *Hoch Schule* (the High School) at Charlottenburg, perhaps the greatest Technical School in the world, which I have lately had the pleasure of visiting. I have already incidentally referred to the comprehensive nature of the courses of studies provided there. As a further illustration, we may take the course of studies recommended for Engineering.

First Year—Experimental Physics, Higher Mathematics, Mechanical and Descriptive Geometry, Mechanical Technology I, Introduction to Machine Construction, Experimental Chemistry.

Second Year—Mechanics and Mechanism, Thermodynamics, Strength of Materials, Graphic Statics, Cranes and Lifting Machinery, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Mechanical Technology II, Commercial Subjects.

Third Year—Electricity, Crane Design, Steam Engine Construction, Hydraulic Machine, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Machinery Construction, Pumping, Compressing and Blowing Machinery, Steam Boilers, Statics of Bridge Construction, Finance and Banking.

Fourth Year—Students at this stage specialise in either (a) (b) or (c).

(a) General Mechanical Engineering, Design of Hydraulic Machines, Setting out Factories for various purposes, Machine Construction, Hydraulics, Design of Boilers, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Ice-making and Refrigerating Machines, Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers.

(b) Railway Engineering, Locomotive, Carriage and Waggon Construction, Permanent Way, Railway Working, Setting out Factories, etc., Iron Construction, Electric Telegraph, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory.

(c) Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Transport of Goods, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers, Electrotechnics in relation to the Electric Telegraph, Electric Measurements, Electric Lighting, Alternating Currents, Electric Transmission, Electric Railways, the Physical Basis of Electrotechnics, Electro-chemistry, Introduction to the Potential Theory, Potential Theory and its employment in the study of Electricity, Electric Waves.

A student is not, however, compelled to take the whole of the course laid down. He has perfect freedom to select any course of study he thinks fit, made up of lectures from any of the (six) departments of the School.

A feature in the organisation of the teaching staff is worthy of note: Each professor is expert in his particular branch (who is associated with the Rector¹ on a footing of perfect equality and, in general, *engaged in the full practice of his profession*. In this way, theory and practice are brought into close union.

The cost of maintaining the Berlin Technical High School is considerable. In 1899 the income of the school was nearly £70,000, of which nearly 50% was provided by the state. And it is not without interest to note that the cost of a complete course in the High School was then only from £10 to £17 per annum.

The following quotation from the Consular Report issued by the Foreign Office on German Technical Education, which closes an article which appeared some years ago in a paper, called the *Technic* is of special interest even now.

“His Majesty the Emperor William has always manifested a deep appreciation of the vital importance of technical education, and of the progress of science and chemical and technical

¹ Each Professor becomes Rector, by rotation.

industries. He has displayed this in many ways, by participation in scholastic conferences, the admission of the Directors of Prussian Technical High Schools to the Prussian upper house and latterly, by honouring the Prussian Technical High Schools with the right to confer the new degree of *Doctor of Engineering* on the occasion of the centenary of the Berlin Technical High School. This is a most important historical event in the annals of the development of scientific education in Prussia, as it indicates that the technical high schools have been raised to the academic level of the older Universities. This honour, great in itself, was further enhanced through the Emperor by the bestowal of the title of "His Magnificency" upon the Professor elected each year to the office of Director of the Berlin Technical High School, and by the additional right of conferring the degree of Doctor, *Honoris Causa*, upon distinguished scientists, scholars and public men."

"The importance of the step that was taken by the German Emperor cannot be too highly estimated. It practically meant a recognition and acknowledgment of equality given by the old universities with their honourable historical records of many centuries, to their younger colleagues, the technical high schools of the nineteenth century."

"Since the elevation of the technical high schools to the same rank as the four faculties of the old universities, German educationalism has attained a certain measure of perfection in the last of the three great historical periods—the appearance of the universities as a living protest against the dreary and fruitless scholasticism of the middle ages: the foundation of academics with the principle of experimental research as the basis of natural sciences; and, finally, the creation of technical high schools with the principle of the systematic application of scientific methods to the service of mankind."

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC CRITICISM

Newspapers first came into existence to record events as they happened from day to day. They supplied a want which was widely felt, and they were appreciated by a daily widening circle of readers. They have now become indispensable at the early morning breakfast table, in moments of leisure and during travel. The telegraph has helped to make the newspaper a source of daily communion throughout the world. The rustle of its myriad leaves is heard in every household in every part of the civilised world, and the morning does not properly begin unless we have a glance at the daily morning newspaper. News travels with the speed of lightning, distance and time have alike been annihilated, and events happening thousands of miles away are known the next morning in every part of the world through the medium of the ubiquitous newspaper. One wonders how the world got on in former times without newspapers. The story is told of our Yankee friends of how a preacher failed to excite interest by depicting the horrors of hell. After denouncing sin and sinners he waxed eloquent over the awful punishment of sinners in hell. With all the eloquence and earnestness he could command he spoke of the tortures of hell and the fearful lot of sinners; in vivid language he described the burning sulphur and brimstone of hell and of the fire that is not quenched. But all his efforts to inspire terror remained ineffective, and his glowing periods passed over his hearers as harmlessly as water glides off the back of a duck. Feeling baffled and desperate the preacher tried another octave of solemn exhortation. "My brothers," cried he in his deepest and most sepulchral tones, "there are no newspapers in hell!" Then the congregation was suddenly aroused out of its apathy and listlessness, and there was manifest consternation in the faces of the listeners. They were all deeply stirred. If hell without

a newspaper is inconceivable and the notion is repugnant even to people without any imagination how can the world do even for a day without its multiplicity of newspapers?

The daily criticism of public affairs, of public men and public measures is of later growth. The day's news were presented as a bunch of twinkling glowworms; followed the powerful searchlight of criticism turning every way, shooting shafts of light in every direction, exposing the dark and tortuous ways of intrigue and piercing the heart of the most intricate problems in public affairs. The fierce light no longer beats upon the throne alone, but upon everything that pertains to the affairs of the country and the nation. The humble chronicler of news evolved into the publicist and took a definite part in shaping public opinion which has ruled the world from the ancient days when Rama ruled the kingdom of Ayodhyā. The power of public criticism like all other powers has been abused at times, since men are not always fit to wield the power they possess. Moreover, the State and the Press have come into frequent conflict. Men connected with newspapers are usually ill paid, despised and very often oppressed. Many of them have found life bitter and its environments depressing. Several of them have mistaken their calling, others are ill equipped for the vocation they have chosen. In spite of all this, however, newspapers are now a recognised factor in affairs, and the very fact that they are sometimes ill-treated proves that their power is felt.

Between the newspaper and the periodical, the monthly magazine and the review there is a clear line of demarcation. Their different functions are clearly, if tacitly, defined, and there should be no overlapping between them. The *Edinburgh Review* in the days of Macaulay and the *Bangadarsana* guided by the genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterji represent the high water-mark of periodical literature, while the *London Times*, apart from its views on political subjects and the struggles of nations to win liberty, has maintained the highest

traditions of journalism. The monthly periodical should have some literary value, and some of the finest modern literature has appeared in magazines in monthly instalments. It is more abstract and less concrete. From the nature of its publication, seeing that a month intervenes between two numbers, the monthly magazine should not and cannot encroach upon the province of the daily newspaper. The monthly magazine is more or less an individual publication. Each article is signed and bears the authority of the writer. There is an atmosphere of detachment, an evidence of leisurely thought. The mysterious plurality of the editorial 'we,' the driving force and the hustling energy of the daily newspaper are absent. It is within the province of the writer of a signed article in a monthly magazine to consider and criticise any particular measure of the Government, or any public body or corporation. It is *not* within his province, specially if he is an anonymous writer, to make running or ill-natured commentaries month after month on any particular institution or to criticise any particular individual. That is the function of the daily newspaper and the monthly periodical ought not to encroach upon it.

Literary controversy such as illumined the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* in the time of such giants as William Ewart Gladstone and Thomas Huxley, or the keen rapier play and the delicate banter of Matthew Arnold is an intellectual treat and an abiding pleasure. Writers and critics of their calibre are not to be found every day anywhere, but every high class periodical with any claim to dignity can follow the lead of these great men so far as the choice of subjects fit for controversy is concerned. Putting the matter broadly and roughly it is competent to a monthly magazine to permit a number of known writers, whose motives are unassailable, to consider the Irish question from various points of view. An article in a monthly periodical may well deal with any particular measure introduced in the Indian

Legislature. A writer in such a periodical may closely examine the administration of a Viceroy or a provincial ruler. He can pass under review the affairs of a Municipal Corporation or a University, or lay down his reasons for or against a particular civic or educational policy. But if month after month he criticises or reviles a particular institution or a particular individual associated with that institution he usurps the function of the daily newspaper, and also raises doubts as to the purity of his motive.

(On this particular question of motive there can be no distinction between writers in the public Press, daily or monthly, because it is a question of public morality and admits of no deviation of standard. Several years ago, an Indian commercial magnate interested himself, on public grounds, in the establishment of a railway in a certain remote part of India. He happened to be in England on his own business and was asked to approach the Editor of the London *Times* to enlist the sympathy and support of the great London paper. At that time it was owned by the Walters. The Editor, after hearing his visitor, asked him if he had any personal or financial interest in the project. On receiving a reply in the negative he asked the Indian gentleman to give him such an assurance in writing, and it was only then that he agreed to make independent inquiries and to support the scheme if so advised. That was the tradition of the *Times*. The reader may remember how the same paper rebuked Sir Michael O'Dwyer some time ago and said it suffered no dictation from any one. All newspapers and periodicals, great and small, must be above the ascription of any motive in the discussion of any individual or institution.

The line of conduct is very simple and there should be no difficulty in following it so long as one is guided by rectitude of motive. If in criticising a public institution or a public individual there is the faintest suspicion of a personal grievance the hand of the critic should be automatically

stayed. If public criticism is in any way inspired or influenced by private prejudice or a sense of personal wrong it is a clear debasement and prostitution of a valued right. The more real the grievance the greater the measure of offending. If any monthly periodical oversteps the limits of its legitimate functions, and month after month assails any individual or institution with undisguised virulence and hostility, and if there is the remotest justification for the suggestion that at the back of such hostility there is a feeling of a personal injury or a personal disappointment then the critic stands self-condemned as unworthy and unfit to perform the part of a dignified and impartial critic. Each one of us, however humble our calling and sphere of influence, is ever in the great Taskmaster's eye, and for every one of us are intended the weighty words of warning, Judge not, that ye be not judged.

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT IV ; SCENE III)

[*Scene. A street in Mailepur. Several passing along in one direction.*]

An old woman—

Is this the way to Sitaraman's house
Where the great Sadhu dwells ?

A girl—

Ay, little mother,
Straight on, and then the turning to the right.

Old woman—

Vishnu be praised ! My journey's end is near.
I'm nigh worn out with walking.

Palanquin-bearers—

Way --make way !
Way for the princess ! Backward there ! Give room.

(*The people fall back. Enter, borne on palanquin, Magdani and Sinthice.*)

Sinthice—

How the folk press around us ! are they all
Bound for this Sadhu's lodging ?

Magdani—

One and all
They tend in one direction. Many are sick,
Others would hear his message. All have need.

A bearer—

Your presence, the crowd thickens. It were well
Here a brief while to rest the palanquin.

Magudani—

Well, rest a little. Do I see aright,
Or is that boy Vizayan ? It is he.

Prince Vizayan—

'Tis Magudani ! What a game is this !

Magudani—

What dost thou here, Vizayan, unattended ?
Where are thy tutors ?

Vizayan—

They are round the corner,
At their wits end, what hath become of me !
I dodged them finely.

Sinthice—

O thou wicked boy !
If thou wert kidnapped, 'twere thy just desert.

Vizayan—

Desert ? I wish the day no better end !
So while the sun shines, I will pluck the fruit.

Magudani—

But now, Vizayan, whither goest thou ?

Vizayan—

Whither thou goest, Rose of India !
To see this wondrous Sadhu. I have heard
How a great block of timber that withstood
An elephant with coolies half a score
He drew up from the river easily ;
How water drops he threw into the air
Remained suspended, till they turned to flowers
That fell in showering fragrance at his feet.

Magulani—

These are but tales, Vizayan ; thou shalt see
No conjuror, but a healer of the sick,
And hear a great Apostle of the World.

Vizayan—

That will content me, if I go with thee,
O heartless breaker of a thousand hearts !
But yesternight, my sister Draupadi
Her hair for envy of thy beauty tore.

Maguduni—

Thy tongue, Vizayan, runs away with thee,
And where it goes thou know'st not. Hold thy peace.

Sinthice—

How long are we to linger ? Girl, these fellows
Will rest till night, unless thou hurry them.

Maguduni—

Ah, the press slackens. Bearers, up and on ! [*Exeunt.*]

(*Enter Ram Chandra, covered with ashes and with loads about his neck.*)

Ram Chandra—

How soon the people follow him ! Already
The leaven in the meal begins to spread.
Not unobserved hath Maguduni gone
Yonder with Krishna's sister and the prince.
I'll sit me here upon the roadside—so
And wrapt in holy contemplation, watch
The passers-by, if haply there should flit
Some fly as greenly coloured to the web.

(Various people pass by Ram Chandra who seems absolutely absorbed and indifferent. Some throw coins to which he pays no regard.)
(Enter Draupadi, heavily veiled with a female attendant.)

Draupadi—

It cannot, Lachmi, be much further now.

Ram Chandra (aside)—

Now where have I those silvery accents heard,
That haughty carriage seen, that stately tread?
Ah, now I have it !

Draupadi—

See that poor Fakir !
Give him a piece of silver. Ah, his soul
Is raised to heights above such worthless pelf.

Ram Chandra—

Yet on the greatest lady in the land
Saving the Maharani, I might deign
Thence to bestow a glance compassionate.

Draupadi (starting)—

Thou knowest me ?

Ram Chandra—

Ay, Princess Draupadi,
I know thee and the tempest in thy soul,
Whither thou speedest thy misguided steps,
And what the future has in store for thee.

Draupadi—

I go but whither all are wending now,
To hear the new Mahatma, and to see
His mighty wonders.

Ram Chandra—

Not for him thou goest,
Nor yet his wonders, but to gaze upon
The face of one who hath despised thee,
Thee, a king's daughter, for some lowlier choice.

Draupadi—

Swami, thou read'st the secret of my soul !
He passed me over for another's sake.
Chit ! I could slay her for his sake and mine.

Ram Chandra—

By simpler means thou mayst secure his love.

Draupadi—

How meanest thou ? I gain him ? In what way ?

Ram Chandra—

See here a cruse of crystal ! When thou payest
On thy fair cousin a call of courtesy,
Watch an occasion when she's unaware,
And her cosmetics with its content mix.

Draupadi—

Is it some spell upon her, holy seer ?

Ram Chandra—

'Twill mar her beauty in her lover's eyes
Till by her side a Rakshasi were fair.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay, that were a sin, an evil thing !

Ram Chandra—

Evil is oft the pathway to a throne.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay I dare not—yet thou temptest me !
I will not use it, but will purchase it,
And have it by me. What a power it gives !
The way to what a crown of happiness !

Ram Chandra (giving her the cruse)—

Take it, and have it by thee ! 'Tis the same.
(*aside*) Who plays with evil soon is Evil's sport.

(*Draupadi takes the cruse, and throws Ram Chandra a gold coin. Exeunt Draupadi and her attendant.*)

Ram Chandra resumes his attitude of deep contemplation. Beggar children passing snatch at the coins lying round about him on the ground. He takes no notice. A low rumble of thunder is heard.

Curtain.

(SCENE IV)

[*Scene. A room in Sitaraman's house. Present Sitaraman, his wife, daughter, Magudani. Sinthice, Vizayan and Tulsī. In the back-ground a balcony on which is seen through open doors St. Thomas addressing a crowd that murmurs and exclaims as if deeply stirred.*]

Sitaraman—

Ah, how he sways the people ! Now he brings,
Like some great vessel slowing into port,
His grand oration to its close.

¹ Female demon.

St. Thomas—

And now,
Now He hath called you, what is your reply ?
Will ye return to the old sin-hardened ways
And grope in darkness, when He lights the world ?
And though He rose, be still content to lie
In tombs and sepulchres as men long dead,
When ye may rise by virtue of His life,
And walk with Him in newness, clad in white,
That in white garments cleansed of every stain
Ye may be raised to meet Him in that Day ?
O risen Lord, who in Thy sepulchre
Didst place an angel where thy body had lain
Making henceforth each grave a resting-place
Fragrant with promise of more glorious life,
Do thou thy angel sent to every grave
Where lies a soul imprisoned, dead in sin,
To touch it with the touch that sets it free,
That as an angel in Thy grave was found
So those in graves may stand where angels are !

*(St. Thomas ceases—a silence, then cries out "Jesu Masih" "Thoma Rasul"
"Save us and heal us !" "Alleluia," etc. The saint comes into the room
from the balcony ; Sitaraman falls at his feet and embraces them.)*

Sitaraman—

Great Swami, sainted messenger of Christ,
Whose advent here was like a rose of dawn
On dark and troubled waters, and a calm
Settling immediate on a Restless sea !
What blessing thou hast shed on me and mine,
My wife, my daughter, both of late possess
Of evil spirits, but by thy healing hands
Delivered and restored, are witnesses.
Wherefore I come, who can no more contain
The fount of gratitude that in me springs,

With my poor thanks in homage to thy feet,
Humbly imploring yet a higher boon,
E'en grace of Baptism, that we may become
Servants of Christ and members of His flock.

St. Thomas—

Give Him the glory, not His messenger.
He who dispenses blessing, by the act
Becomes of it partaker, and for this
To render God the thanks, befits him too.
'Tis mine own longing to supply your need.

(Beholding Sinthice)—

Who is this lady?

Magudani—

She of whom I spake.
My poor blind aunt, Sinthice, Holiness.

St. Thomas (to Sinthice)—

Lady who hast been kept so long a while
Held in a state of darkness, that on thee
The works of God may now be manifest—
What is the foremost longing of thy heart?

Sinthice—

Light! once again to look upon the light.

St. Thomas—

Light of the world! send from the realms of light
Thy ray upon the darkness of these eyes,
Upon this soul the radiance of the morn,
And bid from both the shadows flee away!

All—

Amen. Amen.

St. Thomas—

Who is the boy ?

Magudani—

He is the Prince, Swami,
Vizayan, son of great Mahadevan,
And heir to all his Kingdom.

St. Thomas—

Gentle Prince,
God gives to thee a great inheritance,
'Tis a great trust. Discharge thy duty well
And to His honour dedicate thy gift,
That of a still sublimer heritage
Thou fail not when the earthly crown shall fade.

Vizayan—

I shall remember this, Apostle blest ;
(It hath more sense than what our Sadhus teach)
And when I sit upon my father's throne
Not Gurprashad shall be High Priest—but thou !

Attendant—

His Highness the Prince Gad presents salaam.

Sitaraman—

Bid him be welcome.

Sinthice—

Ah, the light, the light
It dawneth on my darkness. I can see
Dim shapes about me.

St. Thomas—

Soon it shall be day.

(Enter Gad—Magudani veils herself.)

Sitaraman (salaaming low)—

Thy graciousness o'erpowers me, noble Prince.

Gad—

I crave thy pardon, worthy Sitaraman,
For breaking in upon this gathering
But I have need in mine emergency,
And pray thy leave to supplicate thy guest
For counsel in my straitness.

Sinthice (to Sitaraman)—

Now, Bahadur,
High time 'tis on thy hospitality
We ceased to trespass. Much I own to thee
That underneath thy roof hath fallen on me
So rich a blessing. Magudani, come.

Gad—

'Tis Magudani !

Magudani—

Yes, belovèd, I.

Gad—

Life of my life—alas, it goes amiss.
Mahadevan, save under one condition,
Will not approve our marriage.

Magudani—

Yea, I know it.

Gad—

And our reply to this ?

Magudani—

We have no choice.

We must refuse it.

Gad—

Then we cannot wed.
Think, Magudani ; shall our lives be wrecked
For a few grains of incense ?

Magudani—

Ask the saint,
He can and will return but one reply,
Else should be to our very souls be false.

Gad—

Shall we be true, then, by surrend' ring all
To man's cold sentence that divides our souls ?
Queen of my heart, wilt thou thy heart deny ?

Magudani—

E'en that were better than deny our Lord.

Gad—

Sweet maiden, thou art my remembrancer.

Sinthice (interrupting)—

Child, tarry not, the hour is growing late,
And Krishna will be angered.

Magudani—

Love, farewell.

Sinthice—

Besides, we have Vizayan.

Gad—

Ah, thy rose
Was not without its thorn, and I am pierced

Magudani—

God can do all, we little ; O be strong !

(Disengages herself gently. Except all save St Thomas and Gad, who gaze after Magudani.)

St. Thomas (to Gad)—

My son, I know thy anguish ; yet awhile
Be patient ! God will help thee to thine own.

Gad—

Who gave me Magudani's love but He ?
'Twere but to mock me, if He dash away
His nectar ere I drink it. Now I am
As is a chariot of its wheels bereft,
Or like a silent lute without its string,
Whose use and sweetness are of yesterday.

St. Thomas—

Not thus were loves regained nor battles won ;
Not thus did Rama in your legend win
Back to his arms his Sita. Though the gate
Be made of iron 'twixt thyself and her,
Yet thou, breast-forward marching on to it,
Mayst find it open of his own accord,
As half those hindrances men fear to face,
When boldly fronted, for their feet make way.

Gad—

Not all the walls and portals in the world
Shall keep me from her, nor Mahadevan
Himself have power to part us ! Doubt me not.
If I go single back to Narankot,
'Tis to return in vengeance mightily
To thunder at the gates of Mailepur,
And level her proud turrets with the dust.

St. Thomas—

And thinkest thou to gain thy happiness
By plunging half the homes of Hindustan

In mourning for the nation's flower cut down,
And on their ruins build thyself a house?
There wouldst thou hear, I tell thee, all thy days
The voice of Rachael weeping for her sons,
The widow's lamentation for her lord,
The crying of the fatherless for bread—
All blent in curses on thy selfishness.

Gad—

Then what is left but life-long loneliness?

St. Thomas—

Patience and constancy, and selfless love,
What if the tender fires of Love divine
Should melt the iron in Mahadevan
As erst they softened Gondophares' heart?
Then as a mist thy sorrows were dispersed
For sunshine of a bliss without alloy.

Gad—

Hard, O my father, though thy counsel be,
It is my star of guidance. Yet I fear
The current sweep me on in spite of it.

St. Thomas—

Thy safety lies in clinging to the Cross
As to a rock in eddies firmly set.

Gad—

Once in sore danger have I heard the same.
Ah, now I mind me—thus the angel spake
Ere back to earth thy summons wafted me.

St. Thomas—

Then peril not thy soul's security,
By rash, ungoverned action. God preserve
And keep thee steadfast till we meet again.

Gad—

I feel thy prayers around me like a fence
To ward off evil. Holy saint, farewell !

(Kisses St. Thomas' hand. Exit. Enter Tulsi with a lamp. St. Thomas sinks on to a couch.)

Tulsi—

Master is pale. All day he hath not eaten.

St. Thomas—

By prayer and fasting ! 'twas my Master's way.

Tulsi *(after a pause)*—

The rice is ready. May I bring it thee ?

St. Thomas—

Nay, little brother, leave me for a while ;
I am a trifle weary. Thou shalt bring
The rice on my awaking. Quench the light.

(Tulsi extinguishes the lamp.)

Into Thy hands—till I awake, O Lord !

(He falls asleep, a soft moonlight pervades the room. Enter after a pause, Ram Chandra stealthily.)

Ram Chandra *(soliloquising)*—

It almost were a shame to interrupt
So calm a slumber. How at peace he looks !
And now his smile is like a little child's
That in his dreamland sees some vision sweet.
A little child ! I must have been that once—
With all my life before me. Could I choose
My path again, it might be different—
Though it might be the same, for aught I know.
Yet I could envy him his holiness,
That seems so high above this warring world,

As to have overcome it and to reign
Beyond its power to harass or disturb.
Ah, yes, I envy and I hate him too.
Ram, how I hate him ! Till his pale face shone
With light unearthly in our throngèd streets,
At the right hand of Kings I held my place
And turned the rod of Empire where I would ;
Now I am outcast and a beggarman.
Forget it not, Ram Chandra, in this hour,
Nor suffer any freak of sentiment
To turn thee from thy purpose ! He must die.

(A figure in shining raiment appears standing at the head of St. Thomas. Ram Chandra shrinks back.)

Who standeth there, with stern and awful eyes ?

(The apparition vanishes)

Ye gods, I must be dreaming. Nerve thyself
Unto the sacrifice in Kali's name.
And wax not faint, Ram Chandra ! It should be
An easy thing to smite a sleeping foe.

(Draws a dagger. Tulsi creeps nearer him from behind.)

Yet my arm fails me. Then the other way !

(Casts aside dagger, and draws from his leathern wallet a cobra. Tulsi unseen seizes the dagger.)

Here Kali hath a servant that is sure
And will not falter in her deadly stroke.
She and not I shall smite him. *(To the snake)* Little sister,
I'll place thee on the pillow of the Saint,
Thou know'st thy duty ! When I set thee free
Of my enchantment, up, and deal him death !

(Draws nearer couch.)

O Thomas, e'er so ready to forgive,
Pardon this brief disturbance of thy dreams.
But a few moments shalt thou toss awake,
While I shall watch and chant thy lullaby
Into that sleep that knows no wakening.

(He lifts the cobra to place it on the Saint's pillow, Tulsi springs on him and stabs him in the back. He falls to the ground with the cobra, which turns on him and strikes him three times on the forehead.)

Ram Chandra—

O powers of evil—ye have led me on,
And at the last betrayed me! Woe is me!

Tulsi—

Look on my face, Ram Chandra, ere thou die,
I am that mute thou spurnèdst with thy foot,
And mad'st accomplice to thy villainy.

Ram Chandra—

Ye gods! I scarce can breathe, my limbs grow numb.
'Tis a dark valley, and 'tis icy cold.
I feel me sinking downward, ever down.
Ah no! not that! From that low reptile state,
If Thou hast died for Man, O save me, Christ! (*dies*)

Tulsi (bending over St. Thomas)—

My master still is sleeping. Therefore I
Will slay my *second* cobra noiselessly,
And watch for his awaking. Then, may be,
I shall have leave to go and fetch his rice.

Curtain; end of Act IV.

To be continued.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II ; CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL.

Let us leave Tanman unconscious in front of the wedding altar and go back to Raghubhai. Six or seven years had passed since we last met him. In a quite unobtrusive manner he had won over the clerks, the servants and the British Residency at the Prince's court. Often he felt tempted to play his trumps but he lacked courage. Suppose his card were beaten ! And Anantanand was often in his way.

That wonderful man went about all over the state and through the power of his gigantic intellect and his arresting personality he had captured many a heart. He never came again to ask for the restoration of the annual grant to Varat which had been reduced. Three years later Revashankar stopped completely the grant to the monastery. Raghubhai had hoped at that time at least to see the Swami again. But he was then busy with something else. It was also reported that after the death of his *guru* Karunanand, this Anantanand had become the head of that order. Raghubhai, who could understand everything else, found the Swami's game incomprehensible. His ignorance of this particular matter led him to fear the man and hence he hesitated to take any step.

Revashankar was not satisfied with stopping the grant. He had heard it mentioned that the Varat estates, unproductive so long, had begun to yield a good income. So his avaricious heart was longing to levy the land-tax on them. A couple of years later an order was sent demanding the tax. A long controversy arose out of this. Some parts of the estate were shown to have been directly under the

Revenue Department and a feeling began to grow that gradually the Varat lands would be confiscated. Revashankar was a tenacious person and he had got Varat now in his bull-dog grip.

Jasubha had remained just what he had always been. Champa was still living with Ranubha and entertained the prince. But imperceptibly a change had come over her. She had grown more serious and more sedated in her beauty. Even the Queen Devalba felt no longer jealous of her.

Suddenly Jasubha had a fit of activity, he wanted to make a grand tour of his domains. Revashankar dropped his spectacles out of sheer amazement. He understood that the strings were being pulled from elsewhere. But this Divan of more than twenty years of experience cared little for such negligible influences. He arranged for the tour and Jasubha started.

CHAPTER XIV

TWO DIPLOMATS.

Raghubhai was at that moment sitting in the rest-house at Kevalpur. Six years had wrought but slight change in Raghubhai. There was just a little more of the seriousness of old age observable in his face. The rest-house had been converted into a temporary office, because Jasubha had started out on tour and the Naib Divan had the management of it. A little distance from the rest-house was the camp of Jasubha.

"Raghubhai! Times are indeed getting critical," said a gentleman sitting opposite.

He was an elderly, old-fashioned Parsi, whose eyes sparkling behind a pair of spectacles spoke of half-a-century's experience in the world's ways. He was the Head Assistant

in the Residency at Ratnagadh. The Resident being a freshly arrived military swell, all the affairs were managed by Pestonji. He spoke the full, racy Parsi dialect.

"Critical is scarcely the word. We have to play our last card now. The game of the last ten years is drawing to a close and everything is now, my dear sir, in your hands."

"Never say die, my boy," cried Pestonji, "I will do my best. But why the devil are you in such a terror from this Bawa?"

Pestonji and Raghubhai were as father and son. If one wanted something done by Raghubhai or by Pestonji, one had merely to send a present to the other;—such at least was the popular belief.

"Sir, the Bawa is indeed a terror. I have to obey his merest wish. Do you think the Maharaj Saheb would otherwise have come out on this tour? It was done at the instance of Ranubha and Champa, and I am sure the Bawa is at the bottom of it all."

"Don't you think Champa and the Prince are on the same friendly terms as before?"

"Not at all. This woman is deep. She is a friend of the Prince and of Anantanand and the wife of Ranubha! And such a past! She was an abandoned dancing girl when she first came and now she has the airs of a saintly matron. She wishes to control entirely the state policy."

"Oh, don't you fear. She scarce seems that sort."

"Please do not make a mistake. Slowly but surely she is interfering in all His Highness' doings. Only Revashankar is too clever for her."

"But why did the Bawa bring His Highness out on tour. I do not understand what he has up his sleeve."

"You see, it is like this," explained Raghubhai, rubbing his hands, "the Bawa wishes to take His Highness to Varat. He is reported to be all powerful there, so none can foresee what might happen there. Five years have passed and yet the

Bawa has done nothing, nor has he made a sign. We cannot quite see his game."

"But what can be done as long as Revashankar sticks on?"

"Yes, but we can arrange this matter. It rests with the Bawa and with another—"

"Who is he?" exclaimed Mr. Pestonji, his neck outstretched eagerly.

"Your humble servant. But I cannot just yet play my trump card. My dear sir, through your kindness the Residency is on my side. But I am only waiting till the fruit is quite ripe."

"Then why the deuce did you call me now?"

"To be at hand in case the moment arrived. Jasubha might have need of your protection, I might need—"

"But when is this moment arriving?"

"Patience, dear sir. I am resolved not to allow the Prince to get to Varat. Once there I become a mere child before this Bawa. Once out of his influence I can show my full power."

"But what does all that mean? Do speak in plainer words."

"My dear sir, pardon me. You shall see for yourself the full blaze of my power only when it comes. At present I must not whisper it even to my shadow. I have already dropped a hint or two at the Residency and at Bombay. But till my game is finished everything is a profound secret."

"Very well, I have—"

Just then there was a knock at the door. Raghubhai got up and half opened it.

"Who is that?—Well, did I not tell you not to disturb us?"

"Yes, your honour, but here is the Swamiji himself."

"Who? Anantanand?" asked Raghubhai in a frightened voice.

"Yes, sir."

He held the door with his left hand and with his right signed to Pestonji to go inside an inner closet. Pestonji went in and bolted the inner door and then only Raghubhai opened the outer door fully.

"Ranchhod, ask him to step in."

"Yes, sir."

A few moments later Anantanand came in. The intervening six years had made no change in him. He cast his sharp glance all round the room. Raghubhai looked with some alarm at the inner door.

"Well, your holiness, and what are your commands?"

"My one desire; when is Jasubha coming to Varat?"

"His Highness seems disinclined to go there."

"Then you try and bring him round."

"How can I do so?"

"What will you do when you become Divan? What did I tell you! You *must* bring him to Varat; there is no help. Then alone will he understand the untold harm done to his domain by the oppressive and miserly rule of Revashankar. At first he only wanted money; but now he is bent upon ruining our Varat institution. So one of us must go."

Revashankar had also experienced the ever increasing influence of Anantanand; so he was trying to get rid of the monastery of Varat by any means. And as a last resort the Swami had arranged for this royal tour. There was room for only one of them in the state—either Anantanand or Revashankar. Such was the present position. The Swami, however, had not yet succeeded in ridding the state of his rival, because the man was high in favour with all the three superior powers—the Resident, the Bombay Government and Jasubha.

"Your holiness, your merest wish is a command to me, but—

"Raghubhai, I do not care for your 'buts,' so you had better keep them for yourself. To-morrow morning

Jasubha *must* come to Varat. Everything only has been arranged to make him welcome, now we are waiting for you to bring him along."

"But if he does not listen to me? He is exceedingly obstinate in such matters."

"Raghubhai, I do not want your excusing. Jasubha shall come to Varat and you shall agree to it." The words from the Swami and his tones seemed to cut away the very ground from under Raghubhai's feet. His voice sounded like the decree of Fate.

"Well, I will do what I can."

"Very well, do this much. I know that you have been called to-day at half-past five to arrange the programme. You fix it up there and as you come out tell Chhotu Jemadar and I shall get the information. I will then do what is needful;" saying this Anantanandji cast another glance at the door of the inner room and walked away.

Raghubhai fell back on the cushions and Pestonji after first peeping out carefully came out.

"Is this your Bawa? I could not yet observe him properly."

Raghubhai wiped his forehead and regained some of his usual composure. "We must *act* now. We have been quiet too long. Well now, Mr. Pestonji, you kindly stay at Talod with your man. Varat is near from there. I will send a man when I need you, otherwise I will drop in myself."

Pestonji got up and put on his overcoat. Raghubhai also got up and slipped a bundle of notes into his hand. It went unobserved into Pestonji's pocket. Muffling up his face he slipped out quietly by the back door.

Raghubhai leaned back on the cushions. His state was unenviable at this moment. Revashankar regarded him as an enemy and accepted him as a nuisance to be endured. The wondrous powers of Anantanand had spread a magic net far and wide in which he himself had been caught in spite of all

his care. He had not yet been able to make out the real motives of Anantanand. He had, however, to dance to the Bawa's tune. And the Bawa too had to be kept well in hand, because Ranubha (and Champa too) were his creatures. So Raghubhai had, after deep consideration, thought out a way of freeing himself from these toils and of re-asserting his own greatness. The most profitable use of the secret he had discovered could only be made if the state policy remained unchanged and if the Divan was—himself. To hold a constant menace over the prince and thus to keep him always submissive and meek was indeed a less dazzling position than that of a king-maker, but it brought more wealth and greater peace of mind and security. Raghubhai's cogitation had at last led him to this conclusion that if Jasubha could be subdued by the strength of the secret he possessed, then Revashankar would have to retire and Anantanand would have to leave the country or else be powerless—and himself would be the master of the Residency as well as of the state.

He was looking out for a chance to subdue Jasubha, but owing to the incomprehensibility of Anantanand's plans he was never able to tell which chance would turn out to be the best for him. He was awaiting the right moment and the very atmosphere around him seemed to proclaim that it was not far off.

(To be continued)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

MITES FROM MANY

V

I.—On the Ganges.

The moon aspires to be at full,
The lapping waters sing
A song, unheard of outer ear,
To heart the joy of spring.
The stars in music bloom round moon,
They dance on Ganges' breast ;
The world betwixt the brown and blue,
See, smiles refulgent rest.
The stillness of the land is clothed
In bright forgetfulness ;
The air pulsates a sacred tune
Day's labours to redress.
The mind at work finds endless rest,
Though wake, the senses sleep,
The world around is world no more ;
Beyond, a strange Love's peep.
Now do I think and do I live,
Have I a form and name ?
Or, is not this confusion sweet
For love of God to claim ?—*Modern.*

II.—Supplication.

(1)

Let me confess my sins, O God,
 Let all men me a sinner brand,
 Tho greatest of my sins the thought,
 The greatest sin can Thee withstand.—*Modern.*

(2)

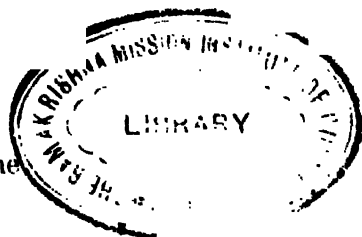
O God, Thy might's beyond my hurt,
 As mountain is to breeze of spring.
 To hurt the least Thy love gives life,
 Is hurt to Thee—thus love to wring.—*Modern.*

(3)

Were I not the worst of sinners,
 Assailing fears not mine,
 Of senses not the slave, then why
 In supplication Thine?—*Bhatla Senandana.*¹

(4)

O close not mercy's gate on me
 For my malicious sin.
 Whose heart is clean, who knows no fear
 Perchance may n't enter in.



¹ Ballavadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Ed. by W. Peterson), No. 3505.

But I the meanest of the mean,
 To righteousness unknown,
 Have I not the greater right
 To loving compassion?—*Pandita Jagaddhara.*¹

(5)

I have but asked as nature bid,
 Save me from my prayer,
 From Thee what comes is ever best,
 May all my joy be there!
 My prayer's but the child's love-call,
 'Tis folly that has asked.
 May Thy trying gifts to me
 Be loving mercy-masked!—*Modern.*

(6)

As we look on life fades away;
 Youth decays as day follows day;
 The days that go ne'er come again,
 And time devours the universe.
 Fortune flies as ripples break upon the sea.
 We flash through life as lightning on the sky.
 Now, save, O save, this seeker for refuge
 In Thee, O Sanctuary for us all!—*Sankarāchārya.*

¹ *Op. cit.*, No. 3524.

(7)

Hail World-formed, hail Unspeakable One,
Hail All-peace, Being, Sentience, Joy !
Hail Divine Physician, cure thy slave
Of cruel fever, called world-life !
Hail Mother mine, of all my sins
The patient, silent bearer 'Thou !
Hail Father mine, 'gainst dangers all
My virgin fortress-refuge, Thou !
Hail Master mine of saving truth !
Salute I humbly the holy feet
Of Him who guides my feeble steps,
Upon the path that Peace-ward leads.
Salute I humbly all true men,
Or now or in the days of old
Or in the days that e'er will dawn,
God-gifted with true loving faith
In Him who rules the hearts of all
And zealous in His creatures' good.
Goes forth my supplication true :—
Dispel the darkness of my heart,
O make me clean, within and out,
No evil can Thy presence bear.—*From Sanskrit.*

III.—Meditation.

(1)

Wise in words, unwise in truth,
All such as are there,
Out they stay, O friends of heart,
Words are not my care.
Outer door is closed, unclosed
Inner, heart-gate mine,
Enter soundless, friends, and pass
Gloom to pure sunshine.—*Chandidās.*

(2)

Childhood's days are lost in play,
Youthful strength, devoured by love,
Age is sunk in vainest thoughts,
Yet his heart none lifts above.—*Sankarāchārya.*

(3)

To fear Him makes all terrors fall,
To love Him makes belov'd of all,
A life-less speck before wert thou,
He has given thee sentience now,
Has called the senses to thy aid.
Now, think thy choice, if wisely made,
To Him unmind, when truth is said.

—*Ram Mohun Roy.*

(4)

Be I in my native land,
 Be I on the strangest strand,
 Where'er I be,
 I see but Thee
 Amid Thy wondrous world !
 In various times,
 In various climes,
 Thy varied works, uncurl'd.
 Moments all Thy glory show,
 I call on Thee,
 None ne'er can be,
 Present Thou where'er I go.—*Ram Mohun Roy.*

(*Composed on a voyage to
 England in 1830-31.*)

(5)

Sin, shame and sorrow, unlov'd brood,
 Were priceless friends on road I trod,
 Who else my heart had God-ward turned
 And drown'd me in this joy of God?—*Modern.*

(6)

I and Thou are one—'tis true,
 And yet am I Thy slave,
 The wave and Ocean are but one
 And Ocean's yet the wave.—*Sankarāchārya.*¹

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

¹ *Op. cit.*, No. 3520.

FIFTY EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

V

Besides those mentioned in my last article, the only other important anti-malaria measures which have been adopted by Government in Bengal are spasmodic jungle-cutting and the sale or free distribution of quinine (including cinchona). There is no doubt, that thick jungle, especially of undergrowth, is insanitary. Captains Proctor and Stewart found, that villages surrounded by such jungle which is favoured by a high level of subsoil water, had a spleen rate of 71·7, but the rate in villages with little or no jungle was as low as 14·5.¹ It has unquestionably aggravated the effects of malignant malaria after it had been started. But, if it could have originated it, it would have done so long before 1860. The futility of jungle-cutting as an effective anti-malaria measure was early perceived even by high European officers of Government. Mr. Dampier, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, wrote in a letter in 1864 :

"It has been said that as their own neglect of sanitary precautions is the cause of the sickness under which they suffer, the villagers have no claim to assistance from without ; but I do not believe that the inhabitants of the tracts which have suffered have been greater delinquents in this respect than those of other parts of Bengal, or of this division (the Presidency Division) who have hitherto escaped. I have seen jungle as thick, and habitations as unclean, in the suburbs behind Alipore as I have met with in the worst of the fever-stricken villages which I have visited ; and it is by no means clearly established, that the neglect of precautions which were within the means of the villagers is the primary cause of the epidemic, although doubtless that neglect has intensified the visitation."

The Government of Bengal wrote in a letter to the Government of India (January, 1868) :

"It must be borne in mind that under the conditions of Lower Bengal any clearance of spontaneous vegetation, however thorough, is of the most

¹ Report of the Drainage-committee (1907).

transient effect only. To cut down the jungle and underwood is worse than useless; to root it up is extremely laborious and costly; and even when uprooted it is replaced by a no less luxuriant vegetation, in the course of one or two rainy seasons, so that the question is not one of thoroughly clearing the villages once for all. To be effectual, active and organised measures must be continuous."

Such measures, however, are beyond the financial capacity of Government and most Municipalities, and besides, might lead to unnecessary hardships without removing the primary cause of fulminant malaria. As was observed by Raja Digambar Mitra in a speech in the Bengal Council in 1870, despite the sensible protests just referred to, the crusade against the vegetable kingdom "was vigorously continued in obedience, as he supposed, to professional opinion, and thousands of bamboo and mango topes were ruthlessly destroyed, and many a fever-stricken sufferer, whilst yet prostrated by sickness, was dragged from his sick-bed to assist in this work of demolition of perhaps his only means of support. Such was the kind of measures which in the name of humanity had hitherto been tried for the removal of the epidemic—with what success the experience of a decade has amply testified."

The number of state agencies (post offices, primary schools, dispensaries, police stations, etc.) for the sale or free distribution of quinine has enormously increased since 1860, as also that of physicians for administering it. In 1885, there were three medical colleges in the whole of India with 553 pupils and 17 vernacular medical schools attended by 1403 scholars. In 1910, there were four medical colleges with 1569 students and 27 medical schools attended by 3,624 pupils. These are the latest figures I have got with me, and they relate only to Government institutions. Since 1910, the number of medical students must have increased enormously, especially as there have sprung up lately a number of private medical schools and colleges. The enhancement in the consumption of quinine has been quite as conspicuous. It was

some 186,000 lbs. in 1911-12, as compared with 65,000 lbs. in 1901-02.¹ Assuming a similar rate of increase during the last decade (not an unreasonable assumption), the present consumption would probably not fall very far short of 500,000 lbs.²

But malaria is as bad as, if not worse than ever. The ratio of deaths due to fevers in each thousand of population in British India during the decade 1910—1919 was :—

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
19·17	17·63	16·50	16·71	17·16	16·73	17·13	19·10	46·69	22·93. ³

The following table shows the increase of malaria in Bengal during the last fifty years :—

	Fever Indices		
	1868	1912	1920
Western Bengal	21·9	40·9	51·7
Central Bengal	17·3	32·3	44·9
Northern Bengal	22·3	23·7	33·5
Eastern Bengal	9·3	7·5	14·9 ⁴

There are two factors concerned in the propagation of malaria—the Anopheline mosquito, and the malarial parasite (*Plasmodium malaria*). Quinine has, of course, no action upon the former, and it does not appear to have perceptibly reduced the activities of the latter. The reasons are not far to seek. The parasite which causes malarial fever belongs to the lowest order of the Animal Kingdom, the Protozoa. It has the rather unusual capacity of existing in asexual as well as sexual forms. Quinine kills the former, but has hardly any action upon the latter. These, called gametes (or from their

¹ "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India," 1911-12, p. 129.

² In four decades between 1881 and 1911, the population of India increased about 24 per cent., but the value of the imports of drugs increased from about twenty lakhs to about a crore of rupees, that is about five hundred per cent. Quinine must have had a good share of the increase.

³ Statistics of British India, Vol. III. Public Health (1921), p. 27.

⁴ "Some Economic Aspects of Bengal Malaria" by O. A. Bentley, Indian Medical Gazette, September, 1922, p. 323.

shape, crescents) forcibly sheltering themselves within the protecting envelopes of our red blood corpuscles (and for that reason called endoglobular) are practically invulnerable to quinine. With the bite of the Anopheline they are transferred to its stomach, and ultimately fixing themselves to its outer surface give birth, under favourable circumstances, to a large number of Plasmodium spores which find their way into its salivary glands. When the insect bites next these malarial germs are injected into human blood, and fever ensues when a sufficiently large number of them are formed by fission (asexually). Then, again, there are some authorities who hold that the female crescents can develop parthenogenetically (that is independently of the male element) in the human blood without being transferred to the stomach of the Anopheline and thus cause relapses though there may not be fresh infection by mosquito bite. It will thus be seen how very dangerous the endoglobular gametids are, and how very important is the part played by them in the life history of plasmodium and the propagation of malaria. It is true, that Quinine by killing the myriads of asexual extraglobular parasites (sporids) cures malarial fever. But it does so only temporarily, as being inoperative against the sexual, endoglobular forms,¹ it leaves the primary cause of infection and of relapses practically untouched. Not only so. Major S. P. James, M.D., I.M.S., stated at the Malaria

¹ "According to Golgi, Ziemannse. the young extraglobular parasites are most susceptible to the action of quinine. On the other hand, the crescents are quite uninfluenced by the drug." ("The Diseases of warm countries" by Dr. B. Scheube, p. 162).

"Nearly all observers have agreed that quinine exerts much less influence on the gametids especially the crescents, than upon the sporids [asexual parasites] though Ziemann thinks the male gametids are more easily affected. Many of the younger writers ascribe relapses to parthenogenesis in gametids which survive all quinine treatment in this manner." (Ross, "Prevention of Malaria," p. 137).

The temporary character of the cure effected by quinine was noticed by the Malaria Commission of 1864. They observe that "notwithstanding the steady use of it for days fresh attacks of fever occur at intervals of ten to fifteen days attended with further congestion, and enlargement of the liver or spleen, or both, till at last the system is worn out and dropsy, diarrhoea, dysentery, or some of the other sequelae terminate an existence of protracted misery."

Conference of 1909, that "it is the experience of nearly all observers that quinine given when the blood contains only endoglobular parasites, often prolongs the paroxysms of fever, and may convert a simple definitely intermittent fever into one that is almost continuous. Also it is now nearly twenty years since Marchiafava and Bignami pointed out that if large doses are given when the blood contains only pigmented parasites in process of development, the result may be the appearance of numerous sexual forms of the parasite instead of the usual asexual forms. This phenomenon of the abundant formation of gametes after large doses of quinine has been again observed and written about in Italy, and I think it quite possible that in this country the common observation of numerous crescents in the blood of European soldiers who are being treated with large doses of quinine is also an example of it. In Mian Mir last year crescents were exceedingly numerous in the blood of European soldiers who were receiving considerable amounts of quinine once or twice a week, and in this respect the examination of their blood yielded results which were very different from those obtained in the examination of the blood of untreated natives. In the blood of the latter it was rare to find crescents. Relapses of fever which almost certainly were brought about by the development of the female crescents parthenogenetically were also exceedingly frequent among the European troops, and it appeared doubtful whether the large doses of quinine at intervals of a week had any effect in preventing these relapses. It is possible, therefore, that by administering large doses of quinine more or less in a haphazard manner we may not only be placing the patient in such a condition that he is very liable to relapses, but may be increasing enormously the sources from which anopheles mosquitoes become infected."

¹ "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference", 1909, pp. 69-70. Col. Lukis observed at the same Conference "that there were many cases of malarial origin in which quinine did more harm than good, and the stoppage of the quinine led to a disappearance of the fever." (p. 75).

The dangers of quinine do not end here. Fever, called quinine fever, may be caused and maintained by the continuous use of quinine under certain circumstances. "This is probably the case with many patients in whom fever persists, notwithstanding the administration of large doses of quinine. F. Plehn is of opinion that quinine sets up a disintegration of the blood corpuscles, especially in persons whose blood cells are abnormal, more especially from malaria; in the mildest cases this is hardly perceptible, but in serious cases it may cause hæmoglobinuria (Blackwater fever). In quinine fevers no parasites are found in the blood, and signs of quinine intoxication are present." The outbreak of blackwater fever has been observed by various investigators "to immediately follow the use of quinine, even in quite small doses. Of 43 cases of blackwater fever which came under F. Plehn's observation in Cameroon, 24 positively broke out a few hours after the administration of quinine; and of 55 cases treated by A. Plehn in the same place 48 of the attacks were directly caused by quinine. Most of the attacks set in two to four hours after the administration of quinine; in rarer cases, probably in consequence of retarded absorption, the attack commences later, even as much as ten hours after. For this reason Koch has made the assertion that blackwater fever, as a *rule*, is solely *quinine poisoning* without malaria taking any part in the condition. Baccelli made the same assertion in regard to malaria—hæmoglobinuria in Italy."¹

Then, again, quinine in large doses—and small doses are now considered by many authorities to be useless—often, produces ringing in the ears, dyspepsia, deafness, headache, giddiness, convulsions, &c.² These symptoms show how very adversely the constitution is affected by quinine, and from

¹ Scheube, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 137.

² Sir Ronald Ross cites a case in the tropical clinic of the Royal Southern Hospital at Liverpool who could not endure even 0·03 grams." (less than $\frac{1}{4}$ grain). "Prevention of Malaria," p. 136.

what has been said above, it will be apparent, that in many cases, the benefit it confers is problematical, but the injury is sure, and that the constitution is damaged, and its capacity for resisting and overcoming disease diminished.

Further, the conclusions in regard to the efficacy of quinine have been arrived at chiefly by experiments upon Europeans. Now, the Indian constitution is markedly different from the European, and what suits the one may not suit the other. From a number of experiments carried on by Dr. McCay upon Europeans and Bengalis, he found that the former have in their blood twenty per cent. more of hæmoglobin than the latter.¹ This deficiency of hæmoglobin in the red blood corpuscles of the Bengalis, "renders their oxygen carrying power less than that of the red blood corpuscles of Europeans and that large doses of quinine may be deleterious, as Binz has shown, by binding the oxygen more firmly to the hæmoglobin, and thus inhibiting the oxygenating power of the blood."² This is a serious handicap to health in general, and to recovery from malaria in particular in the case of the Bengalis, and most probably of other Indians, as their constitution would not be markedly different, their staple diet and climatic conditions being very much alike.

The only scientific experiments on a fairly large scale the writer is aware of in regard to the effect of quinine upon Indians have been carried on in the Federated Malay States (the climate of which is hot and moist like that of Bengal and Madras) by Malcolm Watson, M.D., D.P.H. As results of his experiments which were conducted upon Tamil coolies in plantations he found that "quinine has little effect on the gametids [the sexual forms of the Malarial parasite]; that patients die even after 40 grains of quinine daily;" and that

¹ Dr. Indumadhab Mallik, "Food and Cooking", p. 14.

² "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference," (1909), p. 99. "It has been also said, that the administration of certain salts of quinine tends to lessen the power which the red blood corpuscle have of resisting hæmolsis [breaking up of the red blood corpuscles]."

"if, as has been shown, the immunity from Malaria produced by quinine leaves the patient infective while he is acquiring the immunity, then it will be impossible, in the presence of many Anophelines, and in the presence of many new arrivals (such as newly born children) ever to eradicate Malaria by quinine." Dr. Watson states that his Malayan experiences should also be applicable to India and observers : "The logical conclusion therefore seems to me that quinine can never do more than give temporary relief to India, and that the factor to be dealt with is the Anopheles, and that measures must be aimed at it—not only in towns, but also in rural districts."

Malaria was endemic in India, especially Bengal, for good many centuries before 1860, but was kept down very low in areas, such as the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, Nadiya and Twenty-Four Parganas, where the endemicity has been very high since that date. Quinine, however, was unknown before the forties, and but little known before the sixties of the last century. The indigenous febrifuges then used were :² *Nata Guilandina* (*Cæsalpinia*) *Bonduc*, *Nim Melia azadirachta* (*Azadirachta Indica*), *Shefalika Nyctanthes Arbortristis*, *Chirata Agathotes Chirata*, *Nishinda Tītex Negundo*, *Charai-gorwa Vitea Peduncularis*, *Gulantha Tinospora Cordifolia*. *Paltá* (Leaves of *Trichosanthes dioica*), &c. In regard to *Nata*, Watt in his "Economic Products of India" (1883) says, 'The seeds are said to possess well-marked anti-periodic properties and are largely used by the natives instead of

¹ Ross, "Prevention of Malaria", pp. 561-562.

² The following verses are quoted from an old number of the *Sambād Pravaṅkar* (a Bengali newspaper) in *Ayurveda* (Ashār, 1325):

“ चिराता, नाटार उना. पलता, धनिया ।

चेन्पापड़ा, निमहाल. गुलच आनिया ।

प्रत्येक जिनिस लवे भरि परिनाये ।

तिनद्वैर जल्लि सिद्ध-विहित विधाने ॥

छटाबाईनाथा-दिने दुहवार खाये ।

येद्वय उल्लेख अर अमर्यर बाये ॥”

quinine. For this purpose they are pounded with black pepper, from 5 to 30 grains being regarded as the proper dose. Ainslie seems first to have drawn the attention of Europeans to this powder, but even up to the present date it has not apparently taken the position which it deserves as a tonic and febrifuge.'

Voigt in his "*Hortus Subarbanus Calcuttensis*," 1845, observes: 'One of the seeds of this plant [*Nata*] pounded into paste with three or four peppercorns, and taken from three to four times a day in a decoction of *Chirata* is an excellent febrifuge. The seeds are intensely bitter and powerfully tonic, and should not be neglected, at least, as an adjuvant, where *bark* and *quinine* disagree with the constitution.'

Writing about *Nim* in 1858, Drury in his "*Useful Plants of India*" observes: 'The bark which has a remarkably bitter taste, has been much employed of late years as a fair substitute for cinchona. The natives consider it a most useful tonic in intermittent fever and chronic rheumatism, administering it either in decoction or powder.' Voigt speaks of the bark of this tree as a 'good substitute for the Peruvian bark.' Drury speaks of *Chirata* as 'one of the most esteemed of Indian medicinal plants, being especially valuable as a tonic and febrifuge.....Its febrifugal properties are in high estimation with European practitioners in India who use it instead of *Cinchona* when the latter is not to be procured.'

An experienced allopathic physician, L.M.S. of the Calcutta University, wrote in the monthly journal *Ayurveda* (Ashar, 1325), that he had found the powder of *Nata* seed to be much more efficacious than quinine, and that it does not produce any deleterious after effects like quinine. Watt, as we have seen above, complained in 1883, that it had not taken the position which it deserved as a tonic and febrifuge. It has not only not taken the position which it deserves, but has lost the position which it occupied even at the time of Watt. The other indigenous febrifuges have shared the same

fate; to such an extent, indeed, that they are almost unknown in New India. But for the despised "quacks" and the illiterate elderly people of old India all knowledge about them, the result of thousands of years of experiments, would, for all practical purposes, have been lost altogether. Even Kabirajas, I am informed in cities like Calcutta, smuggle in quinine among their febrifuges.

This undoubtedly shows that quinine is much more powerful than the indigenous simples, and usually stops acute fever much more quickly. But it does so only temporarily, and as we have seen above, by impairing the constitution, especially the Indian constitution, permanently. The remedy, we are afraid, is worse than the poison. Of all its evil sequelæ, dyspepsia is probably the worst. For it reduces vitality and disease-resisting capacity, and even if repeated doses of quinine should ultimately make one immune to malaria, he often becomes a physical wreck and survives as a miserable hypochondriac or valetudinarian only to succumb to the attacks of some other disease.

The facts, that for good many centuries when quinine was unknown, malaria endemicity was kept down, and that the endemicity has of late been increasing with the enhanced consumption of quinine raise strong suspicions about its efficacy as an anti-malaria measure. We are strongly inclined to think, that so long as the primary cause of the fulminant type of malaria which began to rage about 1860 is not removed, so long medicines would be of little avail, except as mere temporary palliatives. But even as such, the indigenous febrifuges have enormous advantages over quinine which outweigh their inferiority in respect of potency. Some one or other of them is available everywhere in practically inexhaustible quantity. They cost little or nothing, and age-long experience has fixed their doses and mode of administration, and they are of such a nature and so well known to the mass of the people that no trained physician is needed to determine them. They are

not followed by deleterious sequelæ and do not prejudice the constitution. In fact, several of them, like Nim and Palta, form agreeable ingredients of Indian dietetics. On the other hand, quinine is very expensive, and its price has trebled during the last two decades. Besides, the quantity available for such a large population as that of India is extremely limited.¹ Then again, there is considerable conflict of opinion among medical authorities about the dosage, and the time and mode of administration of the drug. A perusal of the medical literature on these subjects leads a layman into a bewildering maze of perplexities and uncertainties. There are some who favour daily small doses; others recommend larger, but less frequent doses. Some would withhold the drug until there is intermission, or at least until the fever has fallen, which course is held to be an error by others. Further, there is dispute about the most effective mode of administration—whether it should be taken by the mouth or injected, and in the latter case, whether the injection should be intravenous, intramuscular or rectal. Thus, the administration of quinine cannot be efficacious, or even safe except under the advice of a well qualified medical man. This, in a penurious community like ours, would mean in many, if not most cases, that money which should go towards wholesome nourishing food that would be sure to promote health and the disease-resisting capacity of the constitution would have to be spent upon physicians and physic, the effect of which is at least highly problematical.

¹ It came out during the discussion at the Malaria Conference held at Simla in 1909, that if given proper facilities, the Government factories in Bengal and Madras could manufacture 100,000 lbs of quinine. I do not know if that limit has been reached as yet. The world's entire output had been stationary at a million pounds for some years previous to 1909. Taking 250 grains as the amount required for each person during a malarial season of 3 months, 100,000 lbs. all that the Indian factories are capable of turning out, would be consumed by about three million people. Captain Gago pointed out at the Conference, that "if quinine was required for thirty million people, there would be difficulties, and it would be necessary to go into the open market; that would send up the price considerably."

Nature has provided excellent means for the defence of the fortress of life. But for such provision, man would have fallen an easy prey to the myriads of disease-germs to whose attacks he is exposed. Numbers of white blood corpuscles (leucocytes) act as sentinels. They resist the attacks of enemy germs killing and devouring them and are hence called phagocytes. Then, again, in the case of bacterial microbes, there is another method of defence consisting in the formation of antitoxins by the blood and tissue cells which neutralise toxins (poisons). In regard to malarial parasites, there are some authorities who doubt that they are killed solely by the phagocytes, and who hold that they are also "destroyed by their own toxins or by some germicidal substance produced by the host." However that may be, the fact is indubitable, that large numbers of people recover from malaria and other infectious diseases without any medical aid whatever, or with the aid only of indigenous simples. As was observed by Charaka good many centuries ago, many are "restored to health though unfurnished with drugs, unattended by nurses, unendued with intelligence, and untreated by skilful physicians." It is impossible to determine the ratio of the percentage of recoveries in the world, or even in a single district of a single country like India, without medical aid, to that of recoveries with such aid.

Prof. Francois Magendie, M.D., a distinguished French physician, is reported to have said addressing his class :

"Gentlemen, you have done me the honour to come here to attend my lectures, and I must tell you frankly now in the beginning that I know nothing in the world about medicine, and I don't know anybody who does know anything about it.....Oh you tell me, doctors cure people. I grant you people are cured. But how are they cured? Gentlemen, Nature does a great deal; imagination a great deal; doctors devilish little when they don't do any harm. Let me tell you, gentlemen, what I did when I was physician at the Hotel Dieu. Some three or four thousand patients passed

¹ Ross, "Malaria Prevention," p. 101.

through my hands every year. I divided the patients into three classes; with one I followed the dispensary, and gave the usual medicines, without having the least idea why or wherefore; to the others I gave bread pills and coloured water, without, of course, letting them know anything about it; and, occasionally, gentlemen, I would create a third division to whom I would give nothing whatever. These last would feel that they were neglected, but nature invariably came to the rescue, and all the third class got well. There was but little mortality among those who received the bread pills and coloured water, but the mortality was greatest among those who were carefully drugged according to the dispensary."¹

Nearly four decades of my life were spent in jungles in India and Burma which are notoriously malarious. In the earlier years of my jungle life I used to keep with me a stock of allopathic medicines, including of course, quinine. I found that, in cases of fever, there were some in my camp who, as I then thought, had inveterate "prejudice" against that drug and would not take it. I do not remember whether they fared better than those who took it, but I do remember that they did not fare any worse. I gradually became so sceptical about the utility of quinine, in fact of manufactured medicines generally, that during the last fourteen years I have not taken any² whether allopathic, homœopathic or Kabiraji, and I have kept better health than during any previous period of the same duration though my periodic visits to dense malarious jungles continued until 1920.

No doubt, one sometimes hears of wonderful cures effected by allopathy. But no less wonderful are some cures which are effected by Homœopathy, Kabiraji or the Unani system of medicine. The publications of the Christian Scientists contain well authenticated records of various diseases including tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, rheumatism, paralysis, appendicitis, kidney disease, some of them diagnosed as

¹ The opinions of some other eminent physicians and of distinguished laymen like Herbert Spencer, Napoleon, etc., about the inefficacy of medicines are quoted in the writer's work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization," part II, pp. 41-45, 79-85, 173-176.

² Except three or four aspirin tablets experimentally.

incurable by competent allopaths, healed completely without the help of any drugs whatever. In my younger days I used to hear of sick people in the villages healed simply by drinking water sanctified by *mantras*. Charms of various kinds enjoy a reputation for healing in all parts of the world and I have known even some educated persons using them. Pilgrims to Tárakeshwar, Lourdes, etc., testify to cures of a marvellous character without any medical help whatever. Cures by hypnotic or mesmeric suggestion are well attested facts of history. In Europe, Greatrakes, Gasner and Prince Hohenlohe did wonders in this way. An American practitioner is reported to have successfully treated his patients by silent suggestion which resembles Christian Science treatment at a distance. A Frenchman, M. Coue, has quite recently been setting Britain afire with his healing formula of Auto-suggestion—"Every day, and in every way, I got better and better."

These healing methods without drugs carry us to forces and agencies within and around us which are taken but little notice of by medical science and suggest the reflection that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy." It is possible that they in some way not understood now, help the phagocytes to kill microbes (phagocytosis). The same remark would probably apply to the comparatively mild indigenous febrifuges mentioned above. Quinine, on the other hand, apparently usurps the function of the phagocytes. Nature, however, is a good ally, but a dangerous enemy, and cannot be defied or ignored long with impunity. We have already seen that dyspepsia is one of the diverse deleterious sequelæ of quinine treatment; and dyspepsia is the root cause of good many ailments which flesh is heir to, not only directly, but also indirectly as it is apt to make one pessimistic, morose or hypochondriac. But a cheerful optimistic, fearless state of mind is as essential for vitality and disease-resisting capacity as wholesome food in

sufficient quantity, fresh air, good drinking water and free drainage.

From what we have said above, the futility, if not the fatuity of quinine as a measure of malaria prevention for the immense population of India would, we trust, be apparent to the reader.¹ That a Western Government, dominated by the most influential section of Western physicians, should adopt quinine as an anti-malaria measure in India is not surprising. But that many of my intelligent and well-intentioned countrymen should advocate it is incomprehensible to me except on the supposition of a strong pro-Western bias which, as I have shown elsewhere,² now prevails in New India, and which, I am firmly persuaded, is the root cause of many, if not most of our present-day troubles and tribulations.

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

¹ We have already quoted the opinion of Dr. M. Watson to the same effect. There are also European physicians of Indian experience who though they believe in quinine are of the same opinion. For instance, Lieut. Col. W. O. Ross says in the last Annual Public Health Report (1921) for Bihar and Orissa, that in his opinion, "it is not practicable to prevent malaria, or to reduce it permanently, or on any large scale by the use of quinine. The quantity of quinine required does not exist, and even if it did, the people would not swallow it." "Complete reduction of malaria by treatment," observes Sir Ronald Ross, "must always be difficult unless the authorities have such power that they can actually force the drug (quinine) down the throats of people." ("Malaria Prevention," p. 301.) Major Wilkinson stated at the Malaria Conference of 1909, that even in Italy, "the prophylactic operations conducted by the Italian Government had been exceedingly disappointing. They could not get people to take quinine in the belief that they would thereby protect themselves."

² "The illusions of New India," "Survival of Hindu Civilization", Parts I & II, etc.

MEASUREMENT OF CHANGES IN THE COST OF LIVING IN BENGAL

The question of the cost of living is one of considerable practical importance.

But the term 'cost of living' is a vague one. More indefinite is the phrase 'the changes in the cost of living.' Their meanings become clear only when they refer to the variations in the budget and expenditure and in the cost of maintaining a 'defined family of a defined standard,' at different times or at different places. Thus in order to arrive at any proper conclusion regarding the changes in the cost of living in a country, we have got to consider, carefully, four things, *viz.*, (1) change in the constitution of the family, (2) change in the standard of living, (3) changes in wholesale and retail prices, and (4) changes in money-wages, for different periods of time or at different places as the case may require.

When we want to measure the changes in the cost of living in Bengal, we will have, in the very first place, to classify the people into several well-defined groups, namely,

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| | (a) The rich or those above comfort. |
| | (b) The middle class or those below comfort. |
| I. Urban, or | (c) The poor or those above indigence, and |
| mainly non- | (d) The indigent, or those who must look to |
| agricultural. | charity or outside help even for the bare |
| | necessaries of life. |
| II. Rural or | (a) The rich. (b) The middle-class, (c) The |
| mainly agri- | poor, and (d) The indigent, as above. |
| cultural. | |

Next we will have to determine certain standard *families* of standard constitution belonging to each of these groups. This may be done, either by fixing, on experience, a standard size with average number of males, females, children and servants, after a careful examination of representative number of instances in each group, or by reducing to calories the

consuming, capacities of average families based on 'equivalent men' in each group, measured with the help of physiological studies into the calorie values of articles of consumption and dietary in our country. The first method is of course much easier to follow, although it is more subject to defective estimates, while the second method, apart from the adequacy of scientific basis, affords a means of adding and comparing dissimilar foods without reference to their prices.

The second step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living is to ascertain the changes in the standards of living of each group during the period of enquiry. The easiest way to do this is to determine standard family budgets of each group—Hindu as well as Mahomedan—during different periods of time, and to ascertain from them certain weights which should be computed with ordinary prices and wages index-numbers in order to obtain the corrected measurement.

Suppose for example in 1914 and 1921, a standard family of a standard class with a determinate income consumed articles which bore the following ratios to the total consumption which is here indicated by 100 :

Commodities	1914	1921
Rice	... 20	22
Pulses	... 10	7
Fish and meat	... 8	9
Ghee and oil	... 7	5
Vegetables	... 5	3
Sugar and sweets	... 5	5
Milk and its products	... 5	3
Clothing	... 20	25
House rent and repairs	... 10	8
Medicines	... 3	5
Education	... 2	3
Taxes and subscriptions	... 2	4
Festivals, etc.	... 3	1
	100	100

Now, in order to eliminate the effects of changes in the standard of living of this family on its cost of living, we must multiply and then divide each item of expenditure with and by the figures for the two periods as shown forth against each item; or in other words, we shall have to take recourse to the system of weighted index-numbers with the weights different for different periods.

Other methods have also been suggested for the same purpose, for example, the one based on "standard deviation"; but they being rather too complicated for employment in practice in this country I leave them unmentioned.

The third and the most important step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living consists in obtaining the index-numbers of prices and wages, in absolute and percentage figures. First of all we shall have to compile records of the quantities of various commodities bought and the prices paid for them at two different dates or places, by representatives of different social groups. The record will show something like the following:—

Commodity.	Place or time x.			Place or time y.		
	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.
No. 1	Q_1	P_1	E_1	q_1	p_1	e_1
" 2	Q_2	P_2	E_2	q_2	p_2	e_2
" 3	Q_3	P_3	E_3	q_3	p_3	e_3
...
No. n	Q_n	P_n	E_n	q_n	p_n	e_n

Average change in $E = x$, percentage change in $E = y$, etc.

Great care should be taken in the selection of the commodities. Each social class will have a different set of articles corresponding to it, according to its respective family budget. This shows that, in comparing dissimilar classes or people with widely different habits of life, we can at best give merely

accurate descriptions and no numerical measure of the changes.

Coming to Bengal, we shall have to inquire into the index-numbers of commodities, more or less according to the following table :—

For group A, the Rural or Agricultural people, Hindu and Mahomedan :

Class I, the rich :—(1) Rice and wheat, (2) Pulses, (3) Ghee and oil, (4) Potato and vegetables, (5) milk, etc., (6) Salt and spices, (7) Sugar and molasses, (8) Other articles of food and drink, (9) Clothing, furniture and servants, (10) House rent and repairs, etc., (11) Medicines, (12) Education, (13) taxes and rents, (14) Cattle and live-stock, (15) Domestic festivals, marriages, sradhs, etc.

Class II, the rural middle class :—Same as above less medicines and education expenses.

Class III, the poor :—(1) Rice, (2) Pulses, (3) Oil, (4) Salt, (5) Vegetables, (6) Molasses, (7) Tobacco, (8) Clothing, (9) Housing, (10) Social expenses, etc., (11) taxes and rents, (12) Interest on loans.

Class IV, the indigent :—Same as class III, less items No. (11) and (12).

For group B : the urban or non-agricultural people :

Class I, the rich :—(1) rice and wheat, (2) pulses, (3) ghee and oil, (4) potato and vegetables, (5) milk and its product, (6) salt and spices, (7) sugar and sweets, (8) tea and such beverages, (9) other articles of food and drink, (10) clothing, (11) furniture and servants, (12) House rent and repairs, etc., (13) medicines, (14) educational expenses, (15) luxurious enjoyments, (16) taxes and rents, etc., (17) festivals—religious and social, etc.

Class II, the urban middle-class :—Same as above less luxurious enjoyments, and plus interest on loans, etc.

Class III, the urban poor :—(1) rice, (2) pulses, (3) oil, (4) vegetables, (5) salt, (6) molasses, (7) clothing, (8) housing, (9) medicines, (10) education, (11) taxes, (12) social expenses.

Class IV, the urban indigent :—Same as above less items Nos. (9), (10), (11) and (12).

The importance of each commodity will evidently vary from class to class and group to group.

At the next stage in our inquiry we will require two more tables or records, namely, that which traces the changes in the price-level of commodities or in the general purchasing power of money, and that which shows changes in the money-wages of different classes of the population.

In obtaining the former, we shall have again to select certain standard commodities, different from those chosen for household budgets, as well as a basic year or period, with respect to which changes can conveniently be traced.

In obtaining the latter we shall have simply to record the money-wages for different kinds of labour, for different periods of time, or for different places as the case may require.

Lastly, we should represent in suitable graphs the result obtained by the above investigations, after making certain corrections in our estimates, with due regard to the 'probable errors' in the statistics.

In Bengal, we mainly depend upon government for the supply of many of the statistics. These, however, as we all know, are far from absolutely trustworthy. The methods of compilation through ignorant village chowkidars and dafadars, under instructions from an equally ignorant and more irresponsible set of sub-inspectors of police and such other petty officers, leave the facts compiled much open to objections. Personal experience, therefore, should, as far as practicable, always be employed as a careful check to all such statistics. We must as well guard ourselves against

possible mis-calculations in our own estimates and conclusions. Statistics are very treacherous at times, and they easily lead people to pitfalls and dangers.

It is only when we are thus equipped in every respect, and when we have gone through all the investigations as mentioned above, that we can hazard any opinion as to the nature and incidence of changes in the cost of living in our country. The Government of Bombay has in this respect made a clear advance on Bengal. The Bombay Labour Gazette, published monthly by the Labour department there, throws a very instructive light and gives us important ideas as to the procedure and the conclusions regarding the changes in the cost of living etc., of Bombay Labour. From the haphazard opinions and estimates of our councillors and newspaper-correspondents, we beg to draw the attention of our readers to scientific investigations and estimates as mentioned above.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

CARPET WEAVING IN THE JHĀLĀWĀN COUNTRY, BALUCHISTAN

Foreword

[While travelling on duty on the Ethnographic Survey, I collected in 1902 these notes on the spot and showed them to Mr. Hughes Buller, C.I.E., I.C.S., the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography. This note shows the movement of population from Persia to India through Baluchistan and the introduction of Persian carpet-weaving in this country.]

Weaving in the dari-stitch at Khuzdār.

In a small hamlet Nāmjo near Khuzdār there lives an old woman who has been brought from Wād and employed by a shepherd who from his appearance looks like a descendant of an African Sidhi mixed with local blood. She is a Brāhui and says that she learnt the art from her mother. Beyond this, she cannot trace the history of the introduction of the

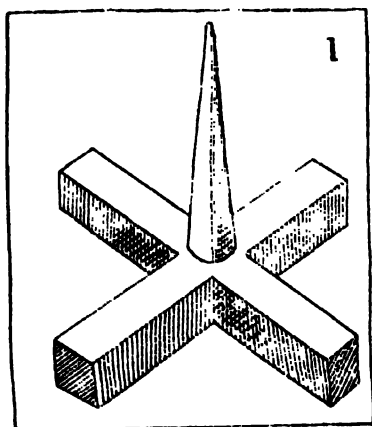


Fig. 1.

industry into the country, but the very style and process betrays Persian origin. The wool is supplied by her employer. It is spun by a Brāhui family in another village. The spinners are women, and the only implement they use is *Jhallak*. It is a spindle of the most primitive type (*vide* illustration No. 1) made of a pair of pieces of wood crossing each other at

right angles with an upright handle fixed at the joint. This has a notch in it. Thread is called *Dask*. A bundle of thread is called *Girik*. The loom is equally primitive although the work she turns out is very clever. It consists of four pegs fixed in the form of an oblong, the breadth is about 3 feet and the length 9 feet (See illustration No. 2). Between the

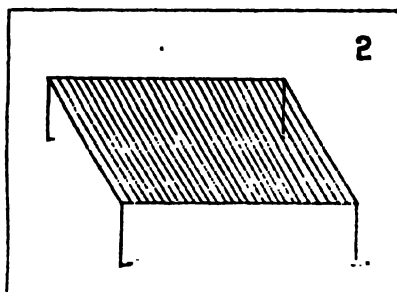


Fig. 2.

first two pegs called *Mekh* is tied the beam named *pukhtu*. Another beam is similarly tied to the pegs at the other end. About three feet from the first beam stands a tripod of sticks arranged in a triangle. She calls it *trikal* (No. 3). Two of the

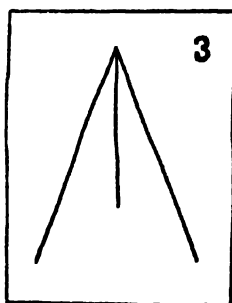


Fig. 3.

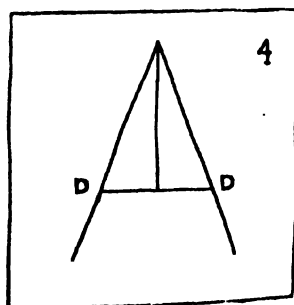


Fig. 4.

sticks of this *trikal* are fixed on either side of the oblong, and with them is tied a cross beam called *drang-dār* D—D. (No. 4) Between the *drang-dār* and the third leg of the tripod which is at the back, lies the toothed cross-beam which resembles a saw

but is much thicker, called *Makri* (No. 5). This "*makri*" regulates the action of the heddles. To this *Makri* are tied four heddles through which the warp passes. The strings connecting the heddles (*Gul*) to the across beam, (*makri*) are called *makri-band*. As she goes on weaving the carpet, she has to tie the outer ends for borders to another stick, known technically as the *stretcher*, she calls it *pannat-kash*. She has to use a large needle for stretching the completed portion of the carpet. It is known as *Sila*. The stretcher is moved forward as necessity requires. The comb with which she drives the weft "home" is called *dukh*. Thus armed, the weaver proceeds by passing each thread of the warp through the heddles in the way she has been carefully trained to do in order to regulate the designs. She has no plan before her, she cannot recount or "sing" the numbers as pile-carpet weavers do. Hers, is not a pile-carpet. She can produce but

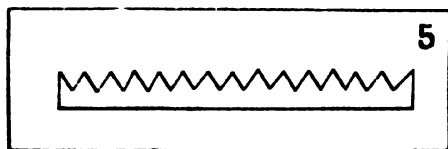


Fig 5.

a few geometrical designs and knows her business well enough. The warp is called *goftah*, when arranged. The weft when laid is called *khol*, and each of the warp-threads is called *rothk*. It will thus be seen that she has a distinct name for each of the materials she uses. Even the weft *thread* before it is passed through the warp or "laid", is distinguished by a separate name *pot*. The fabric is called *taki*. These fabrics are made into bags for good dresses, etc. and hung in front of the bedding. One end of each of the threads of the warp is tied to the first beam and the other to that at the farthest end. The needles are next tied with the *makri-bands*, to the toothed cross beam. No size is used. In cotton weaving, and even in woollen blanket weaving all over India, sizing is the first

process, but in carpet weaving it is not necessary, as the outer ends of the "hair" or wool have to be left loose to cover the interstices. The weft-thread is carried through the warp thread by the weaver with her fingers without the use of a shuttle and passed in and out in accordance with the design she carries in her head. It is then pushed home or 'laid'

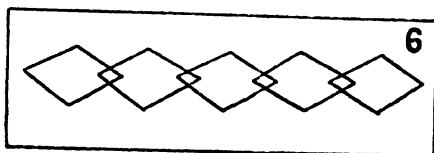


Fig. 6.

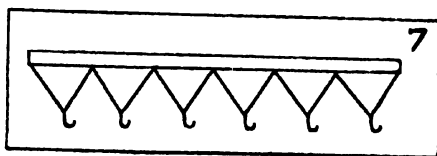


Fig 7.

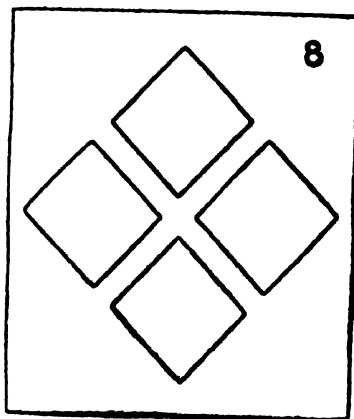


Fig. 8.

with the comb. So tedious is the process that she takes 4 to 5 months to complete one piece 3' x 9' or so. The saw-toothed design is called *lashia*, a saw. A triangle is named *harir*. A row of diamonds interlaced is called *Ajab* (No. 6). Hooked triangles are called *jeliks* (No 7). The *Khan* (No 8) is represented

by four triangles meeting in one point, leaving intervening bands of separate coloured squares, or diamonds joined by a set of straight lines called *raband* (No. 9). And a group of squares or diamonds arranged round a central one is known as *panjali* (No. 10). As the work proceeds the stretcher is moved forward and the weaver has to sit on the fabric. When ready, she cuts the ends of the warp with a knife—*Kattār*. The cut-ends have each to be secured with a knot cleverly tied. The side, or border threads are first secured. They are called *rāhi*.

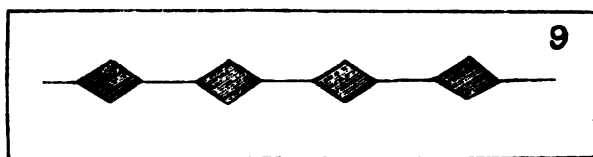


Fig. 9.

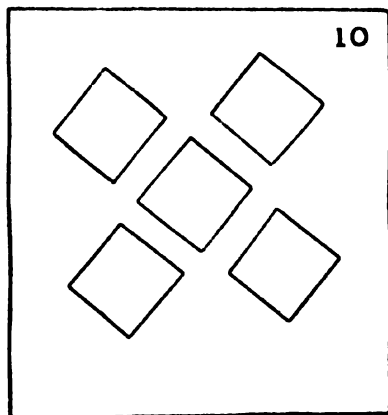


Fig 10.

The dyeing process is performed by the wife of the shepherd under the supervision of this old woman. The thread is never bleached. It is called *punjun* as it comes from the spinner. The leaves of a plant called *guanik* is boiled into a strong decoction and the thread steeped into it

while yet hot. It is then dried without being rinsed out. The next step consists of steeping it in a decoction of the pomegranate rind and dried. *Phitki* or alum is the mordant used at this stage ; the colour of the thread is yellow. Red colour is produced by steeping the yellow thread in a decoction of the *rodang* root, *Rubia mangista*, and finally in that of the twigs of *gait* or willow. Maroon is similarly produced by the substitution of lac dye for the *rubia mangista* ; and the addition of another bath in a solution of *khār* (crude carbonate of soda). Blue is of course the indigo dye *bod*, in which alum and *gwānik* decoction act as mordants. Green results from steeping the yellow thread into a solution of “*zagh*” (sulphate of iron) the first bath of *gwānik* supplying the tannic acid required.

B. A. GUPTA

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN DRAVIDIAN CIVILIZATION.

From prehistoric ages South India has been inhabited by a race of people who (it is now difficult to determine), may have been the aborgines of the land or on the other hand they may have been a band of immigrants who supplanted the natives of the soil and made a home for themselves. Modern researches have conclusively established the fact that the Tamilian race is the oldest of the Dravidian races that settled in South India and the modern Telugus are themselves an offshoot of this race who, at one time, were inferior to no other nation in the world in point of civilization or martial glory. India, South of the Krishna, seems to have been an isolated country cut off from the northern regions by the dense forest of Dandaka and the very use of the word Janasthana in the great epic implies the existence of a large tract of uninhabited land further north. The whole of this part of the peninsula was occupied by a people now known as the Tamilians, who developed a civilization of their own, which materially differed from that of their Aryan neighbours to whose superior intellectual force they eventually succumbed. Unfortunately even the oldest Tamil literature extant does not point to a time earlier than the migration of Aryan thoughts into the South and so it is difficult to conceive of the Tamilians as a non-Aryan race, who had a local habitation and a name of their own. But at the same time the fact that they were in enjoyment of a civilization which materially differed from that of their Aryan conquerors in several respects points to the conclusion that, if they were not the aborigines themselves, they were at least an older stock of people who had settled in South India long before the Aryans found a home on the plains of Hindustan. Ethnological observations too justify

the theory that the Tamilians are not of Aryan descent, however much they might have been influenced by the Aryan intruders later on. It is an inevitable law of human nature that when two nations of different civilizations come into contact with one another each learns something from the other and both learn to adapt themselves to their altered environments. Yet the genius of each race continues to assert its individuality for ages to come, even though by the influence of the universal law of accommodation both the races have been fused together as one nation for all practical purposes. These facts of historical generalisation have been well illustrated in the case of the Tamilians of South India and it is the purpose of the present writer to place before the reader certain aspects of their civilization, which are essentially peculiar to themselves and cannot be traced to a foreign origin with any degree of certainty. Unfortunately the only material available regarding the civilization of the ancient Tamilians lies mostly in their literature. In spite of the scantiness of the information found therein, we are yet able to cull some facts which will be of great interest to an antiquarian.

The first thing that appeals to our imagination is the high order of development, especially in metre and versification, which the Tamil language had attained even in ancient days. Tamil had its three-fold classification of prose, poetry and drama even in those days and dramatic literature seems to have been so old as to have died out of existence, since not even a single specimen is now available. The development of the quatrain, feet and measure seems to have been of later origin, but the running verse seems to have been composed in great abundance and to have been an essential characteristic of Tamil prosody in ancient times. To a highly developed imaginative race romanticism must have made a greater appeal than classicism and so it is no wonder that Tamil poetry was worked by the principles of a free lance rather than slavishly following a set of rules hampering the flow of the

melody of a genius. Tamil prosody has developed certain kinds of metrification, which are peculiar its own and not found in any other language, old or modern. That the tastes of the ancient Tamils were refined and their imagination powerful is fully borne out by the existence of an unusual number of figures of speech enough to stagger the understanding of any rhetorician. Besides the ordinary figures of metaphor, simile and hyperbole, found everywhere, Tamil prosody has a number of figures of speech, grand, simple, and natural, which must command the admiration of all learned men, though some of them appeal too much to the sensual instincts in man. Little of Tamil poetry can be appreciated by one who has not waded through the intricacies of Tamil prosody and yet the general tenor is so simple and natural as to please every body. All kinds of highly developed poetry—such as, the epic, the pastoral, the ballad, the lyric and the martial—are all found in the Tamil language, and Sanskrit perhaps is the only other language which can boast of such varied poetic literature. The pious lyrics of the Tamilian saints, Vaishnava and Saivite, the pastoral songs of a few Sangam poets of old and the martial song of the Chola conquest of Kalinga are so sweet, sensuous and sublime that they cannot fail to enrapture the soul and please the understanding of a cultured intellect. The great poet Kamban is said to have been unable to complete the couplet begun by a peasant engaged in baling out water. As in the case of other nations of ancient times, prose played a less conspicuous part in literature and the introduction of the Aryan faiths from the north must have created a large quantity of dialectics which, the eventual domination of the Brahmanic faith drove out of existence. The whole race seems to have been imbued with the poetic sense as specimens of songs of great poetic merit sung by dancers, artisans, labourers, peasants and acrobats are found in old Tamil literature. Even girls sang extempore verse when they were engaged

in playing with their dolls, toys and balls. The habit of bewailing the loss of the husband or a child in extempore poetry is found among women in rural parts even in these days. No country, old or modern, can boast of so many women poets as the Tamil country of the Madura Sangam days. The immortal verse of that grand old lady—Avaiyar enraptures the soul of even a modern reader. There are a few relics of the Jain and Buddhist controversy still extant but even they are found mostly in the form of poetry. The dramatic literature has completely died out of existence and what might have been a beautiful source of elucidating the customs and manners of the ancient Tamilian race has become a sealed book which the gaze of a modern critic will never be able to pry into. We learn a great deal about the greatness of a nation from its literature and even the scanty material of old Tamil literature available is enough to enable us to assert that the Tamilians of old had developed a civilization of their own, second to none in those days, when the other nations of the world were groping in darkness and living the lives of savages.

In the field of politics, though we do not hear of as high a system of administration as there was among the Aryans of Northern India, yet we have enough material to gather that the Tamilian race was essentially a martial race having a trained army composed of archers, horse-men, charioteers and warriors who fought on the backs of elephants trained in war. There was the King at the head of the government who, for all practical purposes, was a benevolent despot within his own kingdom and a scourge to neighbours and aliens. He was above all law, and moreover it was thought right that his individual liberty should not be fettered even in matters of religion, and so it was no wonder, that we sometimes find the son of a Buddhist King being an ardent advocate of Jainism or a devout worshipper of Siva or Vishnu. This accounts for the spirit of perfect toleration which prevailed among the

ancient Tamilians till it received a rude shock at the hands of a few Saivite zealots later on. The broad minded sympathy which these ancient kings showed to the various faiths that sought a home in their dominions, accounts for the contemporaneous prevalence of the three faiths—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, each of which seems to have made only a peaceful penetration into this land of milk and honey.

The entire absence of all reliable information about the religion of the early Tamilian race before the advent of the Aryan faiths precludes all possibility of making even guesses approaching truth. Attempts are made in various quarters to rank these early peoples with savages in matters of religion and assume that they were demon worshippers. It is not probable that a nation so highly civilized in every other respect should have been backward in religious matters alone. On the other hand, recent researches made in the Tinnevely district and the fact that the Tamilians of ancient times were in commercial contact with the Egyptians on the west and the Chinese on the east make it possible to surmise that they may have been a race of hero or ancestor worshippers. The literature of those times reveals the fact that the Tamilians worshipped the Sun, the Moon and the elements. They classified the soil as of five kinds each of which had its titular deity. Vishnu, familiarly known as Mal, Muruga the Tamil name for Skanda, the Commander-in-Chief of the Deva hosts, Varuna the sea-god, Durga the goddess of the desert and Indra, the lord of all arable land, have all been worshipped by the Tamilians, though all these deities are of Aryan origin. The worship of Muruga was so popular that one is tempted to put him down as a god of Dravidian origin. Women attached great importance to the worship of Kumari at Cape Comorin and Tamil literature makes much of the worship of the sea-god which was made by the Pandya King at Comorin. An annual Mela is said to have been held by the old Pandya Kings, to which people from all parts of his

kingdom flocked together. The bone of a shark was planted on the beach, the sea-god was invoked into it and worship was offered him with great fervour. Like all nations of old the Tamilians had faith in omens and auguries. In an old pastoral song mention is made of the curious ceremony with which women consulted an augury placing a measure full of paddy or flowers in front of the deity in a Vishnu shrine. Monotheism seems to have been of much later origin—perhaps after the advent of the philosophies of the north, and care was taken to avoid all elaborate description of the supreme God and His attributes.

But we are on firmer ground when we think of their political or social institutions. It has now been definitely ascertained that the Tamils were a brave war-like nation who had at one time extended their sway even beyond the Vindhya. The history of Ceylon is full of accounts of Tamilian enterprise, conquest and domination. The Cholas seem to have extended their power over Burma, Siam, Malaya and Java. They had at their command a large navy consisting of Marava seamen, who are even now found divided into three classes: the sea-rovers, the sea-faring and the river navigators. In times of peace the navy was utilised for commercial purposes. The importance which South Indian kings attached to the sea is evidenced by the fact that each king had a naval headquarter in addition to his well fortified metropolis. The Cholas had Woraiyur for their interior capital and Kaviripurapatnam as their sea capital at the mouth of the Kaveri. The Pandyas had Madura and Korkai as their two capitals and the Cheras, Karur, the ancient Vanchi, and Caranganore on the West coast. It may also be noted that they had a fair knowledge of strategic warfare in as much as the main capital of each king was situated on the frontiers of his kingdom. Hence Conjeevaram became a later capital of the Cholas. Though these three kings were constantly at war with one another, yet there are also instances recorded of their

combining against a common enemy. The metallic armour in which the Tamilian warriors were clad when they marched to battle, the weapons of war they used, the use of horses, chariots and elephants in their warfare and a host of other details found scattered throughout their literature, show the greatness of their military strength, not necessarily based on their skill in imitating or borrowing from the Aryans. On the other hand, the arrangement of their military camps on the field of battle, the arrow house built for the use of the king in the centre and the host of women attendants that served the king in his camp, the victors' garlands made of particular kinds of flowers (all these minutely described in their pastoral songs) speak of a kind of civilization essentially their own.

The punishments meted out to traitors and criminals were of a horrible nature. In this respect the Tamilians behaved like the other nations of the ancient world. Punishment was based solely on the principle of revenge or retribution. Prisoners of war were made captives and sent home to work as slaves. Defeated kings, captured on the field of battle, had their heads cut off or were crushed under the feet of elephants. Punishment by mutilation was not uncommon and sometimes the victims were tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the road. The most horrible kinds of punishment were reserved for traitors. A more cruel form of torturing a victim to death than what was known as "Indras status" cannot be conceived. The victim was stripped of his clothes and a thousand lighted torches were thrust into his body from all sides. Another barbarous method of killing a traitor was what was known as "giving the breast to mother earth" by which the victim was made to lie on his breast on the ground, a heavy stone was placed on his back and he was dragged by his legs along the streets till he died. Another ingenious method of torturing a victim was to thrust him into a spiked cask and roll the cask along the streets till his body becomes a mass of mangled flesh.

It was the immense dread which kings of those days had of losing their throne and their lives at the hands of rebels that made them have recourse to such barbarous methods of punishing traitors.

The social condition of the early Tamils seems to have been of an enviable type. They had no caste distinction among themselves. Wealth and learning were their chief distinguishing marks and the virile races commanded great respect. They were a brave enterprising people having commercial relations with the remotest countries of the then known world. Egypt, Rome and Carthage were not unknown to them and the rich produce of the spice islands found a ready market on Tamilian soil. A Chera king is said to have first introduced the cultivation of the sugar-cane from the island of Java. They worked in metals and a few books written in colloquial Tamil show that the Tamils knew more of the secrets of metallurgy than their neighbours elsewhere. A nation that had raised fighting to the dignity of an art could be easily believed to have also developed the art of healing wounds and curing diseases. In the field of the 'fine arts' they were second to none in those days. South Indian sculpture enjoys a worldwide reputation and the artistic sculptural beauties of many South Indian temples bear witness to the high order of civilization they had developed in those times. In Music they had such keen appreciation that even the illiterate could sing well and compose extempore songs. The greatness of their literature has been already dwelt upon. The art of painting was not unknown to them though we have no means of determining the exact degree of excellence which that art attained in ancient days. Mention has been made of domes, halls, yards, seven storied edifices, towers and turrets and so in the field of architecture the early Tamils seem to have occupied a high place.

A few customs peculiar to the Tamilian race will be of great interest: They seem to have specially encouraged the

Gandharva form of marriage, whereby the pair enter into the ties of wedlock by mutual consent alone. A maid of marriageable age was generally sent to keep guard over a millet garden and her very food was carried thither. She remained there till she had the fortune of being loved and solicited by a youth who was even sometimes allowed the privilege of having his wish consummated on the spot—a procedure not looked upon as illicit or illegal, as this form of marriage was recognised as not improper. The writer has the authority of a great Tamil scholar in making the statement that this was the chief form of matrimony among the Tamilians in olden times and so the race, as a whole, might be said to be the progeny of the Gandharvas, whoever these might have been. At any rate this custom gives us an idea of the freedom enjoyed by the women of those days and the absence of all modern conceptions of social disparity.

In the republic of letters merit was the only distinguishing factor and every king was bound to keep open his court at all times for all religious or literary controversies and to give impartial judgment in favour of the successful disputant. Wagers were often laid and both parties had to respect the sanctity of the contract made. There was a funny way in which a newcomer used to court a literary or religious challenge. The stranger would take a branch of the Jambu (*βυδς*) tree and plant it at the entrance into the city. Thereupon all egress or ingress into the city even of cattle was forbidden. The King hears of this, sends for the literary knight errant and arranges to hold a Durbar where the guest challenges every learned man to a wordy combat. If the challenge is accepted by anybody present, the terms of the wager are settled, arbitrators are appointed and the controversy begins. If no body feels competent to take up the gauntlet thrown, all including the king are bound in honour to accept the creed of the victor.

Thus it will be seen that even in those days of absolute autocracy priests, philosophers and poets enjoyed a considerable

amount of freedom and kings were bound to patronise them as a point of honour. There are instances on record where kings parted with large slices of their kingdom in favour of poets and scholars who had distinguished themselves in such controversies at their courts.

Kings were looked upon as fountains not only of law and authority but also of mercy and grace. Even the lowest of their subjects had a right to approach them directly with complaints of wrongs inflicted or with other grievances to be redressed by ringing a bell hanging in front of the palace. In a standard work of Tamil literature a curious story is narrated which gives an idea of the high sense of duty which the kings of old had in the matter of administering justice. A Chola king, finding to his great dis-satisfaction that there was often miscarriage of justice in his kingdom, made penance to the God Indra and secured a divine Bhutam (spirit) who took his stand in the market place of the city. This Bhutam had the divine gift of detecting all crimes committed in the city and himself meted out punishment to the criminals according to the gravity of the crimes committed. The grateful Chola is said to have, therefore, held a festival in honour of the God Indra for 28 days continuously every year at the commencement of spring.

The loyalty of the people to their kings is best illustrated by the fact that it was customary for a man to abstain from all work or enjoyment if anybody drags him to the presence of the king or a court of justice by simply crying out, "I charge thee in the name of the king." He felt it his duty to have his character first cleared before he thought of anything else. It was a common virtue of all Indian kings to attach the greatest importance to the administration of justice and whatever might be their drawbacks in other respects they certainly deserved all praise in the discharge of their kingly duties in this respect. In the pathetic story of Kovalan and Kannaki the tragic end of the Pandya king

who fell down dead from his throne, the moment he came to understand that there was a miscarriage of justice at his hands—speaks of his glory as a conscientious judge. No student of Tamil literature can ever forget the last words that came out of his mouth :

“It is I the thief, it is I the thief, that listened to the goldsmith’s words. Even now let my dear life depart (in expiation of this heinous crime).” The neighbouring Chera king who heard of the tragic end of the Pandya King is said to have exclaimed with approbation that the Pandya’s sceptre which had bent down by an act of injustice had been set right again by the atonement of his death.

Here is a story which will speak for itself :

Once a husband happened to go on a pilgrimage, leaving his young wife behind him. When she complained to her departing lord of her lonely life and unprotected condition he told her that she was perfectly safe under the just rule of the Pandya king and that she need not be afraid of any mishap. Just then the Pandya king in disguise happened to pass by the house in the course of his nightly perambulations. He heard the man’s words and felt the awful responsibility of guarding a young wife in a crowded city in the absence of her husband. So every night he stole out of his palace and mounted guard with a drawn sword in front of this house. One night he heard the sound of somebody whispering within and thought that some paramour might have got in. He hastily knocked at the door and from the response found out that the absent husband had returned. Now the king grew alarmed that the husband might mistake him for his wife’s paramour and accuse her of infidelity. So he ran out and repeated the knock at the doors of several houses, so that people might take him for a thief. Even at the risk of being branded as a thief, he wished to save the honour of the young wife. Next morning several people came to him and complained that some thief had attempted to break into

their houses. The king calmly listened to them and asked what was the punishment for a would-be thief. They said that his right hand should be cut off. The king then drew his sword, cut off his right hand and owned that he himself was the suspected individual. He then disclosed his secret and spent the remaining part of his life with the substitute of a gold hand. But the story says that his mutilated hand was miraculously restored. He is known in history as the 'Pandya of the golden hand.'

Sometimes the sense of justice was carried even to an extravagant extent. A man in love, if repulsed by the damsel loved, had the right of making known the fervour of his love by self immolation. He would make an artificial horse with the prickly stems of the palmyra leaves, mount upon it and cause it to be dragged along the streets. While his body is bleeding profusely he goes on singing the praise of his love and bemoaning the calamity of his repulse. Then the king of the place makes it his duty to satisfy the disappointed lover by enabling him to secure the hand of his love at any cost. This custom has been named Madaluruthal and it is highly doubtful if anybody had the impudence to practise it actually. But literature contains numerous songs to have been sung by such romantic lovers.

Women seem to have taken an active part in all public amusements, as mention has been constantly made of women dancers and acrobats. On one occasion a woman acrobat is said to have committed suicide, because the Pandya king before whom she played, had his attention otherwise directed. Unlike the kings of a later degenerate age the ancient kings were strictly forbidden from taking their ladies along with them when they went to war and the anxieties of a queen fearing for her lord's return has been the favourite topic of many a lyrical poet. Some poems of that sort indeed, are so full of pathos as to move the feelings of even a casual reader.

At the time of the harvest the Marava part of the Tamilian population used to hold a festival in honour of their popular deity Muruga, their war-god. A shed made of sugar-cane sticks and paddy sheaves was put up on the village common and decorated with leaves and flowers. The oldest matron of the village was made to impersonate the god and she was decorated with jewellery and flowers and placed within the shed on a dais prepared for the purpose. Then the women began to dance and sing songs in praise of their deity in the midst of music and wild clamour. By and by the woman within grew excited and was filled with supernatural inspiration. Then with all the divinity of an oracle she would foretell the fortunes of her devotees and dole out her predictions with conspicuous perspicuity causing a thrill in the hearts of many a blushing maid. This festival was known as *Kuraraikkuthu* and this was probably the precursor of the modern *Pongal* festival.

RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR

PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., D.Sc.

[Born Colchester, May 12, 1843; son of Rev. T. W. Davids; Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, late Vicar Wadhurst, Sussex; educated at Breslau University; entered Ceylon Civil Service, 1866; Bar-at-law, Middle Temple, 1877; married 1894; children—two daughters and one son; Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature, University College, London, 1882-1912; Professor of Comparative Religion, Manchester, 1904-15; President of the Pali Text Society; President, India Society and Manchester Oriental Society; President of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Fellow of the British Academy; Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1885-1904; took part in founding the British Academy, 1902; founded the Pali Text Society, 1882; the Oriental Translations Fund, 1895; and the Indian Text Series, 1900; died January, 1923.]

By the death of Professor Rhys Davids the world is deprived of the service of the foremost and most distinguished Orientalist who had devoted his life solely to the advancement of Buddhistic learning and researches, and it will take yet a long time to fill the gap that has been created. He has died full of glory, leaving behind him a brilliant record of work which posterity will ever look back upon for guidance and inspiration. The unique success that attended his labours was but a fitting recompense for the worries and troubles that followed upon the resignation of his appointment in the Ceylon Civil Service. He resigned from the service because of a disagreement with his official superiors over a question involving the rights of tenants as against the interest of Government. Single-handed did he uphold the cause of the tenants and he will be ever remembered by the people of Ceylon with gratitude and veneration for the honesty of purpose and courage of conviction he evinced in the circumstances so critical and trying, for he preferred resignation to defeat, though he had nothing to fall back upon. But what endeared him more to the people of Ceylon was his resolution to bring

to the notice of the world the treasures of the Dhamma that lay in obscurity in the monasteries of Ceylon. He took up the study of Pali in Ceylon under the late Siri Sumangala at a time when a considerable interest in the subject had been aroused by the pioneer work of George Turnour and Childers, two other members of the Ceylon Civil Service, and that of Col. Olcott, the great Theosophist leader, to whom the new awakening was largely due.

The spirit displayed in resigning his appointment was, as one may say, quite in keeping with the trend of thought running through Buddha's utterances such as "Better far to die in battle than live vanquished through life," and his death in his 80th year is another point of coincidence that lends colour to our fancy that the tenor of his life was a true response to the spirit of Buddha. His writings are permeated with the same spirit: the same non-committal way of deciding questions and weighing arguments, of avoiding yet reconciling extremes, of carrying his own conviction, yet leaving the question open. In forming a correct estimate of things which apparently concerned others, individuals or peoples, he took a standpoint conformable to every way of thinking, individual or universal, European or non-European, commonplace or transcendental. On his return from Ceylon he began to study law and was called to the Bar. It must be admitted that he studied the law well, for he was an LL.D. He had to give up practice as there was none to back him. But the benefit of his law studies was not lost upon him. And his knowledge of the Law of Evidence in which he had specialized was conducive to that sound reasoning which he so admirably brought to bear upon his arguments in his literary work. One of the reasons why he got to love and make known to the world Pali and other allied texts is that he was charmed, as he had expressed to an Indian pupil of his, to find in them an ancient mode of thinking embodying such developed reasoning as was consonant with the one he could acquire with so much toil. His

literary contributions¹ are too well known to need any comment. The Pali Text Society, the Oriental Translations Fund and the Indian Text Series, of which he was the founder, and the British Academy in the inauguration of which he took a part, will ever remain landmarks in the annals of oriental institutions in the West.

But all this was accomplished by a man whose annual income never rose above £500 a year, even in his best days, when he was fortunate to occupy the Chair of Comparative Religion at Manchester. To understand the man behind this stupendous fabric it is worth while to remember some of his sayings, fraught with significance, though delivered off-hand. Now and then he would say, "I am old, but never too old to learn." Again, "It was an advantage that I studied the Law of Evidence," and again, "We, the students of research, are called upon not so much to solve the problem as to deepen its significance."

These sayings of Prof. Rhys Davids display the eagerness to learn, the consciousness of insufficiency of the knowledge of facts, the bold recognition of the fallibility of man, the open-mindedness, the unerring power of detecting errors and courage of confessing when he was in the wrong, the habit of always checking his own views by testing them with reference to the evidence from the opposite side. These are some of the most prominent qualities of a true student, a true learner, a true teacher, a true seeker of truth, not satisfied with being a mere passive spectator of the order of things around him but fully conscious of the power of changing it and changing it for the better—of the power, more than that of the statesman, the mere lawyer or party politician and the demagogue,

¹ Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, 1877; Buddhist Birth Stories, 1880; Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E.), 1881; Questions of King Milinda (S.B.E.), 1890-94; The Sects and Schools of Buddhism (J.R.A.S.), 1891-92; Hibbert and American Lectures on Buddhism, 1881, 1890; Vinaya Texts (S.B.E.), 1881-85; Edition of Dīgha Nikāya and Sumaṅgala Vāṇī, 1886, 1890, 1902; Dialogues of the Buddha, 1899, 1910, 1922; Buddhist India, 1902; Early Buddhism, 1908; Buddhism (Non-Christian Religious System Series); Pali Dictionary (two fasc. only), 1922-23.

of doing good to mankind as a whole by holding before them a true picture of things, by creating a new atmosphere of thought, by enlarging their ideas and broadening their outlook.

Now, if it be asked why it is that he was interested in Indian history and in a particular chapter of it; why he was anxious to carry on researches in Indian religions; why he edited the Pali and Prakrit texts in preference to the Sanskrit; and why he was not satisfied with merely writing dissertations but took an immense trouble to publish the texts and translations, the answer is not far to seek. He tried to bring home to the European, to whom Western civilisation was the only and best civilisation, the fact that there were other civilisations as good, as old and as effective: to the Christian theologian, to whom the Holy Bible was the only Book of God, that there were other Books embodying messages as noble, inspiring and original, if not more than his own; to the Indologist, to whom the Brahmanical was the only standpoint and Sanskrit was the only language and source of correct information about Indian peoples, that there were, beside the Brahmanical or priestly, other standpoints—the Buddhist and the Jaina, for instance—that beside Sanskrit there were other languages and literatures, Pali, Ardha-Māgadhi and the rest: to those who were in the habit of taking things on trust, that they should form their own opinion on the basis of texts and translations. Those who are accustomed to think that the European life is above all cares and anxieties will certainly fail to realize the immensity of the task that lay before him.

He once visited India and always held that it is for Indians to write upon their own history and culture which outsiders cannot, for obvious reasons, properly evaluate. He had always the impression that if modern India could boast of an Indian who understood aright the value of education and research, it was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who more than any one contributed towards the growth of indigenous research in that country.

Even this obituary notice will be glaringly incomplete without a mention of his wife, Mrs. Caroline Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., who stood by him as a partner and a helpmate, as a friend and a pupil. She by her loving devotion and literary contributions helped forward the cause he espoused and supplemented his work. It is through her translations of Abhidhamma books and researches in Abhidhamana that the Rhys Davids family has been intimately connected with Burma, the only Buddhist country where Abhidhamma literature is studied with interest by both the Bhikkhus and the laity. He happened to be acquainted with this gifted lady while he was a Professor of Pali and Buddhist literature at the University College, London. And this loving connection continued to the last. It is for the seer to say whether death is daring enough to sever this connection. But it is a pity that he could not see in print the whole of the Pali Dictionary, his last literary venture, which but for the great war would have been completed years ago.

Since the retirement from his appointment at Manchester he had to depend on an old-scholar pension, scarcely sufficient to meet his expenses, and on the proceeds of his books. He leaves his wife to continue his work in England and his children to commemorate him. But the offspring of his mind, much more perhaps than those of his body, are likely to perpetuate his memory, for his writings, unlike those of many an author, are not closed but are full of potentiality and fruitful suggestions, even where they are not conclusive. His name has become almost a household word in Buddhist families of all countries. The hill in Surrey overlooking the railway station at Chipstead—his last retreat—will long bear the remains of the grand old scholar whose death is no less enviable than his life.

B. M. BARUA

S. N. MITRA

THE RELATIONS OF EUROPEANS AND INDIANS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY¹

There are few subjects of more fascinating human interest than a study of the innumerable groups of mankind massed together or scattered according to the varying nature of the earth's surface, each group having its own variety of physical type, language, manners and customs. According to some, the differences of physical type between, say, a native Australian and a Lapp are sufficiently pronounced for each group to form a species. According to most scientists however, the differences are only racial varieties and from the standpoint of social relations the difference is important. Apart altogether from the primitive story of the garden of Eden and of our first parents, Adam and Eve, with all the poetical colouring that such a story must involve, the general scientific assumption is that the various races of men have a common origin and a common cradleland from which the peopling of the Earth was brought about by migration, and are the outcome of their several environments. Thus, whatever we are racially now, whether European or Indian, Japanese or Patagonian, Negro or Eskimo, we are descended from one human pair or group, and we are what climate, soil, diet, pursuits and inherited characters have made us. For the proud European and the equally proud high-caste Indian this may be a humbling thought, but it ought to be of some help to us in dealing with the problems of our relations to one another, and to other races frankly to recognise that the President of the United States and the freed negro slave, the Maharajah of Darbhanga and the outcaste pariah grovelling on the outskirts of his palace, the Viceroy of India and the sweeper who looks after his bathroom, have all a common

¹ This paper was read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference, February, 1922.

human ancestry, and bear the impress of the same divine image. The extremely difficult problem of racial relationships may not appear so insoluble if we remember that throughout we are dealing with man made in the image of God.

In this connection too it may be well if we remind ourselves of the fact that racially Europe and India are not so radically distant from one another as we are sometimes apt in a superficial way to suppose. "That East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet," is a sentiment with very little meaning to a student of ethnology and the history of civilisation. The higher races and castes of modern India trace their descent in greater or less degree from the early Aryan invaders of India, and these Aryans themselves were close kinsmen of the great European races—Greek, Latins, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs. These white invaders, when they came from their northern settlements into the valleys of the Panjab, and advanced into the rich plains of India, sharply distinguished themselves as of fair complexion from the primitive tribes, the aborigines of the land, whom they speak of as black monsters and demons. The hymns of the Rigveda have many references to fierce wars and conflicts with the aborigines, many of whom no doubt were men of such coarse habits and degrading superstitions, that social intercourse with them was impossible to the cultured Aryans, and intermarriage unthinkable. It is also manifest that the Aryans came into touch not only with degraded tribes of filthy habits, but also with the more cultured Dravidian peoples, and yet the fair-skinned Aryans, ancestors of the higher-caste Indians of to-day, in their superior way, were apt to make no distinctions, but regarded all the dark-skinned natives of the land without discrimination as so many cursed niggers, black monsters and demons. Indeed the colour line became the basis of all social intercourse and class distinctions. The characteristic physical difference between Aryan and aboriginal was undoubtedly that of colour (the Sanskrit word for which is *varna*) and that this physical

difference formed an important though by no means the only basis of caste, is suggested by the fact that one of the modern names for caste is *varna*. Intermarriage on the part of the Aryan rank and file with the aborigines there undoubtedly was, but it was clearly discouraged by the Aryan and Brahman leaders and treated as irregular. Of course in every community, apart from racial distinctions, skilled occupations have a tendency to become hereditary in family groups, and it would appear that the Aryan conquerors utilised this tendency when they proceeded, inspired by an instinctive sense of self-preservation, in the direction of the formation of a rigid social system and caste organisation with divine sanctions. In their pride of race and colour as complete a social separation of black and white or dark and fair as was humanly possible, became the dominant policy of the Aryan conquerors, and high-caste Brahmans. In its essential elements this may be said to be the attitude to-day of most high-caste Indians to their low-caste brethren, the attitude of most Europeans to Indians and above all in a very thorough degree the attitude of whites to Negroes in the Southern half of the United States, and of white settlers to Natives and Indians alike in certain parts of Africa. It is an attitude that allows of the freest intercourse in all the ordinary affairs of industrial or professional life, but it is openly or silently opposed to all such social relations as may suggest the possibility of intermarriage. This is surely a noteworthy point of contact between the ancient Aryans, and their modern representatives, between high-caste Indians, in their own country and exclusive Europeans whether they live in India, Africa or the Southern States of America.

I have attempted to state impartially some of the basic facts of the situation from the standpoint of a student of ethnology and civilisation. I have now to attempt to define my attitude to the problem from the standpoint of a Christian Missionary. From this standpoint we cannot forget that this

question of the relations of Europeans and Indians is but a phase of a much wider and deeper problem affecting not merely India but the world, and not merely the twentieth century but all the ages, *viz.*, the union of man with God, and of men with one another in God. No one who knows anything of the spiritual struggles and aspirations of the race will deny that what men have been groping after through the ages is to become one with God. This is the essence of all religious yearning. We are often appalled by the difficulty of the problem of the relations of high caste and low caste, and Europeans and Indians, and we are sometimes apt to despair of a solution establishing a bond of living union and lasting understanding. Yet believing as we do in the human relationship of God and the divine nature of man, as Christian people we live in the faith that God actually entered humanity through Jesus Christ, and that we in Christ become one with God, whatever be our colour or culture. We look forward in due time to entering the hallowed presence of our Father God in Heaven, and I have yet to meet the man who will dare maintain that on the great judgment day the Divine Judge will pay any regard to colour, or base decisions on racial distinctions. Yet some of us appear sceptical of the possibility of a true brotherhood of European and Indian, of East and West, of high caste and low caste, of dark and white. Is not this something like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? The solution of our social and racial problems will be found in a deeper realisation of the significance of the foundation truths of our faith such as the Fatherhood of God, and the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ. The man to whom the one fundamental fact in his life is his living union with God in Christ and the spiritual privileges he enjoys as a son of God through participation in the perfect sonship of Christ, cannot, in so far as he recognises the world in which we live as God's world, and thinks of God as the Father of all men, have any real share in the narrow social and racial prejudices

of the common herd of men with their so slender grip of God, and their consequent magnification of race, caste and colour.

We are still far from appreciating the significance of our belief that Jesus stands forth as the one great world prophet and teacher, who speaks to the heart of man without any foreign accent, and I am doubtful if we yet recognise fully the greatness of St. Paul as an interpreter of Jesus Christ and the significance of His Incarnation for all the problems of human life, great and small, bearing on the relation of men with one another. Take for instance the following great passages: Philippians II. 3-11 (I quote from Weymouth's version): "Do nothing in a spirit of factiousness or of vain glory, but with true humility let everyone regard the rest as being of more account than himself; each fixing his attention not only on his own interests but on those of others also. Let the same disposition be in you which was in Christ Jesus; although from the beginning He had the nature of God, He did not reckon His equality with God a treasure to be tightly grasped. Nay, he stripped Himself of His glory, and took on Him the nature of a bond servant by becoming a man like other men. And being recognised as truly human, He humbled Himself, and even stooped to die, yes, to die on a Cross. It is in consequence of this that God has also so highly exalted Him and has conferred on Him the name which is supreme above every other, in order that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of beings in heaven, of those on the earth, and of those in the underworld, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." Or again from Galatians III. 25-28: "We are no longer under a tutor slave. You are all sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all of you who have been baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ; In Him the distinctions between Jew and Gentile, a slave and freeman, male and female disappear; you are all one in Christ

Jesus." Ephesians II. 14-22: "For He is our peace—He who has made Jews and Gentiles one, and in His own human nature has broken down the hostile dividing wall, by setting aside the Law with its Commandments, expressed, as they were, in definite decrees. His design was to unite the two sections of humanity in Himself so as to form one new man, thus effecting peace, and to reconcile Jews and Gentiles in one body to God by means of His cross,—slaying by it their mutual enmity. So He came and proclaimed good news of peace to you who were so far away, and peace to those who were near; because it is through Him that Jews and Gentiles alike have access through one Spirit to the Father.....You are therefore no longer mere foreigners or persons excluded from civil rights: on the contrary you share citizenship with God's people and are members of His family. You are a building which has been reared on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, the cornerstone being Christ Jesus Himself, in union with whom the whole fabric, fitted and closely joined together is growing so as to form a holy sanctuary in the Lord; in whom you also are being built up together to become a fixed abode for God through the Spirit." Great passages like these bring us very near to the heart of things. The race-proud European and the caste-proud Brahman, who retain their narrow pride after entering the common fellowship of the Christian Church, may be compared with those Jewish Christians who continued to be prisoners under the law with its restraints and limitations after being brought into the freedom of the spirit of Christ. So many of us, both Europeans and Indians, who profess to be members of the Christian Church, are still like the Jews of old in the grip of slavery to externals, regarding as all-important things that are only skin-deep. The Christian Church in such an atmosphere will never attain to the spiritual and moral authority that is its due, and we must escape from it, in loyalty to the Lord to whom we have dedicated our lives.

I shall now attempt to indicate briefly what I consider the main considerations to be borne in mind in seeking to apply Christian principles to the solution of the problem under discussion in matters social, ecclesiastical and political.

(1) *The Social Problem.*

All nations who have attained a certain degree of culture and civilisation have been obsessed with an idea of their own superiority, and of the essential inferiority of all others. Jews were apt to regard Gentiles as dogs, the Greeks looked upon others as barbarians, to Chinamen we are all foreign devils, Hindus spoke of foreigners as Mlechchhas or dirty savages while like the Pharisee of old, Americans and Englishmen are apt to thank God that they are not as other men, and when Germans, French and Japanese shew signs of infection with the same dangerous idea, there is naturally some trouble. So long as these ideas are merely a subject of academic opinion no particular harm is done. It is when they form the basis of social standing and opportunity that the mischief begins. The objection of the East India officials in early days to missionary and educational work was based on the fact that they regarded Indians as fit only for subjection, and nothing but harm would come by instilling into them ideas of Christian brotherhood and educating them out of their position. Only a few days ago an English gentleman visiting me at Serampore remarked, "We made a big mistake when we introduced higher education into India. The result is that our very existence here as a Government is imperilled." This is essentially the spirit that underlies the Indian and all other caste systems, for the essence of all caste, whether East or West, is a cold-blooded and deliberate effort on the part of the strong and privileged to hold in a position of permanent dependence and inferiority the weak and helpless elements of the social organism. In sober reality not a few people in England have felt that the prayer befitting ignorant English

villagers is "God bless the Squire and his relations, And keep us in our proper stations." But perhaps the biggest system of social denomination the world has ever seen is the Indian caste system. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once described it as "a gigantic system of cold-blooded repression," because it has so completely entwined in its endless coils the Indian social body that the free expression of manhood even under the direst necessity has become almost an impossibility. Members of Indian Legislative Councils shew that they are able to smell from afar indications of a policy of political repression by an alien Government and I can sympathise with their sensitiveness on that score. One would like to see more marked signs of concern on the part of Indian political and religious leaders on account of the continuance of caste restrictions, this "gigantic system of cold-blooded repression" in their midst, a system that shackles the healthy social growth of so many millions of India's sons and daughters. Is it again a case of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? There can however be no doubt that the problem of social relations between Europeans and Indians has a highly important bearing on the present situation, whether from the standpoint of Government or Missions, and fundamentally the difficulty in each case is much the same, *viz.*, uneasiness on account of foreign control. Whether as Government administrators or as Missionaries, Englishmen have—I think it will be generally recognised—been highly successful in dealing with rude and primitive peoples. But the problem is an utterly different one when we are confronted with people working side by side with us who in culture and education are our equals or it may be our superiors. There are many Englishmen in India, and perhaps some missionaries among the number, who have not sufficient imagination to put themselves in the place of educated Indians, whether engaged in Government or in Christian work, who see foreigners in their country exercising the office of rulers and treating them and their people, the people of the

land, as a subordinate race, needing to be kept under control with a firm hand. This much I say emphatically that there is no room in India to-day for Englishmen whether Government servants or missionaries who insist on being treated as an order of superior beings, and who look upon all Indians as children or inferiors. The Englishman's position in India to-day is not that of the heavy father or the stern master, but of the brother and comrade, elder brother in some cases if you like, but essentially a brother. In that capacity there is often still scope for highly helpful service. We have much to learn from India, but we have also much to give, though we shall never be able to give if we follow the way of contempt or good-natured superiority, rather than the way of love and respect. Perhaps one of the most important qualifications for service in the East to-day is colour-blindness. As a student of history, ancient and modern, I recognise the terrible strength of race and colour pride and prejudice, but I believe that God is present in all that is true and beautiful and good in our human life and that there is a veritable incarnation of God in the man of Nazareth, and I believe further that in the eyes of God it is character only that counts. A man with a white face but a black heart is of the devil, a man with a dark face but a white soul is of God. It is because I believe this with all my heart that I am no more interested in the colour of a man's face than I am in the colour of his hair, or of the garment he wears, and as a Christian missionary I can see no other foundation for the social relations of Europeans and Indians.

(2) *The Ecclesiastical problem.*

The relation of Mission and Church which is fundamentally a question of the relation of European missionaries and Indian Christians will inevitably remain a problem with its particular difficulties so long as there is a foreign missionary enterprise with missionaries coming in considerable numbers,

and money in considerable quantity from abroad. It is the very success of the missionary enterprise—the building up of a growing Church increasingly conscious of its unity and power, that has made the problem acute. Speaking some time ago to a body of young Englishmen accepted for the Indian Civil Service, Lord Meston remarked that the British Administration of India had passed through three stages in its history. In the first stage the British ruled India in the way they consider best for India's good and England's advantage. The British themselves were the judges. They acted as masters in their own house, and each individual ruled as a patriarch or tyrant according to his own temperament. In the second stage, the stage of the Morley-Minto reforms, the British resolved to bring a number of Indians into consultation with them, so that they might have the benefit of their advice in all matters of difficulty. They still remained masters, but they made a certain number of assistants junior members of the firm. In the third stage, the stage of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, the British have come to recognise that they have to administer India not merely for India's benefit but according to Indian ideas. Indians have entered the path of gaining full control in their own house. Now it must be frankly recognised that Missions are far behind Government in handing over control to Indians. We are at present only in the second stage referred to by Lord Meston, and some Missions have hardly advanced as far as that. Apart from the question as to whether this will be for India's good or not, I think there is a fairly general expectation among English officials in this country, that before very few years are over nine-tenths of the present British officials will have left India for good, and no new recruits from England will be appointed in their place. Can we expect a corresponding turn of events in matters ecclesiastical? I am aware that some are looking in that direction. An English Bishop at the recent Poona Conference

remarked: "The object we have in view is the abolition of missions or their absorption in the Church." I have heard prominent Indian Christians compose beautiful epitaphs for the foreign missionary. In his day he did a very good work, but his day is over. Indeed not a few young Indian Christians are thinking and saying that missionaries should give place to qualified Indians, and gracefully retire, while one Indian Christian addressing a body of Christian students in the West, is reported to have advised them not to come out as missionaries to India until the Indian Church was placed in full control of the foreign missionary enterprise. It is no use minimising the gravity of this problem, but I think we must not remain blind to the fact that there is a fundamental difference between the problem of a foreign Government and foreign missions. The British Government in India is supported wholly by Indian funds, the proceeds of Indian taxation, and the British principle of no taxation without representation may reasonably be regarded as leading logically to Indian self-government. Indians politically are only claiming the right to control their own money, which is their own life-blood. Besides, British officials with rare exceptions are in India not primarily because they think it to be the call of duty, but because an Indian career provides them a good opportunity of combining personal advantage and Imperial service and they look forward to retirement with quite a comfortable pension and perhaps a title. Foreign Missions and missionaries on the other hand are supported by foreign funds, voluntary contributions which in most cases represent a very real sacrifice on the part of the donors, whether rich or poor, inspired by deep religious motives. Foreign missionaries in India get nothing more than a reasonably comfortable living wage and not always that, and if they sometimes get a little official recognition, it is nothing more than a harmless Kaiser-i-Hind medal, which in their becoming modesty they are sometimes ashamed to accept. Besides they

always come to India at what they believe to be the ordering of their Lord and impelled by a deep sense of India's religious need, a need so overwhelmingly great as to be beyond the resources in the way of men and money of Indian Christians, without generous help from their brethren in the West. Here are fundamental differences between the British official and the foreign missionary that we cannot ignore. Personally I have to admit that I have never felt there was much force in the argument that foreign money, given for the Lord's work, must be under foreign control. To me the supreme question is how such gifts can be spent in the most fruitful way for the extension of the Kingdom of God among men. There are no two opinions in regard to the question of the desirability of seeking to develop independence on the part of the Indian Church especially as this applies to the support of an indigenous pastorate. But the burden of the great unevangelised areas in India at the doors of the Churches and in the regions beyond cannot for many a long year to come be borne unaided by the Indian Church. In view of these great unevangelised areas without the light of the great Gospel of human emancipation and redemption preached by Jesus I cannot view without misgiving the proposal to abolish organised missions or absorb them in the Church. I would say that in all cases Missions should work in living association with the Church, but is their complete absorption necessary or desirable? Does not the organised Mission help to keep the missionary spirit alive in the Church? In the history of Christianity there have been and still are Churches without Missions. Carey would never have come out to India if he waited for the Church as such to send him. It was the organised Mission that made his coming possible, and it is the organised Mission acting in close association with the Church that has often roused a careless Church membership and ministry to a sense of their responsibility and privilege. While I ask you to accept with caution the view that Missions must

be abolished, it would be dangerous to assume that things can go on just as they are. Foreign Missions cannot continue, without bringing stigma on the great cause, to be large employers of Indian Christian labour for Church and Mission purposes. There is an increasing sensitiveness in this matter that must be taken into account. The Church of Christ in Japan goes so far as to refuse representation in presbytery to congregations that accept foreign support. The tendency in India and China is for the Churches to ask for independence in government while continuing to receive subsidies, large or small, as the case may be, for pastoral or evangelistic purposes or both. The utmost Christian consideration and tact on both sides is needed, otherwise we may witness a sharp cleavage between the foreign and indigenous elements in Indian Christianity. Unless we can work in a spirit of cordial trust and good-fellowship with our Indian Christian brethren, it is clear that we shall begin to feel, as many British officials already feel in regard to themselves, that there is no room for us in India. Such an attitude would be interpreted as a failure of our common Christianity. I see the danger of placing large funds at the disposal of the Indian Church, and the injury it may cause in retarding our efforts to develop a self-supporting and self-governing Church in the Mission field. But a greater injury may be done, if we uncompromisingly insist that in all cases foreign money means foreign control, for there are certain limitations in every community to the control that money can be allowed to exercise. On the other hand if Christians in the West are to continue in large measure their contributions to India in the way of money and men, they will only do so in so far as there is a living point of contact and sympathy between themselves and the Indian churches. If you abolish Missions and missionaries, there will certainly be a big drop in the contribution of the home Churches, through the lack of that living link of human interest and sympathetic contact now uniting Western and

Indian Christianity. Indian Christians in their own interests will not fail to note the importance of this and the equal importance of the wise use of funds entrusted to them. I am not blind to the difficulties, but on the whole I subscribe to what I wrote on this subject a few years ago. "There can be no solution of the missionary problem in a land like India until the foreign missionary societies in a spirit of true Christian humility and brotherhood recognise the privilege and duty of working through the Church in India for India's evangelisation and placing all their resources, in the way of men and money, at the disposal of a Church of Christ in India freed from all taint of colour and racial prejudice."

(3) In regard to the *political problem* I do not care to say more than a few words, as I am not a politician, except in so far as political issues may have a moral and religious bearing. One hears many voices these days uniting in their expression of indignation at what is known as the policy of repression adopted by the Government. As a Christian I subscribe to the words of the warning appeal made by the National Missionary Council in November 1920 "against the inclination to trust to force as the means of procuring obedience and maintaining authority. The truth is that society cannot be saved by force apart from that reasonableness and equity in government and administration which win the hearts of the people." In regard to the evil-doer, I believe the most effective resistance is in many cases not to resist but to fight hate with love. But there are times when resistance becomes a form of love and a duty for the sake of the wrongdoer, for whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. "Resistance," to quote some words used by Dr. Maclaren, "may also become a duty for the sake of others, who are also objects of love, such as helpless persons who otherwise would be exposed to evil, or society as a whole." It must be remembered too that there are dangerous elements in every social organisation including India, elements, to quote in reference to others

the words of the great Puritan Poet and prophet John Milton—

“ That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free.
License they mean when they cry Liberty ;
For who loves that must first be wise and good ;
But from that mark how far they rove we see
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.”

It is a Christian principle that we are to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and certainly one of the demands of Cæsar is obedience to the law and the breaking of the law is followed by just penalties. I speak from considerable personal observation when I say that but a few weeks ago Calcutta had practically passed under the control of those who declared that their one object was to openly defy the Government and bring its authority to an end. On all sides there was a demand for strong measures by Government which was rapidly becoming an object of sheer pity and contempt. European and moderate Indian opinion seemed to me quite united as to the need of strong action. Some of my Indian friends were particularly loud in their praise of the document issued on the subject by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Now with one consent they are forward in strongly condemning Government for paying any attention to such appeals, and they are demanding through votes in Legislative Councils and other ways that Government forthwith abandon its new policy. The abandonment of a strong policy at the present time would mean in my deliberate judgment the abandonment of helpless minorities in a city like Calcutta and many other places to the tender mercies of men who mean license when they cry liberty and would pave the way for the perpetuation of the shameless outrages of Bombay and the nameless atrocities of Malabar. Many Indians are demanding Swaraj from to-morrow. Not as an Englishman

but as a member of a conquered and subject people, the Welsh, I advise caution. The Englishman after all has his strong points from which all of us may learn. Dr. Temple, before he became Bishop and then Archbishop, was Headmaster of Rugby, and his administration of that famous school was noted for its stern justice. One of the boys in bitter complaint remarked of his headmaster as boys sometimes will "Temple is a beast," but then relenting a little he continued "But I admit he is a *just* beast." The English administrator has many faults, and sometimes he may quite deserve to be called a beast ; but withal he is usually a beast with a strong sense of justice and great administrative ability. Some years ago I heard a prominent American express the view in a public lecture in America, that his country had suffered a permanent loss through the too sudden severance of England from the American Colonies at the great Revolution. The fact that the administrative ability of British officials had not been available after the Revolution, had proved in his judgment a real loss to American national life. I think Indians would do well to ponder over this aspect of the situation. The Englishman can yet render real service to India in helping her in a spirit of true brotherhood to take her place as an equal in the great commonwealth of nations now opening up before our vision, a commonwealth of nations loyally co-operating to the benefit of all, and for the progress of the race.

GEORGE HOWELLS

ACWORTH COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The motives, which usually lead Government to extend the sphere of their business activity, have been three :—

1. To increase their own political influence.
2. To make up for the lack of private enterprise.
3. To avoid the abuses incidental to private management.

The desire to extend political influence has usually been the chief motive. It is the desire for centralized power that underlay Bismarck's railroad schemes.

The wish to make up for the lack of private enterprise has often been a motive which induces a government to take up an industry in its *early stages*. It is, perhaps, still more noticeably the case with railroads which are felt to be necessary to national development.

What men feel at present is a set of abuses involved in the system of private management ; and those who desire government management do so, in the hope that it will be a means to check those abuses.

Take for instance, the case of " railway rates." There is no inherent reason why the rates of government railways should be differently arranged from those of private railroads. It is rather the case that where a " mixed system" of competing State and Private lines, as in India really flourishes, the two rates are managed more or less upon the same principles. As far as their relations to the shippers are concerned, they are run to make money, not with a view to any general considerations of public policy. The tax-payers cannot allow a government to lose money or make small profits on its lines where a competing private road is making larger profits. If the latter is run to make as much money as possible, the former must also necessarily follow its example, and—perhaps in a somewhat disguised form—charges what the traffic will

usually have the same system of rates which we find on private roads: a system of classification, differential rates and special contracts. In other words, there is no serious pretence of basing differences in charge upon differences in cost of service. Under the system of fees, on the other hand, this is made the fundamental principle. The very first schedules of rates are constructed with this idea in view. It is adopted on two quite distinct grounds, one theoretical, the other practical. As a matter of theory, it is thought that rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service, or rather to put it more correctly, that differences in rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service. As a matter of practice it is thought that it will result in benefit both to the railways and to the public. We thus have to consider two distinct questions at the same time:

(1) How far the theory is actually carried out; and,

(2) Whether the results are beneficial or otherwise.

First, then, are differences in rates actually based upon differences in cost of service?

As regards classification, differences in charge on different kinds of freight—the theory is never completely carried out. A system of rates by which each article pays its share of the fixed charges would virtually prohibit the movement of an article (say coal), for which an exception, by special provision, is sometimes extended to other cheap and necessary articles. Yet the moment you make an exception and abandon this principle, you abandon the system of basing rates upon cost of service.

As regards local discriminations, they carry out the principle systematically. Yet even here, where the results are attempted to be most complete, they overdo the matter in such a way as to prevent the theory from being strictly followed. The theory is this: Each consignment ought to pay a fixed charge, independent of distance, to cover terminal expenses, plus a rate per mile to pay for movement expenses.

But as this theory is carried out, it injures both the very short-distance traffic and the very long-distance traffic. For the long-distance traffic the mileage rate mounts up so high as to prevent the sale of goods in distant markets. For the short-distance traffic the terminal charge amounts to so much as to make men and goods either go by horse-power or not go at all. It prevents the development of a vast, and in some respects easily-handled, traffic.

The authorities are feeling the force of these last points, and in order not to check local business, they make their terminal charges very low—lower than the theory demands legitimately. But, according to the principle of tolls, if they make one element of the charge too low, they have to make up elsewhere. This constitutes a distinction between rates based upon cost of service and rates based upon what the traffic will bear. In the latter case, they cannot and do not try to make up for any such losses. So that this principle leads to a still further increase of the mileage rates and matters all the worse for the long-distance traffic.

Some railways have felt this difficulty and adopted the sliding scale of charges. This is probably good policy, but it is an abandonment of the principle on which they pretend to act. It makes the middle-distance traffic pay relatively more profit than the long or short distance traffic. In other words, they base rates on what the traffic will bear, and then adopt an elaborate system of pulling wool over their own railways, in order that the schedules may look as though they are based upon cost of service.

There is never a more mistaken idea than the idea that rates would be reduced if they were based upon cost of service. The principle keeps rates up. If it is strictly applied, it makes it necessary that each item of business should pay its share of the fixed charges. A great deal of business which would pay much less than its share of the fixed charges (though still giving a slight profit above train and station

expenses) would thus be lost. This is bad for the railways, bad for the shippers, and bad for the prospect of low average rates. It makes the business of the roads so much smaller that the share of fixed charges which each piece of business has to pay (under this system) becomes higher, while the profit does not increase and the inducement to new construction is lessened. These things are not mere theory, but are matters of historical policy. And if a road with its hands free could just make a profit, a road forced to base rates upon cost of service, and thus could check the development of certain lines of trade, could not do so. It would thus have to go unbuilt, or else receive a subsidy—a dangerous policy. The attempt to base rates upon cost of service therefore goes hand in hand with the policy of subsidies. The money ultimately comes, or is supposed to come out of the pockets of local taxpayers. Nobody else is enough interested to have the railway built. If they are charged what the traffic will bear, they pay it to the railroad direct. If they furnish a subsidy, they pay it through the public treasury. Neither way is very satisfactory.

The state roads undoubtedly manage to use a large percentage of car space.. It is by no means clear that they secure the same economy in time. They load cars quite fully, but they seem to keep them idle a long time to do it. Regarding new construction of roads, it may be noted that the state is of necessity slow in appreciating the business importance (as distinct from the political importance) of new lines, and thus makes financial mistakes. It is further very rare that the state does not have to pay more for a given piece of work than would be paid by a well-managed private company.

This brings us to the political dangers of the state railroad system. The arguments advanced by the advocates of government management start from the idea that government means of transportation will be managed, not with a view to high profits, but for the good of the community. They will thus,

it is said, offer low rates based upon cost of service, and equal facilities without discrimination. The evils of speculation will be avoided. There will be no waste of capital; no construction of two lines where but one is needed. Capital will be put where it will go farther towards the development of the country. Finally, we shall no longer be at the mercy of capitalists who manipulate and tax us for their own interests. It is further urged that the Post Office shows how government secures to all men low rates, equal facilities and security against extortion, and it is claimed that the same result might be secured with a government railroad.

On the other hand, it may be safely noted that it is a mistake to expect lower rates or better facilities from government than from private companies. The actual results are just the reverse. The state is more apt to tax industry than to foster it, and when it attempts to tax industry, it is even less responsible than a private company. State management is further more costly than private management and a great deal of capital is thus wasted. Political considerations are lastly brought into a system of state management in a way which is disastrous to legitimate business and demoralizing to politics.

There exists, however, a strong popular feeling in favour of government management for mainly two reasons:—(1) Discontent arising from not giving suitable Indians chances of higher appointments in the company-managed rails, and (2) prevention from establishing industries in India to supply railway materials by the company-managed railways. While the first aims at the Indianisation of services, the second means commercialisation in favour of India. People think that through the newly-constituted Indian Parliament the members will be able to force the hands of the government in removing their grievances, should the company-managed railways be solely run by the government. The idea of Indianisation of the services and cheapening the cost of running

the railway is healthy ; but the idea of the people in matters of the Indianisation, is very vague. It may be summed up thus—“Indianise the services but don't cut down the remuneration.” This is bad and cannot be tenable ; as it would not help the government financially. Further, there might be a risk of vetoing a resolution tending to sacrifice the efficiency of administration for the sake of Indianisation and the result is “popular feeling” perhaps against the government, irrespective of the merits and demerits of the question. Would this be fair in a democracy ?

Then, again, as to the establishment of industries in India for the supply of railway materials, it is very strange to conceive that the same would not be possible if the railways were managed by companies. The companies accept certain foreign tenders, because there is no suitable agency here. The company accepts locally manufactured edible oils. They would never refuse other necessities if locally manufactured in a suitable manner. On the contrary it is generally observed that the state railways take a more prominent lead in the matter of accepting foreign tenders, not with a view to cheapness, but for certain political considerations generally unknown to the public. They know, however, how to give a bluff to public and to show that for cheapness they have accepted a certain foreign tender. Certain state railways conceived the idea of purchasing Welsh coal and did it on considerations not easily fathomable. The company-managed lines tried to maintain their independence in the matter though curbed by circulars of the government to remind one of the famous story in AEsop's Fables, *viz.*, that a tailless jackal (tailless,—because his tail was cut off by an individual householder whom it disturbed most) asking all his brother jackals to cut off their tails. The actions of the Government are sometimes political, but they are highly ludicrous.

I would now refer to the Acworth Committee—another ludicrous form of political manœuvring. When the government

wants to do a thing, it adopts policies very hard to reconcile with what follows as their outcome. Take for instance, the constitution of the Committee—(1) in strength of numbers, (2) in qualifications. So far as the strength of numbers is concerned, it follows the most quixotic principles—3 Indians against 7 Britishers. Of the 3 Indians, only one may be said to know railway business, and is competent to express some opinion about railway matters. Of the remaining 2, one is an out and out politician and the other is a commercial man with more tinge of politics in him than that of commerce. Consequently, the views of the latter two Indians are subject to colorations, having very little of individual opinions in railway matters. Of the seven Britishers, the selection of the Agent, Bengal Nagpur Railway Company, as a member is most unhappy, since one could easily foresee his leanings. Again it is more than one can understand the object of selecting a banker. Is it to determine the financial aspect of the question of railway management? I do not know whether Barclays Bank, Ltd., has got any business connection with the Secretary of State on railway account. If any such relation exists, no selection could be more ill-judged and ominous in determining railway issues of momentous importance. An interested person is hardly likely to give independent opinions and to go against the wishes of his master.

Then as to the terms of reference, the undercurrent has been to extend the sphere of the government control over railways and to create and make room for some unemployed gentlemen in the widened sphere of the Railway Board. The government feels that the constitution of the present Railway Board is insufficient to control railway administrations efficiently and wants that there should be a Railway Board, whether the railways are managed by the state or by the companies. If the government so earnestly wishes to maintain the Railway Board, the management should gradually devolve upon the companies, for with the attainment of financial

autonomy, it will be costly to maintain and almost useless to watch over the proceedings of state railway management. The Railway Board consistently dissolves itself into provincial Boards; and for any special definite pursuit of a policy a suitable Central Advisory Board with less monthly,—almost negligible,—establishments may be created. The present Railway Board is heavy, the one suggested by the Acworth Committee is far more heavy. Under present conditions, and I should like to add in all conditions, it is not expedient to make a “watch and cure” staff so unnecessarily top-heavy.

It is much to be regretted that all the members have been unanimous in the modified constitution of the Railway Board, though some of them have agreed to differ on the question of management. The constitution of the proposed Railway Board is urged upon the principle of efficient control. But the members have lost sight of the important fact that in trying to control effectively the management may lose its innate virtue of earning for the Railways, and popularising the same to the Indian public.

It is proposed to appoint a Member for Communications who is to “allow himself sufficient freedom from the routine of his office.” This means that his action will be more confined to hearing the local public than to check the indiscreet actions of his subordinates. He will be a mere puppet in the hands of his subordinates and be a great and good signing machine on papers only. He may have his individual opinions, but they will be subject to the capricious cliques of his subordinates, which are sure to develop most detrimentally to the interests of the public, as he is to be allowed “sufficient freedom from the routine of his office.” This freedom is dangerous both to himself as an administrator and to the public interested in railway matters.

It is not further clear whether the proposed Railway Commission will have any legislative power; and it is hardly perceived that Indian Parliament will delegate such powers to

it. If the traders want a decisive judgment they have to go to the Railway and Ports Commissioners and fight it out with a costly array of solicitors and counsel, as if it were a suit in the High Court. Anything more foreign to ordinary commercial ideas and practices can hardly be imagined. Such a court may be used by traders more as a bogey for the railway rate-makers than as a means of redress of bonafide grievances.

We find that there will be four Commissioners, of whom one is to be the Commissioner for finance, but there is to be no Commissioner for Northern Division. I do not know who will truly represent that Division. In the foot-note I find that the Commissioner, Western Division will represent Northern Division, but it is strange that with the development of Northern India, a Railway Division has not been found palatable by the Members of the Committee to specially represent Northern India. There are political divisions of the country, and the Railway division could have been more usefully done on that basis. That would have saved much time and useless discussion of *bona-fide* grievances from those divisions. People would have been able to meet the Commissioners personally or through their agents more cheaply and easily. Just as there is severe anomaly in the creation of the Western Division by including portions which are geographically and politically situated in the North, so also there is a gross injustice done to the other divisions of the proposed Commission. It is very hard to get at the principle of such division-markings; but what appears from the surface is that the divisions are thought out on the basis of the terminal stations of a Railway and the leanings thereto. But it would have been happier if the same were thought out on the basis of a railway starting from a place with its exact geographical situation. For instance, the North Western Railway starts from the northern portion of India and goes to the west.

The three Divisional Commissioners will have three policies for three divisions. Of these three policies, it is but natural to suppose that one might clash with the other, if the true interests of the division are looked after. It is not also desirable that such a clash should take place in the interests of trade in any particular division. The Chief Commissioner may dictate a general policy which might amount to suppressing the individual initiative of any Divisional Commissioner in the interests of his division. The dictation of a general policy in such matters has always the tendency to choke up the activities of a Divisional Commissioner. It may be desirable, but it may be dangerous. Besides, there is no road to fight against such a general policy. The policy once dictated will be strenuously and loyally followed by the Divisional Commissioners. Again, the Divisional Commissioners may turn despotic in the sense that their decisions will not be subject to the scrutiny of the Chief Commissioner. If any local trader has any specific grievance against the decision of a Divisional Commissioner and sends the same to the Chief Commissioner for action, the general procedure is that he will send to the Commissioner concerned the complaint in particular for necessary action. Whether any action is taken or not, the Chief may forget that the Divisional Commissioner is likely to hush up the matter anyhow. Even if he takes action, it cannot be favourable to the complainant as the latter would be most reluctant to acknowledge his mistakes. If, however, the party approaches the Chief with a host of solicitors and lawyers to have his grievance heard against any Divisional Commissioner, the former is more apt to support his subordinates than to hear the case impartially. At any rate, there would be time lost to have a decision of any matter. Thus, the public would be subject to endless cost and harassment.

There is the useless post of the Commissioner for Finance. The framing of the budget, the regulation of finance, the

preparation of statistics can all be done by a subordinate clerk and passed by the Chief Commissioner. It is really preposterous to suppose that there should be a Commissioner of Finance having the same status with the Divisional Commissioners and having powers to control them in their ways and means. Besides, the Finance Commissioner will be in direct touch with the Finance Department, and therefore the genuine necessities of the Railway Department will suffer at the hands of the Commissioner. It is not desirable to have a Commissioner with no independent voice in Railway Finance. The Finance Commissioner will have no independent voice, because he is to be subordinate to the Finance Department, since he is to receive the sanction of that Department before he can spend a single pice. However technical the Finance Commissioner may be, the Finance Department will always try to guard its rights and responsibilities most zealously. Further, if the Finance Department shapes the Railway policy, there is no use of a Finance Commissioner.

It is not again clear whether the Commissioners of Divisions should be technical men. If they are not, they will be tools in the hands of the Directors. These Commissioners, therefore, will not be able to give independent decisions ; the result will be disastrous.

The Directors and all the men above shall be subject to the whims of the General Secretary. The general procedure in a government office is that all letters are opened first by the Registrar, who sends the same to the addressee, who thereupon sends the same to the Registrar for a note. This note is generally prepared by a subordinate assistant ; it then goes to the head assistant, who sends it to the registrar, who forwards it to the Under-Secretary with his opinion. It is then circulated amongst the under-secretaries of all departments. Afterwards it reaches the secretary, who circulates it amongst his brother secretary-colleagues, before the whole thing goes to the Hon'ble Member. This is the procedure

with slight modifications in all offices of government. Under the proposed Railway Commission, a letter of the public would go through many persons and many channels to the Chief Commissioner, should the same appear "important" in the code of the proposed Board. It is very difficult to determine the importance of any letter, in the official procedure. At any rate, if the letter is subjected to so many currents and cross-currents, there will be a great chance either of the letter being left unanswered or its decision delayed indefinitely. So that in fact the grievances of the public will remain where they are now.

It is further generally found that technical men in government service are not the best men; but because they have the huge political support of the government, these men are considered as the best. What would happen exactly, when the different technical Directors were appointed, was that the standard of recruitments in the private management would be made low on political considerations. Appointments under government are generally made on political grounds, consequently the best men are not appointed. With the uncertain standard of government technical men for many politico-economic considerations, the condition of the people would be most unsatisfactory. There would be hardly any spirit for improvements. Further there would be too much play of conservatism and anything new in their eyes would be attempted to be thrown out. To take as an illustration from the action of the present Railway Board, I am reminded of the unfair rejection of the proposal for the construction of railway wagons by private companies. One can easily see therefore that conservatism and low standard of ability would alienate the minds of the true Indians from the government control over railway management.

It is again absurd that the Financial Commissioner should arrange the services of the Directors of various sections and the office staff to be available to the Commissioners. Thus the

immediate superior of the Directors and the office staff becomes the Financial Commissioner. He would therefore have to look into a good deal of administration besides his financial responsibilities. So that there would be every likelihood of many undesirable things cropping up either in the shape of personal gains to the Financial Commissioner or in the shape of favouritism. It is much to be regretted that he should be made an executive authority over a large band of officers and clerks.

It has been very unfortunately argued by persons favouring state management that because the guaranteed companies do not possess the essential qualities of management, therefore they should be managed by the state, since in almost every affair the state controls and restrains. It is this feature of control which hampered the earnings of the guaranteed railway companies. Whenever, in the history of Railways, there has been a little freedom, the railways have earned a good dividend. The position of the guaranteed railway companies is made most ridiculous by the government in the eye of the public. The government would interfere with an action of the company, but the public would not be allowed to know the same. The latter would be under the impression that it was all done by the company; and, therefore, they begin to doubt the sincerity of the company's statements.

It is again to be deplored that when attempts were made sometime back to raise railway capital in England for Indian railways, the government did not permit this for reasons best known to themselves. The government is working with a deficit, and if the portion of Indian Railway investments is relieved either wholly or partially by the raising of foreign capital on Indian Railway account, nothing would be more consoling and desirable. It is preposterous to lay down that there shall be no chance of raising the railway capital at Home, if the management is transferred to Indian companies. To be frank, government does not want to put it clearly that

they do not like to lose the interests of Railway investments, otherwise they would never have stopped the plan of some respectable Indian companies (Indian—in the sense that they are located in India) to raise railway capital. Besides, the government feels that if an Indian company raises capital, the value of government loan papers would dwindle down. For this fear, the government is always anxious to bluff the Indian public. It may not be possible to raise railway capital in India, but it is quite possible to have the money from the London market. But the government sees the difficulties of its own and tries to check the growth of the idea of raising foreign capital. Indians are carried away by the sentiments of patriotism; they do not see the inward workings of the government; and therefore they suggest the raising of capital in India and state management,—meaning thereby investments of tax-payers' money also. The Indians believe that they would thereby have an effective control over railways; but that there is deep politics behind, they forget and ignore, being blinded by the sense of excessive patriotism.

The proposal, that the East Indian Railway Company will be wound up on the termination of its contract, is most unfair and misleading. The East Indian Railway contract was terminated in 1879. The purchase price of the Company's shares was ascertained to be £32,750,000, and this sum was payable in annual terminable annuities of £1,473,750 till February, 1953. As an annuitant, therefore, the present East Indian Railway Company has an interest in the property of the Railway system, besides their function as the managing agent. Now the $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders agreed to postpone their annuity and in place of it accept a new Contract on 4 per cent. guaranteed interest on their capital plus a certain share of surplus profits, varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{16}$. With the termination of the managing agency of $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders, the interest of $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders does not cease till 1953.

Consequently, the binding of the $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholder with the $\frac{3}{4}$ th shareholders cannot be easily sundered by government interference. Naturally, therefore, with the close of the present agreement, the government should not take such a step as to irritate the $\frac{3}{4}$ th shareholders and bring financial bankruptcy to meet their legitimate demands. It is in the close binding of the $\frac{1}{4}$ th with the $\frac{3}{4}$ th shareholders that the deferred annuitant cannot be reduced to an ordinary annuitant.

It has been argued in this connection that there exists no company in which 80 per cent. of the shareholders delegate their rights to the remaining 20 per cent. If the $\frac{1}{4}$ th shareholders could be appointed as Managing Agent by the Government with the farthest view of meeting the annuities, to a partial extent, of the $\frac{3}{4}$ th shareholders, within the period of their managing agency, and if the $\frac{3}{4}$ th shareholders could trust them and could raise no objections, there was no reason why the Government should not delegate any substantial responsibility to the 20% Indian shareholders. Cannot one perceive the political significance of this financial issue?

S. P. MUKHERJEE

TO THE AŚOKA-TREE¹

(From the sonnet of Devendranath Sen.)

What ruddy feet didst thou kiss, O Aśoka, thrilled in thy
inmost being, thy green turning into one dazzling red?

Nature's darling! On what full-moon night of the Swing-
festival, in what fresh-green grove of eternal Beauty and
eternal Youth, didst thou joyously powder thyself with the
crimson-dust of Love?

What happy wife, at the fulfilment of her vow of life-long
wife-hood, made thee a present of that spring-mantle
vermeil-dyed?

At what wedding, in the assembly of glad damsels, didst thou
gather those armfuls of blossoming blushes?

Vain to guess! Alas, in this world, none has pre-natal recol-
lection, neither man, nor beast, nor tree;

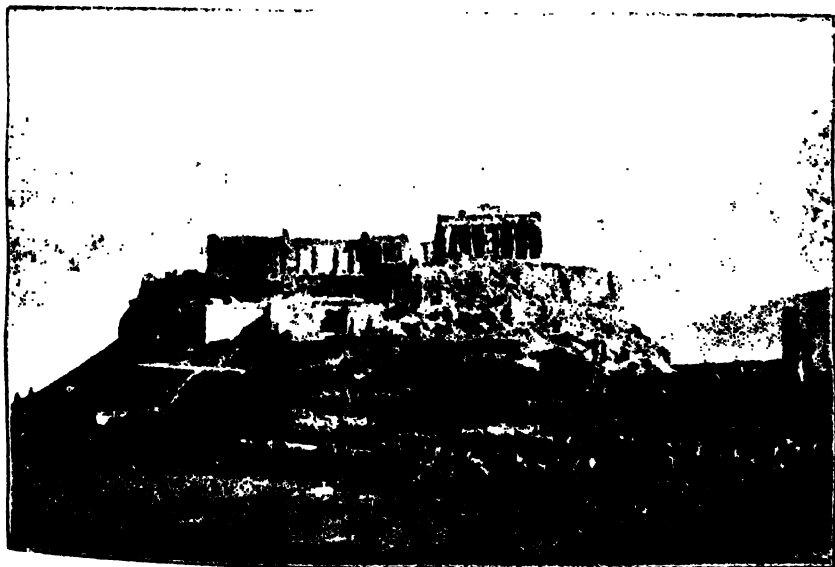
Heart-puzzled in the conflict of lights and shadows, the tree
has forgotten its own story of joy!

Just as the baby smiles unwittingly in the dim light of
infancy, so is thy smile, O Aśoka, thy red red mirth.

MOHITLAL MAZUMDAR

¹ An Indian tree (*Jonesia Asoka* Roxb.) of moderate size, belonging to leguminous class with magnificent red flowers.

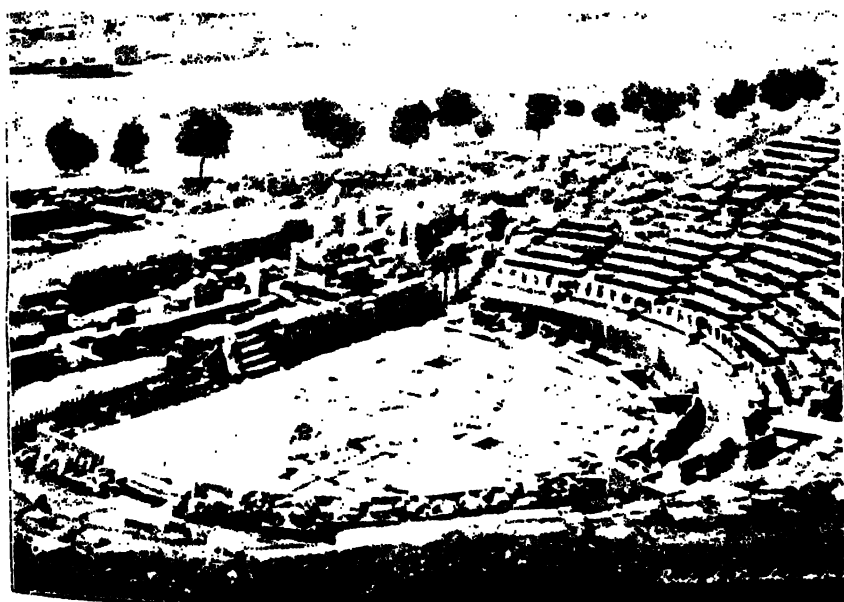
ATHENS II

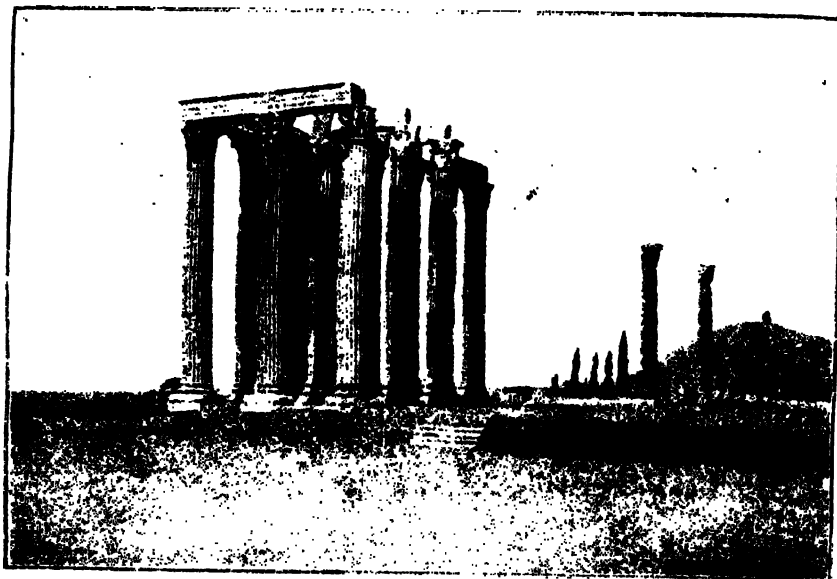
(Old Athens)

View of the Acropolis.



Temple of Wingless Victory
(Nike Apteros.)





Temple of Zeus.



Concordia.

NATURE ¹

Nature!—We are by her all round enmeshed,
 And hemmed in, and surrounded. Quite beyond
 Our mortal power it is to take a step
 Away from her ; and equally beyond
 Our mortal ken her secret springs of work ;—
 Her veil we neither hope to lift nor pierce.
 Unasked and unawares she whirls us up
 Into the magic vortex of her Dance,
 Forcing us back and forth to tread her maze ;
 Until exhausted, giddy, worn out quite,
 From underneath her arm we slip away.

* * * *

Ever doth she create fresh forms : what now
 Exists, ne'er was before ; nor what was once,
 Shall e'er come back again. All she creates
 Is ever fresh, and yet naught but the old.

* * * *

We live in her, we move in her, yet still
 She, like a stranger shy, eludes our gaze.
 She speaketh unto us unceasingly
 And still her secret rests unguessed by us ;
 Constantly though we strive to plumb her depths,
 She still hath kept herself beyond our grasp.

* * * *

¹ This is a paraphrase of an exquisite string of aphorisms by Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany. These were written about A.D. 1780. They have already been rendered into English by the great naturalist Huxley and I have occasionally borrowed a word phrase from him.

The highest goal of all her effort seems
 Creation of the Individual.
 Yet once created, not a thought she wastes
 Upon him—so it seems to mortal minds.
 She builds up and destroys—unceasing round ;
 None may discover where her workshop stands.

* * * *

Her life is with her children,—aye, *in* them :
 But she—the Mighty Mother—where is she ?
 The One Great Artist she : from simplest stuff
 Fashions she deadly contrasts. Effortless,
 The most precise precision can she reach,
 The most exact perfection she attains.
 And yet her works are subtly covered o'er
 With softness all her own. Each work of hers
 Hath charm peculiar, and a message too,
 Belonging to itself and shared by none ;
 And all are parts of ONE GREAT PLAN—One Whole.

* * * *

She is an actress, acting out the Play.
 We know not if herself she is aware
 That she is acting ; still for us she acts
 And from our corners silently we gaze.

* * * *

In her are founts of Life and Energy
 And Motion everlasting ; yet she seems,
 Without progressive motion, standing still.
 Eternally she's changing, for she knows
 No moment's rest. Of utter standing still

She hath no concept : she hath laid her curse
Upon stagnation. Firm is she. Her steps
Tread out a stately measure, never once
Turning aside from the appointed track :
Her laws are changeless through Eternity.

* * * *

Deep-brooding hath she been and always is ;
Her thoughts are not like thoughts of human minds,
But—Nature's own. Within herself she broods
Upon a single thought all-compassing ;
No mortal man may hope to contemplate
Its vastness, nor its secret wrest from her.

* * * *

All men are in her, she in all men dwells :
With them she plays a friendly game of chance ;
And in her heart rejoiceth when a man
Wins, one by one, the treasures from her store.
With most the game ends in her victory,
They scarce suspect they lose it—and themselves.

* * * *

There's nothing outside Nature. E'en the thing
We name Unnatural is but a phase
Of her activity. The rankest quackery
Must on her Truth and Law perforce take stand.
Who sees her not in every speck of dust
And everywhere around, lacks eyes to see.

* * * *

Her lov'd one is herself : with thousand eyes
And thousand hearts eternally she clings

Unto herself. Herself doth she divide
 In images unending of herself,
 And multiplies her joy unceasing lacky.
 She bids new forms arise—an endless chain
 Filled with a thirst for joy, which never knows
 Satiety; with these she shares *her* Joy.

* * * *

She finds illusion greatest of her joys.
 Woe to the man, who seeketh to remove
 The softening veil, that hides her blazing eyes
 From eyes of flesh. For such her punishment
 Is swift and terrible and merciless.
 But whoso follows her with humble faith
 Unquestioning, she takes him, like a child,
 Into her Mother Heart—and gives him Peace.

* * * *

The number of her children none could tell
 But niggardly of blessings unto none
 Is she, nor can be. Favoured ones there are,—
 Her very own,—on whom she squanders much
 To whom she always offers sacrifice
 Of all her best. Of greatness she makes use
 And fashions from it her protecting shield.

* * * *

Out of the "empty space" she tumbles forth
 Her creatures myriad-formed. Nor doth she tell,
 Whence are they come, nor whither are they bound.
 Their's but to follow, hers it is to lead—
 She knows full well their God-appointed Path.

* * * *

Not over-complex her machinery ;
Few are the springs that lend it driving force
But these rust never, neither do they wear
Working their utmost in a million ways.

* * * *

The play of Nature's ever new and fresh,
Because by her unceasingly renewed
Are spectators and actors of the piece.
Her best invention, fairest too, is—LIFE :
Her most expert contrivance to unlock
The floodgates of all Life, we know as—DEATH.

* * * *

In misty darkness hath she wrapt mankind,
But spurs them onwards ever unto Light,
She makes us earthy, creatures of the earth,
Heavy and dull,—but shocks and shakes us oft
To make our Spirits upward, homeward, soar.

* * * *

She loveth motion and activity ;
Hence she creates, as spurs to urge us on
Needs and desires. Effortless she threads
The complex mazes of her wondrous dance.
Each Need, as it ariseth, comes from her,—
A blessing,—swift fulfilled, as swift renewed.
And new Desires rise, ere old ones pass,
Each one a source of joy to lead us on,
Upwards and on, till equipoise is reached.

* * * *

Each moment sets she forth a path to trace,
Which longest seems ;—and yet she can attain,
Each instant, her desired goal.

* * * *

Herself

She is but Vanity and Nothingness ;
But not to us ; for she hath made herself
A thing of vast importance to mankind,
Their light in darkness, indispensable.

* * * *

She lets each child unhindered mould itself,
Each fool to sit in judgment on himself.
Thousands of creatures tread each other down,
Listless and dull ;—they see not where they go.
But she from their blind gropings gathers joy
From every creature she exacts her debts.

* * * *

Her laws man must obey, e'en though he wish
To stand against her. *With* her must he work
E'en though his heart desire to work *against*.

* * * *

All that she gives her children she doth make
For their good,—indispensable her gifts.
She dallies and delays and makes us yearn
For her ; but hastes away, lest sated man
Despise her and regard her gifts as naught.

* * * *

No language nor discourse she needs to use,
For she creates a million tongues and hearts,
Through which she feels and eloquently speaks.

* * * *

Love is her crowning glory. 'Tis the path
By which alone we nearest may approach
Her heart. She fixes vast deep-yawning gulfs
'Twixt creatures different : each finds its food
In others, feeding others on itself.
Thus hath she isolated group from group
That they may work together in the end.
With her for all the worries of a life
A draught of Love is recompense enough.

* * * *

She is all that we see. She's always just,
Herself she punishes, herself rewards :
Her joy she is herself, herself her pain.
Tender and rough at once ; filled with deep love
And filled with malice terrible is she :
Weakest of weak and yet almighty she.

* * * *

In her is everything contained, that is,
Or was, or shall be. She can understand
Nor Past nor Future ; Time is unto her
But One Eternal Now. Gracious is she ;
I praise her and her modes. Silent and wise
She is. No loving cajoery can force,
Nor threats succeed in wresting, from her heart
Her deep laid secrets, which she freely gives

Whene'er and unto whomsoe'er she list.
Crafty she is, but worketh for good ends
And not to make her tribes for us were best.
Whole and complete she is, yet incomplete
She shall remain until the end of time.
As she is working now, she shall work on
Through all eternity.

* * * *

Each creature looks
At her in its own way. She hides herself
In thousand shapes and names, and yet herself
Remains to all, eternally the same.

* * * *

She brought me here; and she shall lead me on
Higher. I trust her. Let her work her will
And bless or curse me. She can never hate
Her own creation. 'Tis not I who spoke
Of her—not I. What true is, what is false,
All this long since hath she herself proclaimed.
The wrong is hers, if any wrong there be
The merit of it all is hers alone.

POST-GRADUATE

THE LEGEND OF YIMA

(Reply to Dr. Taraporewala's Rejoinder, published in the
Calcutta Review, May, 1922.)

My attitude in calling into question certain assertions of Dr. Taraporewala regarding the situation of Airyana Vaejō has been that of an earnest student and enquirer, and I am always open to conviction. I presented my case as clearly and briefly as possible, dealing only with the salient points of Dr. Taraporewala's arguments, and I am glad that my criticism has evoked two rejoinders, one from the learned Doctor himself, and another from Mr. Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya who has not only criticized my views regarding the situation of Airyana Vaejō, but, in his zeal, also vehemently attacked my theory regarding the original home of the Aryans as advanced in my book, *Rig-Vedic India*. I always welcome any fair and honest criticism of my book, as I have never claimed that my theory embodies the last word on the subject. But this simultaneous attack on two different and unconnected points, directed by Mr. Chattopadhyaya, seems to smack of a desire on his part to embarrass me, if possible, by diverting my attention from the main point at issue to another remote and irrelevant point which, however, he considers to be vital so far as I am concerned, and which, he probably thinks, I would hasten to defend. But I am not going to do anything of the kind, and propose to confine myself to the point at issue, leaving *Rig-Vedic India* alone for sometime to take care of itself as best it can.¹

Dr. Taraporewala and Mr. Chattopadhyaya have advanced almost identical arguments in reply to my criticism regarding the situation of Airyana Vaejō. But, first of all, I would ask the learned Doctor whether he is really satisfied that Airyana Vaejō was situated in the Polar or the circum-Polar region, and that when wide-spread glaciation destroyed the happy land, the good Yima and his men and animals lived underground in the *Tara* for generations and generations, and plant and animal life flourished there all this time, though almost shut out from the light and

¹ I would, however, request Mr. Chattopadhyaya to read, in the meantime, my reply to Mr. H. Bruce Hannah's formidable criticism of the book, which has been published in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1922).

breath of heaven. I venture to anticipate his answer in his own words: "No reasonable person can hold this view." He says, however, that "all this is quite beside the point." Is that really so? Would not all reasonable men first like to be satisfied that such a state of things was possible in the underground *Fara* before they would accept his view as reliable history? The learned Doctor interjects the following query: "Is it possible that Airyana Vaējō was in the south 'not far off from Sapta-Sindhu,' and that Yima emigrated thence to the North Pole to escape the ice of the Glacial period?" There is nothing absurd in the proposition, though I have maintained that the invasion of ice that destroyed Airyana Vaējō on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand was not identical with that wide-spread glaciation that made the Polar region uninhabitable.

Let us see what Geology says on this point. The following extracts are made from Mr. Wadia's *Geology of India* (1919):

"At many parts of the Himalayas there are indications of an extensive glaciation *in the immediate past* (my italics), and that the present glaciers, though some of them are among the largest in the world, are merely shrunken remnants of those which flourished in the Pleistocene age." (p. 245).

Elsewhere he says:

"Further evidence, from which an inference can be drawn of an Ice Age in the Pleistocene epoch in India, is supplied by the very striking circumstance to which the attention of the world was first drawn by the great naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace. The sudden and wide-spread reduction, by extinction, of the Siwalik mammals is a most startling event for the geologist as well as the biologist....The sudden disappearance of the highly organized mammals from the fauna of the world is attributed by the great naturalist to the effect of the intense cold of a Glacial age." (p. 246).

This Glacial age of India, however, as Mr. Wadia has observed, was "greatly modified and tempered in severity." The destruction of animal life in India, caused by the advent of this age in the Pleistocene epoch, probably synchronised with the general destruction that overtook the animal world in Airyana Vaējō, situated on the high tableland of the Pamir, known as the "Roof of the World," against which Ahura Mazda had warned Yima. In the face of this undoubted geological testimony regarding the existence of an Ice-age in India, it is really exceedingly surprising to be told by Dr. Taraporewala that "certainly there is no geological record which states that the Sapta-Sindhu was ever covered under glacial ice!"

As regards Yima's emigration to the circum-Polar regions in the Inter-glacial period, the learned Doctor says: "Why he (Yima) should migrate during the Inter-glacial period passes my understanding." Prof. Geikie furnishes an answer to his query. Says he: "During the Inter-glacial period the climate was characterised by element winters and cool summers so that the tropical plants and animals, like elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses ranged over the whole of the Arctic region, and in spite of numerous fierce carnivora, the Palæolithic man had no unpleasant habitation there." (Geikie's *Fragments of Earth-lore*, p. 266.) Says Mr. Tilak: "There were great vicissitudes of climate in the Pleistocene period, it being cold and inclement during the Glacial and mild and temperate in the Inter-Glacial period, even as far as the Polar regions." It is an admitted and well-known fact that when, in the Pleistocene epoch, there was an Ice-age in Northern India and the Trans-Himalayan regions, a mild and genial climate prevailed in the Polar regions, and this period is identical with the Inter-glacial period. Would it not be quite natural for Yima to migrate to the Polar regions in this period, when fatal winters and ice invaded Airyana Vaējō on the table-land of the Pamir, and made it uninhabitable?

This brings us to the question whether the narrative regarding the destruction of Airyana Vaējō was addressed by Ahura Mazda to Yima or to Zarathustra. I have put the question contained in Fargard II 39 (129) in the mouth of Yima, as all the previous conversation takes place between Ahura Mazda and Yima, and there is no mention of Zarathustra as yet excepting in the reply of Ahura Mazda in stanza 42 (137) later on. I may mention here that I am not alone in interpreting stanza 39 (129) in the way I have done, for Mr. Tilak also has interpreted it in the same way. Says he: "The *Vara* or enclosure, advised by Ahura Mazda, is accordingly prepared, and Yima asked Ahura Mazda 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! what [lights are there to give light] in the *Vara* which Yima made?'" (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 72).

That the passage admits of an interpretation like the above is undoubted. But even if we admit for the sake of argument that the question was put by Zarathustra, and not by Yima, what does it imply? It goes to show that the prophet did not know anything about the physical characteristics of the *Vara* which must have been situated far far away from Iran Vez or Airyana Vaējō, and of which his son, Urvatad-Nara and he himself were said to be the lords and rulers (Far. II. 43), though the fact had to be told to the Prophet by Ahura Mazda himself. The real fact

seems to be that in Zarathustra's time the Vara had passed into the realm of legend, and nobody (including the prophet himself) knew where it really existed. The reference of Zarathustra's or his son's so-called lordship over this region goes to show that people still believed it to have been inhabited by the descendants of those men whom Yima had taken with him, and Zarathustra as the leader of the Ormuzlians was supposed to hold his sway over it.

With regard to the passage of the Avesta, Yasht X. 104, which mentions three places in Airyana Vaējō, respectively situated in the East, West and South, can it not mean that Airyana Vaējō, situated as it was on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand, had the Asiatic Mediterranean to the north of it, extending as far north as the Arctic region, which disappeared only in early historic times (*Ency. Britt.*, Vol. V, pp. 179-181, Ninth Edition), and that, therefore, only three places in the three directions could be mentioned, there having been no land towards the north? The country on the south coast of the Asiatic Mediterranean, which was Airyana Vaējō itself, was thus regarded as the middle point of the earth, having a sea on the north, and lands in the other three directions. Did not the Hindus also in a later age regard the Himalayas as the very centre and back-bone of the earth? The above passage of the Avesta, therefore, does not go to establish unquestionably the Polar home of the Aryans. If the middle point of the earth be identified with the North Pole, the idea must have originated after the emigration of Yima to the Polar region. There is absolutely no mention of the Polar region in the Rig-Veda; but in later Sanskrit Literature, *viz.*, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, as well as in the later astronomical works, we find mention made of Mount Meru, round which the sun is said to travel without setting for six months. This knowledge of the Polar region was obtained by the Hindus, like the Parsis, in a later age, and does not go to establish the original Polar home of the Aryans.

With regard to Yima's "stepping forward towards the luminous space southwards" thrice, with a view to meet the sun and stretch the earth, the act may have been performed in the Polar region after Yima's emigration to that place, or even in Iran-Vez, to the north of which was situated the Asiatic Mediterranean, barring all progress in that direction, and making it necessary for Yima "to step forward towards the luminous space southwards."

The reason why time was measured by *winter* and not by *summer* in Airyana Vaējō was that a cold climate prevailed in ancient times in that country as well as in the land of the Seven Rivers. *Winter* is also the

name of the year in the Rig-Veda. (R-V. I. 64-10; II. 1. 11; II. 32. 2; V. 54. 15; VI. 10. 7; VI. 48. 4, etc.)

Ahura Mazda says in Fargard I. 4 (9) that there were ten winter months, and two summer months in Airyana Vaējō. His statement is corroborated by the geological evidence regarding the existence of a glacial age in the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan regions in the Pleistocene epoch, reference to which has already been made.

I did not discuss or criticize these points in my reply, published in the February number of the *Culcutta Review* (1922), simply because they were minor points and could be explained in the way I have done, without admitting the original cradle of the Aryans in the Arctic region. Once you concede that Yima emigrated to the North Pole, the other descriptions referred to by Dr. Taraporewala would follow as a matter of course.

Lastly, I will discuss again the ancient custom of disposing of the dead body, as it obtained among the Zoroastrians. Dr. Taraporewala ridicules me for saying that in ancient times they postponed the disposing of the dead body, if the sun remained covered behind clouds for days together, and remarks: "It would have been easy for Dr. Das to have found out that the Zoroastrians never have postponed funeral ceremonies on account of rain or clouds. (My italics.) Only the absence of the sun (not its mere hiding behind the clouds) could warrant keeping such a contamination as a dead body within a house.....Dr. Das says 'the contingency of clouds concealing the sun for three days does not seem to have struck Mr. Tilak at all.' Most certainly it did not, nor would it strike any one who was in the least acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either modern or ancient." I do not pretend to be as thoroughly acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either ancient or modern, as Dr. Taraporewala. But I rely upon the sacred scriptures of the Zoroastrian religion for the assertion I have made, and wonder what he would say regarding the following extracts from Fargard VIII. 4 (11), 8 (18) and 9 (21):

"O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and *it is raining, or snowing, or blowing, or the darkness is coming on* (my italics), when men and flocks lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?"

Mazda in reply says that in such a case a certain place should be selected and "on that place, they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man, if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cow-dung]; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth. And they shall let the lifeless body lie there *for two nights, or three nights, or a month long,*

until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, *the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth*" etc.

There can be no doubt or mistake, then, about *raining, or snowing or blowing* being some of the reasons for postponing a funeral. The *darkness* in the above extracts evidently means not only the darkness of night, but also the darkness caused by masses of clouds over-spreading the sky, precipitating rain, or by snow-storms, blizzards, or boisterous weather lasting for days together at a time. The words "two nights" and "three nights" have been used in the sense of "two days" and "three days," just as the word "fortnight" is used in English for "fourteen days," and the word "Pancharatra" in Sanskrit for five days.

I hope, my readers will now be convinced that whatever may be the modern Zoroastrian custom (and old customs always change yielding place to new), the ancient orthodox Zoroastrian custom was *not* to take out a dead body for funeral, *if it rained, or snowed, or blowed*, or if the days became darkened by overhanging clouds and boisterous weather. I am sorry, I have to interpret a Zoroastrian custom to Dr. Taraporewala, but I have been forced to this unpleasant task for which certainly I am not to blame.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

June 15, 1922.

Reviews

The Text of the Sakuntala ; by B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S., Poona, 1922. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Fort, Bombay.)

This is a paper read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, and has been published in book form on the advice of several scholars. Students of the Śakuntalā know too well the great difference that exists between the different recensions of the work, especially between the Devanāgarī and the Bengali recensions. In the case of an oft-read work like the Śakuntalā such differences are particularly galling to scholars. "Cultured humanity," says Professor Thakore, "cannot possibly tolerate three divergent Śakuntalās or even two. It must have one single definitive Śakuntalā acceptable to all competent judges." On account of these differences, a student has either to stick to the recension he happens to be best acquainted with or to follow an eclectic principle in choosing his text. Both these methods are uncritical. Unfortunately for the restoration of Kālidāsa's own text, we do not get old manuscripts to work on. Professor Thakore therefore thinks that we have now no alternative but to select "out of the divergencies that reading and that arrangement of speeches which in the light of dramatic criticism is demonstrably the best." He has applied his æsthetic judgment to the study of the play and has shown the relative merits of several differences in the Bengali, Devanāgarī, Kāshmirī and South Indian recensions. Along with the great Íśvara-chandra Viḍyāśāgara and other competent judges, Indian and Western, he has come to the conclusion that the shorter Devanāgarī recension is considerably superior to the longer text of Bengal. But he has not altogether shut his eyes to the defects of the Devanāgarī recension and he is very much to be commended on the openness of his mind. In sections 1—4 he has discussed those passages of the Bengali and Kāshmirī recensions for which the Devanāgarī gives a better version and in sections 5 and 6 have been discussed the defects of the Devanāgarī and the South Indian recensions.

Professor Thakore has admitted that æsthetic judgment differs in different individuals and that all his conclusions will not to be accepted

by others. We too feel constrained to differ from him in several cases. We would not, for example, subscribe to his criticisms in section 2 of the Bengali arrangement of the Fifth Act, though we might not feel inclined to reject the Devanāgarī text either. There is absolutely no harm in Kañcukin's beginning the Act and in the description of the king's fatigue as in the Bengali recension. The king's excessive labour seems to give some justification, from his own point of view, of his falling an easy prey to Durvāsā's curse and consequently for getting Śakuntalā. The fatigue is a natural consequence of his constant activity and Kañcukin's words can serve as a good prelude to this. As regards the place of Hamsapadikā's song, the Bengali arrangement may not be so bad as Professor Thakore would have us believe. The reference to Śakuntalā if meant at all is very distant and by taking the Queen Hamsapadikā to be the person referred to we learn that after returning from the hermitage, Duṣyanta did not seek the company of his other wives and unconsciously kept true to Śakuntalā. कनकवदनमनविष्वयो should be noted in this connexion. This would be a sufficient compensation for Duṣyanta's forgetting his beloved. The Bengali recension does make the king restless after the दस्यणि बोध्य verse. We cannot see how the Bengali दस्यनुसृतिनिमित्तमुत्पन्नकलं कथयति is different from the Devanāgarī इति पर्याकलनिष्ठति. We would also think that the Kañcukin's long soliloquy, in the Devanāgarī recension, when the king is trying to recollect his past, mars the beauty of the king's condition. The Kañcukin's not understanding the state of the king's mind and approaching him with his message as given in the other text does give a good rounding off to the situation and introduces the king immediately to the cause (to him now unknown) of his pensive mood. There are also other cases in which we feel constrained to differ from Professor Thakore. His choosing of the reading भवि from one solitary manuscript and of चायात्रि from Rāghava Bhaṭṭa in the *śloka* कामं प्रिया त मुनया, etc., of Act II is uncritical and cannot be supported. The sense too, we would think, is greatly spoiled by the reading he has chosen. अकृतार्थमि मनसिन्न रतिमुभयप्राप्येना कुरुते in the second half of the verse ought to have convinced Professor Thakore of the soundness of the reading (प्राप्येनायात्रि) which all the recensions give. But we must admit that Professor Thakore has on the whole performed his very difficult task with great sobriety of judgment.

Lovers of Kālidāsa and particularly of his Śakuntalā will find this small book of considerable interest and value. Students of literary criticism will also learn a very good deal from it. But historical students will not be convinced from what the Professor has written that the method

he follows can ever fix the text of the Śakuntalā. They will not subscribe to the view that æsthetic considerations can determine what a very ancient writer wrote. The method they would follow is comparison—comparison of different old manuscripts and comparison of the other works of the author himself. In the case of Śakuntalā, the first sort of comparison fails us for want of sufficiently old manuscripts and on account of the presence at an early date of divergent recensions to go behind which we have no palæographic authority. The second sort of comparison—comparison of what the author has written elsewhere in similar passages—is perhaps the only way open to us. If our choice between the divergent readings is determined by what comparison makes it probable that Kālidāsa did write, we can attach to it a scientific value and the resulting text would be acceptable to scholars. Professor Thakore has on æsthetic grounds assumed that the reading

राजा । अपरिचितकोमलस्य यावत् कुसुमस्यैव नवस्य यदुद्देन ।

अधरस्य पिपासता मया ते सदयं गृह्णते रमोऽस्य ॥

(सुखमनसाः समुन्नमयितुमिच्छति ।)

यकु । (परिहरति नाय्येन ।)

of the Devanāgarī recension in Act III is authentic. To many it might seem an unjustifiable assumption but a good deal of probability will attach itself to the reading if we compare Vikramorvaśī II. 14 and Mālavikāgnimitra III. 19 and particularly IV. 14 and what follows. We must not confine our comparison to the dramas of Kālidāsa but must also utilise his poems. Persons who follow the comparative method often make the mistake of supposing that an author always holds the same view; in actual practice they often keep very little room for a natural development of the author's mind and art. In the case of Kālidāsa's writings we find an undeniable growth. His literary activity can be divided into three periods, the formative, the developed and the mature. To the first undoubtedly belong the Rūsanhāra, the Mālavikāgnimitra and the Kumārasambhava, to the second probably the Meghadūta and the Vikramorvaśī and in the last, few would object to place the Śakuntalā and the Raghuvamśa. This is of course only a tentative arrangement. Detailed study can, however, fix the sequence of Kālidāsa's works beyond doubt. In the text-criticism of the Śakuntalā the views and methods of the earlier books have to be taken into account—not only those that persist in this period but also such as have certainly been discarded or improved upon. But the really final conclusion can be obtained by comparison of the other works of the same period (probably only the

Raghuvamśa). In the Raghuvamśa there is generally no useless display of words and everything is arranged in a most artistic manner. The philosophy of life too is very deep. Similar ideas and similar style make us put the Sakuntalā in the same period and we therefore can feel no compunction in rejecting the long passages of the Bengali recension. The Bengali text must have passed through a revision at the hands of the *Gauḍa* school proverbial for its love of *बलवत्त्व*. Kālidāsa's own *Paṇḍarbhī* style which had fully matured by now, with all its grace and harmony, is perhaps better preserved in the Devanāgarī recension. In many points of detail however, this joint comparative-*cum*-genetic method will give the palm now to this recension and now to the other.

We read that some of the friends of Professor Thakore have suggested that he should bring out an edition of the text. We hope that if he does this he will not pin his faith too much on mere aesthetic considerations, but will primarily use the critical method just suggested.

K. C.

Selections from Hindi Literature, I and II; compiled by Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sāhityaratna.

Typical selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I; Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, B.A., B.L.

(Both published by the University of Calcutta.)

During the last three years the University of Calcutta has undertaken instruction in the Indian Vernaculars. A far-sighted and extensive course of studies has been laid down and so far it has produced encouraging results. As a part of the whole plan scholars of the various Vernaculars were invited to prepare books of typical selections from the various literatures and the three volumes under review are the first three of a whole series of such books which will embrace all the important mediæval and modern languages of India.

The two ponderous volumes of "Selection from Bengali Literature" compiled several years ago by Rai Saheb (now Rai Bahadur Dr.) Dinesh-chandra Sen have served as a guide and it seems the very excellent volumes of Prof. T. H. Ward on "English Poets" might also serve as models.

The Hindi volumes cover the period from Chānd Bardāi to Dhruvalās (last half of 17th century). The authors are arranged according to chronological order, each author being preceded by a short notice in English. The selections follow and they are fairly copious and enable a student to form a very decent appreciation of the author. There are, however, two shortcomings which we hope would be seen to in the future. The absence of diacritical marks is very noticeable. And one would like to have had a

bird's-eye view of the whole range of Hindi literature. Perhaps this may be done as an Appendix in the concluding volume.

The Oriya Selections have at the very beginning a good account of Orissa and its literature and also short notices of the authors treated in Section I. The book is very well printed and attractively bound. It covers the literature from the Koili Lyrics up to Visvanath Khuntia (circa A.D. 1750). It is however a pity that the introductory notices for the authors treated in Section II (1569-1750 A.D.) have not been put at the beginning of that section. Perhaps these would form the Introduction to Vol. II. The selections are copious and well chosen (to judge by the titles) and would serve to give a student a fairly accurate idea of the extent and contents of the literature of Orissa. One slight suggestion might be made here, which applies to both the books, the titles of each "selection" might have been given both in the Vernacular as well as in English.

On the whole these books supply a decided want. They put together much of what has been scattered till now and has thus been available with difficulty even to a professed scholar of the Vernaculars. A good many defects may be pointed out if one wishes to be pedantic, but we are sure that, supplying as they do a firm basis to go upon, these first editions should be welcomed very heartily. Later editions will of course take care of themselves. The University of Calcutta has done most valuable service to the cause of our national revival by undertaking this series.

POST-GRADUATE

Indian Export Trade ; by R. M. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), B.Sc. (Econ.), (Lond.), Gladstone Memorial prizeman, London, Professor of Indian Economics, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, 1922, pp. 135.

The book is a critical analysis of India's export trade mainly during 1900-1914 based upon statistical data. The quantity, the value and the distribution of the main articles of India's export trade have been studied under three main heads—raw materials, food stuffs and articles mainly manufactured. This study has been supplemented by a consideration of the principal factors which have influenced year by year the volume of the export trade. Professor Joshi has done a useful piece of work in this survey—useful alike to students of economics and commerce as well as to persons interested in the industrial development of the country. An admirable feature of the book is the large number of diagrams which have considerably heightened its usefulness.

ECONOMICUS

Gleanings

The eyes of Azrael are fixed upon high education ; and the University of Calcutta is in *articulo mortis*, gasping, struggling. The struggle has been long and bitter. It has not yet come to an end. On the contrary the attitude adopted by the Minister of Education is largely tinged with obstinacy and is, therefore, not calculated to conduce to general satisfaction. The radix of the unseemly contest is visible even to the most indifferent eye. He who runs may read it. If we fathom the depth of general sentiment in regard to this matter of vital importance, we can safely assert that the public do not like that this University which has made Bengal what it intellectually is—which has shaped its youth on the anvil of moral education—which has poured forth its mellow light upon the most obscure hamlet in Bengal and chased away ignorance, should be treated with supine nonchalance and cut off with a shilling. There is the Minister of Education in his sanctum listening to the gnatonic encomiums of his courtiers who are against the University ; and this noble institution has been constrained to submit to the ignominy and indignity of sending the hat round to keep its life-blood coursing through its veins. For centuries it has provided intellectual pabulum to the people of India and Burma and held aloft the oriflamme of culture. Must it be given a quietus now in the twentieth century for want of funds ? This is self-government in all its glory ! *Humiles laborant, ubi potentes dissident*. We therefore wish that His Excellency intervened and poured oil over the troubled waters.

* * * *

Mr. Van Manen in a letter, under the caption " Ancient records in danger," published in the *Statesman* of the 29th December, 1922, computes the cultural value of this city in these feeling words : " I have heard it said that nowhere in the world is intellectual life at such a low ebb as in Calcutta. I do not invent this saying. It is no doubt an exaggeration but hyperbolically it embodies truth. Do you know, sir, the cases of anguish and despair amongst an impoverished intelligentsia in this city ? I could cite the Chinese monk who is a twentieth century translation of the old pilgrims, Fabian and the rest. After ten years in Calcutta he has ended by teaching English to Chinese carpenters and opening a boot shop to keep

alive. Or the Russian scholar whose recent publication on Persian subjects brought him complimentary letters from the greatest living authorities in three continents, and who has still a few months between now and starvation. Or the young Indian scholar responsible for two remarkable volumes about India's past, published within recent years, a master of Sanskrit, Pali and old Prakrits, who cannot pay his house rent. Or the promising Bengali scholar whose earning does not enable him to meet the doctor's bill presented to him after his old father's illness.....
 saddest of all, that one of the greatest endeavours in this city to build up an intellectual centre, a true University, focus of culture and learning, is howled at like the rising moon by village dogs." We are in entire agreement with Mr. Van Manen. Intellectuality is lamentably at a discount ; otherwise a clandestine and Judas-coloured movement would not have been set on foot to mangle the University.

* * * * *

In his historic speech, delivered sometime ago at the Senate, the modern Mæcenas—the intellectual light of Bengal clearly showed how the University had been consistently and persistently sinned against. Informed with an ingenuous candour and vibrant with a message of hope and freedom, the speech will live with undimmed lustre to the last syllable of our University's recorded time. We quote a few lines which will repay perusal. "Our Post-graduate teachers would starve themselves, rather than give up their freedom. Do not, my friends, believe for a moment that there is no Providence. If Science or Philosophy has taught you that get rid of your blunder. If it is the design of Providence that high education should disappear from Bengal, let His will be carried out. But I have an unalterable faith in Providence ; that has been my one, sole inspiration in moments of trials and tribulations. Reaction is bound to come. I call upon you, as members of the Senate, to stand up for the rights of your University. Forget the Government of Bengal. Forget the Government of India. Do your duty as Senators of this University, as true sons of your *Alma Mater*. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me."

GOVERNMENT OF UNIVERSITY.

(BY N. CHATTERJEE.)

What a lot of pother is made over and around the poor body of the University. It is not quite dead ; there is some little vital spark left in it, yet the ugly birds have got together, standing "cavy," to get an opportunity to get in their beaks to tear it to pieces. The guardians of the

University have got into financial trouble and have asked the State for accommodation. The State like Barkis is willing, but makes a condition for the gift. The physicians, with the expiring patient under their eyes, plunged themselves into a frenzy of rage over the imposition of the condition. The whole controversy has been carried on *plenus sanguinis*. It is the Grove of Academe where a calm and dignified atmosphere should prevail, and the language of serenity and stateliness is necessary. We do not like this important topic to degenerate into personalities. That is the ugly tendency in this degenerate country. In Europe, in politics, this wretched spectacle is often visible.

That anglicised men with anglicised education, with the European word "culture" on the tips of their tongues should betray vulgar heat and passion is sad and humiliating. Under the present Vice-Chancellor the University has been raised to a high intellectual level; some of the post-graduate professorships are excellent. Anybody with any pretension to intellectuality must commend them. There are other post-graduate subjects which ought to be turned down, thereby filling in the coffer of the University. It seems to us that the Education Minister has not been graceful in the language in which he couched his letter to the University. The tone of it should have been more sedate and dignified as it was written to a learned body. The Education Minister is the past pupil of the University and should have felt an attachment for it. He should not have chastised and humiliated it. But Linus instructed Hercules in music, and was slain by his scholar with his musical instrument.

We have a bone to pick with the University. It was established in 1857 and we are in the year of grace 1912. We solemnly ask whether the University education has done any real good to the people. Politics is talked and written glibly and with ease. Any tiro on the sands of Timbuctoo can do it. "Freedom is a nobile thing" wrote old Spenser. Have the English professors for two generations taught the students under them the true significance of the expression and all that is implied in it? Have they ever told them in the lecture rooms that women needed emancipation, education and fresh air;—that many social customs, which hedge round the country and are followed and practised blindly and without reason, should be thrown into the dustbin of discarded, noxious things? Has the University been able to instil into the mind of the student the importance of food,—that its chemical virtues either go to degenerate or ameliorate the physique of the men and women? Food, fresh air, exercise and cleanliness help psychic qualities in us and generate determination, resolution, perseverance and fearlessness. Has the University been successful in producing

such a race of men and women in the land? It appears to us that with all the book learning, the University men think and believe that the social customs and traditions which have descended to us from remote ages are sacrosanct and superior to those of the western countries. They are lured and captivated by the jingle and sonorousness of the phrases of the European writers, and quote them with avidity to air their knowledge which is merely superficial. The University men in all the European countries have been the leaders of the people in social, ethical, economical and political matters. Has the University turned out men of such calibre and nature? It has doubtless manufactured so-called politicians by the bushel. They have not learnt that true politics is strengthened by grim determination—character, and that this is induced by the social and economic elevation of the people. In London, for instance,—and it is the same all over Europe, the University men give discourses to thousands of men and women nearly every evening on the advancement of social, ethical, economic and political measures. In the slums in London, or in the big cities, University men and women place their services for the improvement of the poor and the uneducated. Has the University been able to give this inspiration to the tens of thousands of its students? The shortcomings of the University are egregious. It cannot compare with the University of any country in Europe except of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey. When this University turns out intellectual Bulgars and Yugoslavs, we cannot but expect hateful, ill-natured prize-fighting within doors.

The University needed money and applied to the State for it. The borrower cannot impose his terms on the lender. That is the simple position. The lender without considering the position and status of the borrower dictates onerous terms to him. It is indelicate. It should not have been done. There is gracefulness even in the conduct of commercial transactions. This has been overlooked. In the meanwhile, the professors are being starved in a country where the reproduction of the species is carried on helter-skelter in the hallowed name of custom. How can a man, in the teeth of the woman's economic dependance, be expected to pinch his and his dependants' stomachs for the empty glory of freedom. The soldier fights on his stomach. He is the saviour of his country. He understands the first principle of biological law—the self-preservation. He makes sure of his food before starting on the perilous journey of saving the honour and freedom of his country. He is unencumbered by a brood of children. The professors have their quiver full, and it is puerile to ask them to starve with a family of children. As it is, the Hindus are bereft of stamina, owing to their bad and unhygienic food, but if the little mites are put upon

enforced starvation they will grow up to be complete degenerates. We have been served with bad dishes, for the University and gubernatorial cooks are Nineday cooks. In this naughty and theocratic world money is in estimation. And Ovid truly says, "Dat census honores; census amicitias : pauper ubique jacet."

The serious drawback of the University has been the appointment of men of narrow mind and indifferent intellectuality who have taken their degrees by memorising. Men with broader outlook and experience of European systems should be introduced into the Senate to place their knowledge in the service of the University. They will be able to put their case ably and clearly. They will explain what is implied in the term, higher education. Every University man should be a missionary in the cause of social, economical and political matters, and that he should assimilate and make a part of his mental structure what he has learnt in the University. That is the true education. Learning by heart and speaking by rote is merely a feat of memory. It leaves no impression, as water does not wet the duck's back. This dispute has raised a contemptuous laugh among people outside of the University and the Government. Let there be truce and no more of the unpleasant exhibition of childishness and temper. The fossils and the half-fossils should be taken back to Sawaruck and put into the earth where they ought to be. The University must be preserved and must remain autonomous.—*The Rationalistic Review*, January 1923.

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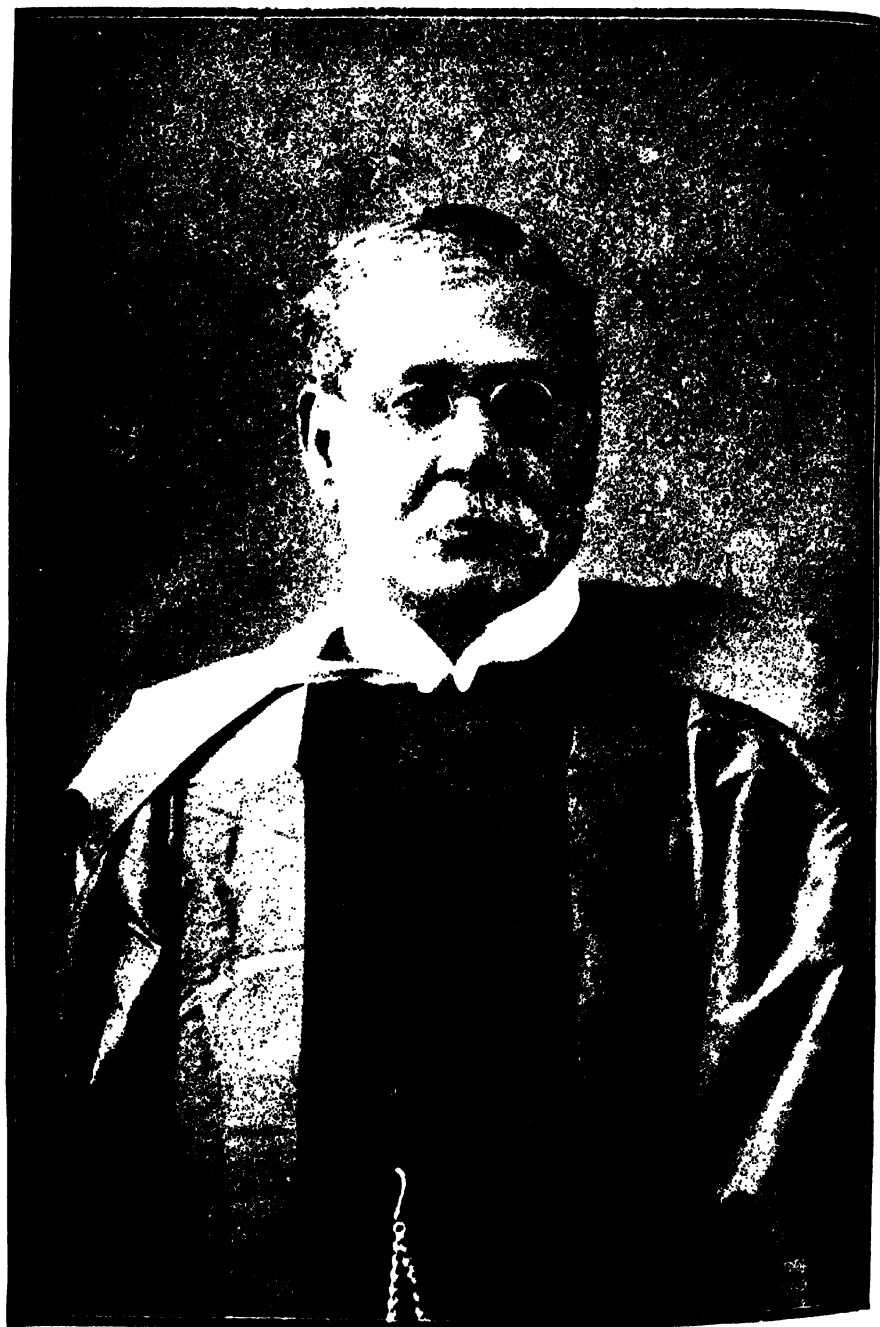
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SIR RASHBEHARI GHOSE

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1923

A FORM OF BEAUTY¹

(From the Persian of Sâdi)

How often wakes before my eye
In youth's first prime that day of bliss !
When, as entranced, my eyes they fell
Upon a form of loveliness !

Autumn wind was hot and burning—
I was weary, sunk in grief,—
Autumn sun was red and piercing,—
Faint I sat and asked relief.

From the shady portico
Issued forth a form of beauty !
O ! the voice of Eloquence
Describeth not such radiant beauty !

Seemed from gloomy shades of night
Issuing fresh and dawning brightness !
Seemed the stream of life and light
Issuing from the realms of darkness² !

¹ This is one of the unpublished poems of the late Mr. Romesh Chundra Dutt.

² The Mohammedans believe that the stream of life issues from mountains of darkness.

Bearing in her snowy arms
Cap of ice and filtered water,
Bearing with a modest grace
Juice of grape and sprinkled sugar.

From the drink a fragrance issued,—
Might be of the rose distilled,
From the blossom of her cheeks,
Might be some sweet drops instilled !

Thirst of lips was soon allayed,
Freshening strength I soon did gather
Thirst of heart the maiden waked
Streams of rivers cannot smother !

Happy youth, whose eye each morning
Opes upon a face so lovely !
Happy youth, whose night's last glances
Close upon a face so lovely !

Intoxication from the red wine
Ceases when night fades away,
Intoxication with such beauty
Ceases not till Judgment-day !

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—IV

(5)

PROFESSOR HOBHOUSE ON THE IDEALISTIC THEORY
OF THE STATE.

One of the ablest attacks on the Hegelian theory of the state is contained in Professor L. T. Hobhouse's *Metaphysical Theory of the State*. He is unsparing in his condemnation of Hegel and Bosanquet, but Green is gently let off and is even appreciated. The cause of this differential treatment is not apparent. In principle, there is not much difference between Green and Dr. Bosanquet. Being the first to introduce into individualistic England the political ideas of Plato, Aristotle and Hegel, Green necessarily displays, as Dr. Bosanquet puts it, "scrupulous caution in estimating the value of the state to its members," but he is not one whit less emphatic than Dr. Bosanquet in proclaiming that an individual can live the life of a moral being only as a member of some state. Perhaps Green's radicalism in practical politics and his fervent faith in democracy make Professor Hobhouse indulgent to him. His attack on Hegel is not the outcome merely of a scholar's meditations in his study but of the desire of an ardent patriot, precluded by the disabilities of middle age from volunteering for active service in the war, to do something for making the world safe for democracy. One fine morning, during the war, Professor Hobhouse sat in a garden annotating Hegel's theory of freedom when a German air raid took place. This was to him an eye opener. "In the bombing of London I had just witnessed the visible and tangible outcome of a false and wicked doctrine, the foundations of which lay, as I believe, in the book before me."

All that he had witnessed, he had no doubt, "lay implicit in the Hegelian theory of the God-state." Inspired by this belief, it is no wonder that Professor Hobhouse fights with the zeal of a crusader. But to less gifted men, the connection between Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* and the war is by no means obvious. What is the head and front of Hegel's offending? Is it the teaching that the individual cannot be a moral being without subordinating himself to the social whole? Does the spirit of self-sacrifice endanger the peace of the world and the insistence on one's right to do what one pleases, provided that the same right of others is not infringed, bring about the millenium? It is true that in Hegel's eyes the state is the earthly god; but he has nowhere said that the earthly god is the only God. On the contrary, the burden of his teaching is that the human soul can find final satisfaction and rest only in the Absolute Spirit. Above and beyond the earthly god is the heavenly God. The state, with all its majesty and power, is only a subordinated element of the whole and not the ultimate Reality. The fall of Germany is due not to the teaching of Hegel but to its forgetfulness of that teaching, to its failure to recognise anything higher than the state. No country, in recent times, has repudiated Hegel's philosophy more than Germany. The besetting sin of the whole world to-day is the same, *viz.*, forgetfulness of the eternal verities. It is deaf to the message of Hegel, reiterated in endless ways, that "God is present, omnipresent, and exists as spirit in all spirits. God is a living God who is acting and working." "Then all the old things were true." "This," says Dr. Bosanquet, "is the overwhelming impression which the events of the last five years (written in 1919) have left upon my mind * * It is, then, only spiritual goods that is real and stable, earthly and material aims are delusive and dangerous, and the root of strife * * An immense fabric of civilisation, with its pride and policy mainly directed upon material prosperity, invited, according to all that our teachers

have told us, disaster proportional to its magnitude" (*Preface to Philosophical Theory of the State*, 3rd ed., XLV).

Professor Hobhouse denies that there is any such thing as the general will or that the state is the embodiment of it. But he is most explicit in declaring that society is not an aggregate of individuals. "Every association of men," we are told, "is legitimately regarded as an entity possessing certain characteristics of its own, characteristics which do not belong to the individuals apart from their membership of that association" (*Metaphysical Theory of the State*, p. 27). "The life of a whole is more than that of its parts. * * The body is something other than the cells which compose it, for this simple reason among others that the cells die when separated from the body and therefore rapidly cease to be that which they at present are." Even so, are individuals unreal in separation from the social whole whose members they are. After this, one naturally expects an exposition and defence of the idea of organic unity. But no. Instead of this, there comes the announcement that the distinction between the self and others is irremovable. "The self is a continuous identity united by strands of private memory and expectation, comprising elements of feelings, emotion and bodily sensation which are its absolute exclusive property. No such continuity unites distinct selves, however alike, or however united in their objects. So at least it seems to those whom Dr. Bosanquet dismisses with contempt as "theorists of the first look." For them human individuality is and remains something ultimate. "The difference between self and another is as plain as the difference between black and white and if a man does not see it, there is nothing plainer to appeal to." How the ultimateness of human individuality is consistent with its being to society what a cell is to the body, Professor Hobhouse does not explain. His idea apparently is that the only alternative to individualistic theories is to set up "the state as a greater being, a spirit, a super-personal entity, in which individuals

with their private consciences or claims of right, their happiness or their misery, are merely subordinate elements." (*Ibid*, p. 27.) And he proceeds to accuse Dr. Bosanquet of advocating such a theory. The individual, we are informed, "is absorbed in the organised political society, the state of which he is a member." Of the organised whole, he is regarded as "a kind of transitory phase." All this, however, is sheer misunderstanding. Dr. Bosanquet has nowhere said that the general will is something over and above the particular wills of individuals in which they are lost. What he maintains is that the wills of the individuals, in so far as they make the common good their end, is the general will. "It is in the difference which contributes to the whole that the self feels itself at home and possesses its individuality." "The social whole [is] of the nature of a continuous or self-identical being pervading a system of differences and realised only in them." In interpreting society, Dr. Bosanquet, in short, makes use of the idea of organic unity with which Professor Hobhouse, in spite of his body and cell analogy, is, strangely enough, never in close quarters. Because society is not other than the individuals, it does not follow that it is only a sum of them. It is possible to think of it as a unity realised in the plurality of the minds and wills of its members.

In support of his contention that "the difference between self and another is as plain as the difference between black and white," Professor Hobhouse refers to the fact that the inner experiences of men, their sensations, feelings and desires are absolutely private to them and are incapable of being shared. The outer world which is experienced is, no doubt, the same, but my experiencing of it is unique and is only mine and cannot be identified with yours. The object is one, but the centres of perception, thought, feeling and will related to that object are many. That the inner life of one man is his only and cannot be the same as that of another man is indisputable; but the inner cannot be divorced from the outer and the

identity of the outer world, upon which different selves are based, furnishes an essential element of the bond of union between them. The subject and the object are opposed manifestations of a principle of unity that underlies them. Different selves, differently experiencing a common world, are therefore necessarily embraced within 'this concrete principle of unity. Until this fundamental point of idealistic philosophy is disposed of, the way to pluralism is effectively barred. It is no use pointing to the diversities of inner experience. The idealist has never denied them. His contention has always been that in and through them a universal principle is realised. No universal, no individual. The true core of individuality is not any element of isolation but the unique focalisation of the same world in each centre of experience. Professor Hobhouse is not unaware of the ground on which the idealist takes his stand. He alludes to the doctrine of the concrete universal but says that it is true only of the system of thought which is not identical with the system of reality. Immediately after, remembering perhaps the doctrine of the identity of thought and being, he makes the admission that "reality itself is not finally intelligible until we take the relation between it and thought into account by a further and more comprehensive thought." (*Ibid.*, p. 65.) The idealist does not contend for anything very different from this. His point is not that the process of thinking is identical with the object thought of, but that the duality of thought and its object presupposes a "more comprehensive thought" of which they are factors. Once this principle is grasped, there is no escape from the conclusion that different centres of experience constitute a plurality in which an ideal and ultimate unity is manifested.

The system of law, which may be said to be the framework of the state, is, says Professor Hobhouse, "not the product of one will * * It is rather the product of innumerable wills, acting sometimes in concert, sometimes in opposition to one another, and through their conflicts and combinations issuing

in a more or less orderly system " (*ibid*, p. 61). "The actual institutions of society," we are told, "are not the imperfect expression of a real will, which is essentially good and harmonious, but the result into which the never-ceasing clash of wills has settled down with some degree of permanency" (*ibid*, p. 86). The question is not whether laws and institutions have emanated from the mind of a single lawgiver framing them with foresight, but whether a common purpose, a generally accepted scheme of life, only vaguely apprehended by the bulk of men, runs through the particular wills of individuals. Is there or is there not a common platform on which the members of a community, in spite of their discords, can all stand? Is this common purpose the result or the condition of the "never-ceasing clash of wills"? Out of conflicting wills, not held together by some common ideal, social order can no more be evolved than can an orderly universe arise out of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. That there is such a thing as the inner spirit of a people, Professor Hobhouse will perhaps not deny. But this inner spirit, this ethos, is not an abstraction. Neither does it float in the air. It is incorporated in the laws, customs, usages and institutions of the people. Now, conceive of the outer laws and institutions as sustained and vitalised by the inner spirit and the inner spirit as externalised in the laws and institutions, think of them together as inseparable correlatives and you get the concrete whole which, regarded as exercising supreme authority over its members, is the state. It is not to be confused with an improvised association of men for the furtherance of some particular purpose. There may be any number of such special groups or associations, but there must be a supreme controlling power over them all. Life can go on because a harmony is maintained between these groups and without the state within which these groups are comprised, such a harmony cannot be maintained. Professor Hobhouse seems at times to understand by the state the Government or the state-organisation

for the maintenance of law and order. So understood, it is, of course, ridiculous to say that the state is the embodiment of the general will. But thinkers like Hegel and Bosanquet mean by it the organised whole, the substantive reality on which our lives are founded and not simply the government.

One reason, perhaps the chief reason, of Professor Hobhouse's hostility to the idealistic theory of the state is his belief that it encourages the tendency to resist all proposals to reform and reconstruct society. If what is real is rational, all that we have got to do, it would seem, is to sing hosanna to the existing order of things. No man need make any effort to improve anything, for there is nothing to be improved. "His business is not to endeavour to remodel society but to think how wonderfully good and rational is the social life that he knows, with its pharisees and publicans, its ginplaces, its millions of young men led out to the slaughter, and he is to give thanks daily that he is a rational being and not merely as the brutes that perish" (*ibid.*, p. 87). But is the ideal a thing always *to be* realised and never actually realised, only to be pursued but never attained? If existing social and political arrangements are wholly devoid of reason, what guarantee is there that reason can ever be effective in the organisation of life? The truth is that the very distinction of what is and what ought to be is made possible by an all-inclusive rational order of which the present growing out of the past and leading to the future is only a phase. If by the real you mean only what is here and now, then, of course, as a mere section of the whole it is not completely rational; but if by it you mean the eternal order within which the distinction of past, present and future falls, then to question its rationality is absurd. The present social institutions are found wanting only in the light of the ideal which the working of these very institutions has been the means of awakening. It cannot, therefore, be separated from the actual and *is* the actual in a more perfect form. Social order and social progress are

interdependent. The activities of the individual which *really* contribute to social order also contribute to social progress. True conservatism is not possible without the liberal reforming spirit. It is only in exceptional circumstances that active rebellion against society becomes a painful necessity. If a society is progressive, if it undergoes necessary reforms, slowly perhaps but surely, then any member of it who impatiently defies its authority and disregards its laws merely because they do not at once conform to what he thinks is the ideal, is, most assuredly, a bad man. On the other hand, to rebel against a fossilised society governed by laws as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians may be the only way open to the good man to be faithful to the requirements of the higher life. The rebel may sometimes be a benefactor to his country, but, as often as not, he is only a turbulent egotist passing for a patriot or an idealist. True patriotism is not the readiness to do something exceptional. It is, as Dr. Bosanquet puts it, "the everyday habit of looking on the commonwealth as our substantive purpose and the foundation of our lives."

If the common social mind or the general will is only a figment of the Hegelian philosopher's imagination, if the distinction between self and others is fundamental and irreducible, how is self-government possible? To this question, Professor Hobhouse gives no answer. Unless it be true that from the point of view of the state the distinction between selves is transcended and that in being guided by the laws and institutions under which I live, I am only fulfilling the necessary conditions of my own self-realisation, the authority imposed upon me must be alien authority, even if I happen to be in entire agreement with those who impose that authority. I am obeying *their* will not mine. Majority rule is not my rule, no matter whether those who form the majority be my kith and kin or not. Only on the Hegelian principle that the state "is the objective spirit and that

[the individual] has his truth and existence and ethical status only in being a member of it," does self-government become intelligible. The general will, which is my own substantive will, being embodied in the institutions, the civil and political organisation of the community to which I belong, I, in submitting to them, am not determined by what is foreign to me but by something which, in the words of John Caird, "are more truly me than my private self." It is idle to attempt to create a prejudice against Hegel's theory by constantly repeating that he reduces the individual to nullity. He does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he insists, in the strongest possible terms, on the importance of the individual. "The modern state," he writes, "has enormous strength and depth, in that it allows the principle of subjectivity to complete itself to an independent extreme of personal particularity, and yet at the same time brings it back into the substantive unity and thus preserves particularity in the principle of the state * * It insists that the interests of the family and civic community shall link themselves to the state, and yet is aware that the universal purpose can make no advance without the private knowledge and will of a particularity which must adhere to its right. The universal must be actively furthered, but, on the other side, subjectivity must be wholly and vitally developed. Only when both elements are present in force is the state to be regarded as articulate and truly organised" (*Philosophy of Right, Dyde's Tr.*, p. 249). What Hegel opposes is license, not liberty, the freedom of the individual to do what he is inclined to do, limited only by the like freedom of others, not his freedom to exercise all his powers for the furtherance of a common good.

What Professor Hobhouse offers us is not the bread of self-government but only a stone. He seems to suppose that political freedom is attained if a man is allowed to express his views and to influence the policy of his country. "The claim of the free individual is not the impossible one that the common

decision should coincide with his own, but that his decision should be heard and taken into account. He claims his part in the common councils, he takes his share of responsibility. In so far as he makes this claim effective he contributes to the common decision even though in a particular case it goes against him. He is free, not because the social will is his own, but because he has as much scope for expression as any one man can have, if all are to have it and yet live and act together" (*Metaphysical Theory of the State*, p. 61). Is that all? Is the mere freedom to take part in discussions of public questions enough to satisfy my desire for self-government? The value of such freedom is precious little. The vote which a man records at an election does not materially affect the result. For his having the vote no one is better or worse. Unless he is a Gladstone or a Disraeli, a Joseph Chamberlain or a Lloyd George, his influence in shaping the policy of his country is negligible. The average citizen knows this quite well. As Hegel says, "there is necessarily little desire to vote, because one vote has so slight an influence. Even when those who are entitled to vote are told how extremely valuable their privilege is, they do not vote. Hence occurs just the opposite of what is sought. The selection passes into the hands of a few, a single party, or a special accidental interest." The essential thing in self-government is not that I have a hand in making the laws by which I am governed, but that they are reasonable and, therefore, helpful to me in enabling me to fill a position for which I am fit and thereby to contribute to the common good. The demand that all should have a share in the business of the state involves the assumption that every one understands this business. This assumption, Hegel truly says, "is as absurd as it, despite its absurdity, is widespread." Self-government does not depend on the satisfaction of this demand. What it really means is the control of the particular self by the social universal expressed in the organisation of

the state. To ignore the deeper unity underlying the difference of selves is to make self-government an enigma. Even when the common decision coincides with my own, I do not enjoy self-government for this reason alone. The common decision *agrees with* but is not *my* decision and in being guided by it I am certainly not *self-determined*.

Professor Hobhouse takes Dr. Bosanquet to task for saying that as yet Humanity as a single organised entity does not exist. This, he thinks, is tantamount to hostility to all projects of world-federation or a league of nations. But to affirm that, as matters stand to-day, there is no super-state to which the various states of the world are related as families and other groups of men within a state are related to it is not to say that such an organisation cannot come into being in the future. It all depends upon the possibility of the whole human race being able to discover points of agreement more fundamental and more numerous than points of difference. It may be a good thing to cherish a humanitarian ideal, but let us not cherish illusions. The two dangers to be avoided are abstract cosmopolitanism and a narrow-minded nationalism. The would-be citizen of the world must remember that he has got to begin as a loyal citizen of a particular state and the ardent nationalist, on his part, must not forget that the true ideal is to regard his state as only a unit in a possible confederacy of nations. But nothing will be gained by a fanatical advocacy of a league of nations. It is wise to recognise that no effective federation of the world is possible in the absence of something approaching a common view of life. "A partial agreement for certain purposes" is not sufficient. A few strong, efficient and highly organised empires maintaining the conditions of a good life and giving full scope to science, art, religion and philosophy are more likely to come together in an effective league than a large number of petty, unstable and discordant states.

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE INDIAN RICE EXPORT TRADE

I.

PREAMBLE.

The food problem of India is growing so acute day by day that no word of apology is needed to discuss the propriety of the existing export trade in rice. It cannot be gainsaid that it is one of the factors responsible for the inflation of the price of that important commodity which constitutes the staple food crop of a majority of the population. Speaking at the Agricultural Conference at Poona in October, 1909, Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the then Governor of Bombay said:

"The provision of an adequate food supply is a primary condition of the existence of mankind, and the great growth of population which has accompanied British rule, and which is still proceeding, entails more and more demands upon the land. Whether the prevailing high prices are due to a growing disproportion between the population and the production of foodstuffs, or whether they arise from other causes, the fact remains that the 300 millions of people in India must be fed, that the food supply will have to be increased as the years go on and that a point may be reached at which the growth of other staples will have to be checked unless the production of the necessities of life can be increased."

Rice is eaten by the Bengalees, Assamese, Uriyas, Madrasis, Biharis, and even the Mahrattas. Its use is extending to the other races of India as well. Its cultivation occupies over 79 million acres, while wheat which is the staple food crop for most of the remaining communities of India is cultivated in 30 million acres. More than one-third of all the cultivated lands is under rice and only one-ninth is under wheat. The world production of cleaned rice has been calculated at 90 million tons, and Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., in his "Handbook of Commercial Information for India," has taken India's share

to be 40 per cent. of this grand figure. If it can be established that the total produce of rice is not sufficient to meet the total requirements of the people, it will certainly be considered suicidal for the people of India to allow any export to foreign countries under the head of rice.

II.

QUANTITIES OF RICE REQUIRED FOR THE RICE-EATING POPULATION.

It has to be ascertained what is the total quantity of rice required for the rice-eating population of India in order to maintain them in health and strength. For this purpose the scales of food prescribed in the Famine Codes of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces and in the Bengal Jail Code, may be taken to represent the lowest amount required per day to maintain an ordinary man in proper health. As these scales are somewhat different I have assumed an average standard for the convenience of this discussion. The table below shows the prescribed scales as well as the assumed average :—

Age.	Quantity of rice fixed per man per day in the Bengal, Bombay, Madras and United Provinces Famine Codes.	Quantity of rice fixed per man per day in the Bengal Jail Code.	Standard adopted for present discussion.
	Ozs.	Ozs.	Ozs.
0 to 1 year ...	6·2	4·1	7
1 to 2 years ...	6·2	8·2	8
2 to 5 years ...	8·2	...	10
5 to 10 years ...	10·3	...	18
10 to 15 years ...	15·4 to 17·5	18·5	
15 to 50 years ...			
Male workers	35·0	26·7	30
Male non-workers	22·5	18·5	
Female workers	26·7	18·5	24
Female non-workers	18·5	18·5	
Above 50 years ...		...	20

In fixing the standard in column 4 of the above table it has been assumed that a woman requires four-fifths and a child three-fifths of the food of an adult male.

The provinces in which 99 per cent. of the rice produced in India is grown are nine in number, *viz.*, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Bombay, Sind and Coorg. Wheat and millets are also grown in some of these provinces and form the staple food of portions of the population. The relative importance of the various food crops in the different provinces may be gauged from the following statistics taken from the "Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1919-20":—

Province.		Total cultivated area in acres.	Area in acres under		
			Rice.	Wheat.	Millets.
1		2	3	4	5
Bengal	...	24,424,000	20,938,000	116,000	92,000
Bihar and Orissa	...	24,867,000	15,255,000	1,145,000	1,554,000
Madras	...	32,964,000	11,640,000	...	2,000
United Provinces	...	34,500,000	6,539,000	7,037,000	4,378,000
Central Provinces and Berar	...	23,722,000	5,762,000	3,321,000	16,000
Assam	...	5,733,000	4,114,000	...	...
Bombay	}	29,327,000	2,175,000	1,840,000	26,000
Sind			1,100,000	587,000	32,000
Coorg	...	142,000	83,000	...	...
		175,670,000	67,615,000	14,055,000	5,500,000

It will appear that in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Assam and Coorg rice is the principal crop. The population of those provinces may practically be considered to be mostly rice-eaters. In the other provinces where a fair proportion of staple crops other than rice is grown, it may not be far

wide of the mark, for the purpose of the present discussion, to assume that the number of rice-eaters is equivalent to the proportion which the area under rice bears to the areas under wheat and millets put together. On this assumption the proportion of rice-eaters to the total population may be considered to five-eighths in the Central Provinces and Berar, two-thirds in Sind, half in Bombay and one-third in the United Provinces. The total requirements of rice may, therefore, in the absence of more accurate standards, be calculated on the basis of these assumptions.

The population under different age groups in the nine rice provinces referred to already may be had from the Census Tables. With these figures of population and the standard quantities of rice which persons of different ages have been assumed to consume, the total quantities of rice found by calculation to be required for consumption in India are shewn in the table below :—

Age.	Population (according to census of 1911).	Quantity of rice required per head per day.	Quantity of rice required by the whole population per day.
1		3	4
		Ozs.	Tons.
0 to 1	5,161,163	7½	150
1 to 2	2,570,704	7½	
2 to 5	16,122,980	8	360
5 to 10	21,112,312	10	6,727
10 to 15	17,837,311	18	8,958
15 to 50	40,728,039 males 47,939,102 females	30 24	34,091 32,102
Above 50	18,111,575		1,010

Total per day—83,398 tons.
Total per annum—30,440,270 tons or
30·44 million tons.

It will thus appear that the total quantity of rice required for the rice-eating population of India amounted to 30·44 million tons in 1911. It should now be estimated what

quantity was required in the year 1920, which has been adopted as the basic period for the purpose of the present review. The period from 1911 to 1920 is the intercensal period. The calculation for the intercensal period is based on the assumption that the same rate of increase holds good as during the previous intercensal period. On this assumption the rate of increase of population during 1891-1901 can be ascertained from the equation, $231.6 = 221.2 (1+r)^{10}$, where r represents the annual rate of increase per unit. The rate works out at 0.463 per cent. per annum in 1901-1911 and at 0.535 per cent. per annum or say 0.5 per cent. in 1911-1920. Assuming that the rate of increase of population was uniform in all age-groups and equal to that of the increase of population as a whole, 0.5 per cent. increase in population will cause a corresponding 0.5 per cent. increase in the quantity of rice required by the rice-eating population. On this basis the quantity of rice required during the period subsequent to 1911 may be estimated as follows:—

	Millions of tons
1911-12	30.44
1912-13	30.59
1913-14	30.74
1914-15	30.89
1915-16	31.04
1916-17	31.19
1917-18	31.34
1918-19	31.49
1919-20	31.64

The quantity of rice required in 1920 for the consumption of the rice-eating population of India was *31.64 millions of tons*. To this must be added the amount of seed required for the purpose of cultivation. Calculating at the rate of 25 lbs. of seed per acre, which is the average of 20 lbs. and 30 lbs. recommended in Mr. N. G. Mukherji's "Handbook of

Agriculture,"—the total amount of seed required for cultivating 79 millions of acres of paddy land in 1920, must have been 873 thousands of tons. The total quantity of rice required for use in India may, therefore, be estimated at *33·51 millions of tons* approximately.

III.

THE RICE CROP OF INDIA.

Owing to the increase of population and the increasing demand of rice not only in India but in foreign countries as well, the area under paddy cultivation is gradually extending year after year. An idea of the extent to which both the cultivation of rice and the outturn thereof have increased can be had from the following statement :—

Years.	Average acreage.	Yield in tons
	Millions.	Millions.
1901-05	50·06	21·55
1906-10	56·05	22·29
1911-15	70·25	28·38
1916-20	79·51	32·02

These figures clearly indicate that in spite of increased cultivation the supply of rice has not kept pace with the demand, for the total quantity required for consumption in India has been estimated at 33·51 millions of tons. It seems, therefore, that but for the relief which Burma rice gives to the people of India, the consequences would have been disastrous. The cultivation of paddy may be extended further, but it has to give way before cotton and jute which by reason of the high prices fetched by them are more popular with the tenantry and have already covered a large area. At present, however, in Bengal, the tendency to cultivate more jute is

showing signs of decline. This is partly due to the low prices of jute during the last few years, and the recognition of the greater importance of a food crop. The area under jute need not be contracted, for it is necessary that the cultivator should grow some subsidiary crops like jute which he can sell and get money for paying his rent, purchasing his cloth and other necessary articles. The popular impression that the cultivation of jute is abnormally increasing and thereby prejudicing the cultivation of paddy is not well-founded as the following figures for the area under jute since 1910 will show:—

Year.	Acres.
1910	2,937,800
1911	3,106,400
1912	2,970,500
1913	2,911,000
1914	3,358,700
1915	2,375,900
1916	2,702,700
1917	2,736,000
1918	2,500,400
1919	2,821,600
1920	2,502,273

The price of jute which was Rs. 19-15-0 per bale of 100 lbs. in 1864, rose to Rs. 33-7-2 in 1894 and to Rs. 80 in 1914. In 1915-18, the price ranged between Rs. 47-8 and Rs. 54. The circumstances of India are peculiar. In spite of her being recently accorded a rank among the most important industrial countries of the world by the labour organisation of the League of Nations, she is yet an agricultural country *par excellence*. Industrialism has not yet taken hold of her. Most of the European countries as well as America are pre-eminently industrial. The food-crops grown by them are not sufficient to meet their requirements. They naturally look for supply elsewhere. India cannot, therefore, expect any

supply of food from those countries. As the food-crops grown in India are not always even barely sufficient for the sustenance of her own population, the question of their exportation cannot arise until the quantity required for home consumption is ascertained in the first instance, for it is only the surplus that can go out. Jute and cotton, however, should be grown as commercial crops for they are principally meant for export to industrial countries where they are finished into articles of merchandise to be sold in other countries.

Similarly, the cultivated area for cotton, which is grown more or less in all the provinces of India, has not increased as the following figures will show :—

Years.	Average acreage.
1910-1914	23,204,000
1915-1919	21,828,000
1920-1921	21,016,000

The price of cotton per candy of 784 lbs. was Rs. 295-12-10 during the first of the periods referred to above, and Rs. 380-1-7 during the early part of the second period. In 1918 the price rose to Rs. 653, and in 1919 it was Rs. 635, but in 1920 it fell to Rs. 502-12-0. In spite of the propaganda for the cultivation of cotton there has not been any appreciable increase in its production.

IV.

VARIATIONS IN THE PRICES OF RICE.

According to the well recognised principle of Political Economy the supply of rice being inadequate, the rise in its price is inevitable. The following table shows the

extent of rise since 1901 as also the average acreage and outturn :—

Year.	Quinquennial average acreage	Yield in tons.	Average annual export.	Price per md. in rupee in Calcutta.
1901-1905	50,067,600	21,550,000	2,083,448	(a) 3/9 6 (b) 4/11 3
1906-1910	55,051,000	22,291,000	1,864,595	4/9 8
1911-1915	70,252,000	28,389,000	2,358,519	(a) 5 1/6 (b) 6 —
1916	79,514,000	32,025,000	1,635,280	6 1/4 —
1917				5 1 —
1918				4 2/2 —
1919				6 15 6
1920				8/6

If the prices be traced further backwards the proportion of rise becomes more marked. The way in which these high prices are being tolerated in the present day, makes the stories of low prices prevailing in pre-British days almost incredible. It is said that during the time of Shaista Khan, who was the Viceroy of Bengal in the seventeenth century, the price of rice having fallen to eight maunds for the rupee, he had one of the gates of the city of Dacca closed and an inscription put thereon that the gate should be opened only by the person during whose administration the price of rice would again fall to that level. It is a matter of history that during the reign of Murshidkuli Khan the price again fell to that level, and the Deputy Governor, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, opened

that gate with great cheer. We find in the "Sixth Report" submitted to the Parliamentary Committee that in 1782 during the time of Warren Hastings the price of common rice in Calcutta was 4 maunds 35 seers for the rupee. The average price of rice—

in 1864-68 was Rs. 2-12-1 a maund,
 in 1889-93 was Rs. 3-8-10 a maund,
 in 1901-08 was Rs. 4-14-3 a maund,
 in 1914-18 was Rs. 5-4-6 a maund,

while in 1920 the price was Rs. 8-6-0 a maund. (Prices and Wages in India, 1922, p. 225.)

Mr. K. L. Datta in his "Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India," Volume I, classifies the principal causes affecting the general price-level into the following broad heads :—

- (1) A shortage in the supply of agricultural products and raw materials ;
- (2) An increase in the demand for these commodities ;
- (3) An increase in the cost of production ;
- (4) The development of railways and other communications in India and the lowering of direct and indirect costs of transports in India itself and between Indian ports and foreign countries ;
- (5) An improvement in the general monetary and banking facilities and an increase in credit ; and
- (6) An increase in the volume of the circulating medium.

I would attribute the gradual rise in prices generally to the following causes :—

- (1) Commercial and industrial activity causing an enlargement of the market and improved facilities of communications ;
- (2) Periodical famines due to abnormal, physical and meteorological conditions ;

- (3) Unrestricted export trade ; and
- (4) The inflation of currency.

These causes have always been in operation since the assumption of sovereignty in India by the Crown. The year 1860 which brought in an era of peace and security after the suppression of the Mutiny was conspicuous by an all-round rise in prices, and the rise in the price of rice was not exceptional. In 1866 prices further rose owing to the Orissa famine which extended to Bengal, Bihar, Madras and the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. There was a great expansion of the export trade in 1872-73 and in 1874 there was scarcity in Bihar. The great famine of 1877-1878 which affected Western India, Northern India and Southern India caused some rise in prices. In 1891-92 prolonged draught caused distress in Madras, Bombay and Bihar. There were also large exports owing to the failure of crops in Europe. The prices in India rose almost to famine levels. There were famines again in 1897 and 1900. The year 1905 saw another rapid rise in the prices of food-grains. In 1906 the crops in Bengal were damaged by floods, and the rise in prices was accentuated thereby. In 1909 there was a phenomenal rice crop in the whole of Bengal, and there was a temporary fall, but the price rose again owing to a strong demand from China. In 1911 the unfavourable monsoon and the strong demand for export again raised the prices. In 1915 serious floods in Assam and parts of Bengal were responsible for increased prices. In 1918 the defective rainfall almost throughout the country affected the autumn and spring crops. In 1920 the high prices were due to a smaller yield of crop caused by defective rainfall.

The spirit of commercial enterprise which the Britishers brought to this country and the administrative difficulties which the English conquerors experienced for want of easy communication necessitated the construction of railways in India soon after their establishment in England, and in 1845

the East Indian Railway, the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and the Madras Railway received the sanction of Government to open lines in different directions. Railway building was, however, taken up on a serious scale since after the issue of Lord Dalhousie's great Minute of 1853 in which the social, political and commercial advantages of connecting the chief cities by rail were pointed out. Subsequently other railways also came into being, *e. g.*, the Eastern Bengal Railway in 1857, the Bengal Nagpur Railway in 1887 and the Assam Bengal Railway in 1892; so that the whole country became a network of railway lines. To-day there are more than 33,000 miles of railway in India and Burma as compared with 1,600 miles in 1861. With the extension of the railway system, innumerable roads have been constructed and steamer lines have been opened to feed the railways. These means of communication have facilitated the transfer of raw materials and food crops to distant countries, and with the increase of demand the prices have naturally risen.

The inflation of currency as the result of an attempt to introduce a western standard in India has played no small part in raising prices. In India where the bulk of the population are extremely poor there is no need for a currency of high value. In the past *coeries* were current and the necessities of life could be had for a few *coeries*. They have gradually been replaced by nickel and silver coins of much higher value. Prices have thus been artificially raised.

V.

FACTS RELATING TO EXPORT TRADE IN RICE.

Up to the period immediately preceding the War, the export trade in rice had been assuming alarming proportions. The total export of rice which amounted to 8.76 million tons in 1901-02 rose to 13.36 million tons in 1913. Owing to the Great European War which began in August 1914 there was

an appreciable falling-off in export in the succeeding years, but that did not lead to any decline in prices. This might seem to falsify the theory which attributes high prices to export. But really there is nothing wrong in the theory itself, for there were other causes in operation which prevented the price from falling. To counterbalance the contraction in export, there were large quantities commandeered by the military authorities for consumption in war areas. Rice merchants took advantage of the situation and stocked large quantities to sell at exorbitant prices. This ultimately resulted in actual profiteering. Consequently although the quantities of rice exported out of India amounted to 13·02 millions of hundred-weights only in 1920, the price of rice which was Rs. 6-15-6 in 1919 rose to Rs. 8-6-0, a maund.

The "Prices Enquiry Committee," formed in 1920 in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, went in detail into the question of the high prices of rice. In the report which they submitted to the Government they said :—"In Bengal we consider export to be the principal factor in keeping up the high prices of food-stuffs. There can be no objection to the export of food-stuffs if there is really any surplus stock in the country, or if there is sufficient reserve stock." In support of their statement the Committee pointed out how in April, 1921, when the restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of rice were removed, the price of Bengal rice steadily rose every week owing to the exportation of rice from Bengal to Karachi and from Karachi to the Persian Gulf and other foreign stations. The Government of Bengal in reviewing the report of the Committee in their resolution No. 1704-Com., dated the 25th April, 1921, did not, however, agree that the export trade was an evil. They remarked :—"All restrictions on trade and particularly on the inter-provincial traffic of food-stuffs are in themselves an evil, and have been proved by the experience of the last two years to be an evil, to which the country cannot justifiably

be asked to submit, unless there is a reasonable prospect that a greater evil will thereby be averted.....

The Governor in Council cannot leave this aspect of the case, without expressing his dissent from the view of the Committee that the restrictions on the export of rice from Bengal can be imposed without injuring the cultivator. It is admitted that such restrictions must tend to depress the prices obtained by the cultivator, and must therefore injuriously affect those cultivators who have surplus stocks to dispose of, but the Committee claim that 'the number of agriculturists who get and can keep sufficient stock of their rice for consumption throughout the year and have surplus for sale so as to derive benefit from the high prices at the export time is very small.' His Excellency in Council is unable to concur in this description of the condition of the Bengal agriculturist.....

..... A large surplus notoriously exists, and it is obvious that any artificial measure tending to reduce the price of food-grains must in the long run tend to discourage production by inducing the cultivator to take to the cultivation of commercial crops yielding a higher profit."

England being the high sponsor of Free Trade, it is natural that the British Government in India would very much like to follow the same policy. But a deviation from this avowed policy has sometimes been induced by the circumstances of India. In 1866 the Committee appointed by the Government of India to revise the customs tariff recommended the raising of the duty on grain to serve as a check on the exportation of a staple article of food during a period of famine. The necessity for such deviation was also recognised in 1873. The Government of India declared :—" Nothing could justify recourse to this expedient of prohibiting exports of food-stuffs unless it were a certainty or reasonable probability that exports of food had so exhausted the resources of India as to render them incapable of affording supplies, which may be

required for affected districts." (Indian Foodstuffs Commissioner's Report, para 15). This principle was re-affirmed on behalf of the Government of India by Sir John Miller in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1908. This principle was acted upon during the period of the Great European War, and from 1915 to 1920 some form of embargo always existed on the export of food grains from India. On the 17th December, 1918 the Government of India frankly declared the inability of India to supply any rice to Austria, Canada, the Dutch East Indies, China and various other countries. In fact, the export of rice from India during 1918-1920 (2 years) amounted to 991,659 tons only as against the previous annual average of 2,044,011 tons. Such prohibition has not been restricted to food articles alone. Not long ago the Government of India extended the prohibition to coal also and coal shipments from India to foreign countries came to a standstill. As a result the coal trade of the United Kingdom flourished immensely, and there was an increase in the output of coal by 39 million tons and a corresponding increase in profits amounting to £29 million.

The export trade in rice would be advantageous to the country only if there be a surplus left after meeting the demand for home consumption. But it has already been made clear that this is far from the case. Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, an Indian Economist, in his "Fiscal Policy in India" (p. 199) writes:—"It is open to doubt whether there is, in a normal year, any exportable surplus of food-grains in the country. Some persons, whose opinions are entitled to weight, hold that the total production of food in India is not sufficient for her own consumption, and if everybody were to be adequately fed, she would be a food importing, not exporting country." As within the country itself the supply is less than the demand in the matter of her principal food product, India can hardly afford to be generous and undertake the task of supplying food to foreign countries. For many years she had been

sending food grains not only to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland but also to many of the countries of Europe, America, Japan, China, Persia, Africa, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chilo, and to all the British, Dutch, French and Portuguese colonies. The Strait Settlements, Ceylon, Japan and Java purchase Indian rice in large quantities. Before the Great War Germany, Austria-Hungary and Holland were India's largest customers. It appears from the Indian Trade Review for 1912-13 that while the exports to Asiatic countries were meant for food consumption, the vast quantities sent to Europe were mainly used for starch-making and distillation. The export of rice to foreign countries for purposes like these, while the producers themselves would be famishing, is nothing short of a suicidal policy. The views of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 1922, in connection with the imposition of export duties are very significant. According to them export duties should be imposed with great caution, and should be imposed only on articles in which India has a monopoly or semi-monopoly. The only exception to these principles which they recognise is *when the price of food-stuffs shows a tendency to rise to dangerous heights*. In such a case, they hold, it *may be necessary to restrict the export of food grains*, and that as there are grave objections to direct Government prohibition or regulation of exports, the least objectionable measure would be a temporary export duty on food grains. It is hoped that in view of these observations and the condition of food supply in India, it will not be difficult for the Government of India to finally adopt such a policy with reference to the export of food grains as may be consistent with the best interest of India, though it may violate the strict principles of free trade. The argument often advanced that the export is principally meant to meet the demand of Indians staying in some of the colonies cannot always be accepted in support of the policy of export. The Indians that migrate from this country and settle in other lands should not expect any supply till the

needs of the producers themselves are met, though when any quantity becomes available for export their claims are entitled to the first consideration. It is not rare for India to show such consideration. It will appear from para 16 of the Indian Foodstuffs Commissioner's Report that in 1918-19 a serious situation in Ceylon was saved by the relief sent from India by the export of 26,000 tons of rice, a month. But for this the island containing a large population of Tamil coolies from the Madras Presidency would have starved. These are, however, exceptional occasions when a settled Governmental policy has to give way before the larger feeling of humanity.

The Government of Bengal in their Resolution on the "Report of the Prices Enquiry Committee" have remarked that "a large surplus of rice stock notoriously exists." The basis for this statement has not been explained; neither is it an easy thing to ascertain the stock of rice or paddy in each household, particularly as such stock is constantly varying. It appears from the "Report on the operations of the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, 1920," that the attempts made in November, 1918 and in June, 1919 to ascertain the stocks of rice in Bengal proved more or less abortive. "It was impossible," it is frankly stated in the Report, "for the stocks in every village to be examined, not only because the staff was inadequate but also because the risk of panic could not be faced; reliance had to be placed on general estimates based on detailed enquiries in typical villages and on information from traders. Actually, enquiry showed that there was no ascertainable relation between the total stocks in most districts and the amounts left with the large stock-holders. The proposed comparison of existing with normal stocks proved to be useless. They did not prove the existence of a surplus over normal stocks, but they made it very probable." In connection with the rice census of June, 1919 it is remarked that "taken generally the returns could not be accepted as giving an accurate estimate of the

total stocks of the province." The Report of the Director of Civil Supplies, Bihar and Orissa, also contains a similar confession as to the uselessness of such censuses, for it is said that "it is not practicable to obtain reliable information of the stocks held by the people in their own houses and villages.

.....The estimates taken as a whole are so plainly unreliable that no conclusions of value can be drawn from them." It is conceivable that at any particular season of the year the cultivators and others may have large stocks of rice at their disposal, for example, in Bengal, immediately after the winter harvest. But as time wears on, the stock gradually diminishes, so that about the middle of the rainy season a majority of farmers and cultivators find their so-called inexhaustible store entirely exhausted, and they are compelled to purchase Burma rice of much inferior quality which they are not ordinarily used to eat. If surplus stock should exist, the distribution of *takari* loans or the importation of Burma rice for the consumption of distressed people, which Government not unoften undertake would be quite unnecessary. It is possible, and is frequently a fact, that there are certain sections of the people, for example, the monied *mahajan* and the speculating trader, who keep large stocks in hand,—call it 'surplus' if you please,—for the purpose of 'profiteering' in difficult times. But for the majority of people a surplus stock is entirely out of the question. Had there really existed such a stock, it would have been easy for the people to tide themselves over times of scarcity and famine. But it is an undeniable fact that in such difficult times they find themselves in awful misery. To avert such difficulties *dharmagolas* in which grain contributions are received on co-operative principles have been started, and the multiplication of such institutions, which should stock whatever seasonal surpluses may be available, would be all for the good of the country. It is with such reserve stocks alone that export in the matter of food grains can be more freely indulged in.

Another argument often put forward by the advocates of free trade against an embargo on the export of food-grains is that it leads to the depression of prices obtained by the actual cultivator. This argument might be acceptable in a country inhabited solely by cultivators, where there are none outside the producing class among whom there may be any demand. But the condition of India is different. Here besides the cultivators there have always been hosts of other people who have to purchase rice, and from whom the cultivators are not at all likely to demand a price which is not considerably above the cost of production, for the latter have to keep in view the prices of some of the other necessities of life for which they have to pay. If during the years when there has been no surplus, export outside India be allowed, not only will there be a shortage of food-grain, but the prices of even other commodities would rise so high as to adversely affect all classes of people from the highest to the lowest. In India, as in most agricultural countries, food price is the real index, on which hinge the prices of other articles, for every individual, in whatever station of life he may be placed, follows his own calling ordinarily for the purpose of purchasing food and other necessities; and he fixes the price of the article produced by himself or the fees of his profession in terms of the price of food. Conditions in India in recent years have very conclusively proved this fact. The high prices of food-stuffs have necessitated the revision of pay of most of the employees both under Government and private companies; medical practitioners have raised their fees and wage-earners have raised their rates. So that ultimately the cultivator is also touched.

The state of things in India is so peculiar that even when looked at from another point of view, the lot of the cultivator does not show much sign of improvement. Suppose the export of food-grains is allowed to go on freely and plenty of money flow into the country; but unfortunately a very small proportion of the increased wealth goes into the pocket of the

cultivator, for the lion's share is appropriated by the much-despised but indispensable middleman who must make his existence felt till education permeates the lower strata of society.

VI.

CONCLUSION.

From the brief *resumé* of facts set forth above it is evident that the conditions of India are very much incongenial to the pursuit of a policy of unrestricted free trade in the matter of rice. While the total produce of rice in 1920 amounted to 31·64 millions of tons, the total requirements of the producers themselves and their countrymen were 33·51 millions of tons. It is not fair that they should be encouraged to export their own produce, which is naturally more suitable for their use, and ultimately compelled to purchase unwholesome Burma rice to meet their own requirements. In favourable years when bumper crops are obtained, export will take place as a matter of course and no intervention of Government is necessary. Trade will automatically resume its normal course and the movement of food-grains may be safely left to the regulation of the laws of supply and demand. But in lean years, when the people themselves have not got enough for their own consumption and the masses in their ignorance and impecuniosity fail to realise the baneful effect of parting with their stock, export should be restricted. The Indian Fiscal Commission have recommended the imposition of an export duty, but I think it would be better still, if Government adopts a system of control instead, more or less similar to what was followed in 1918-19. The crop in India is very much dependent on conditions on which weak mortals can have no control. Conditions in India are very much different to those of Burma, where the monsoon is usually most propitious and the rice harvest ordinarily fulfils human expectations. As there

are Government agencies to watch weather conditions and the prospect of crops in every village and district, it will always be possible for Government to decide every year what policy should be pursued in the matter of export of rice. As long as education does not make sufficient headway among the masses in India and they continue to be as ignorant of the conditions of the world as they are at present, this duty will devolve upon the Government, and the interested agitation of the monied mercantile classes, who must obviously be always in favour of unrestricted export trade, will have to be scrupulously guarded against. Otherwise it will not be possible for her to emerge from the stigma of poverty, from which India has long been suffering, in spite of her proverbial prosperity in the days of yore when her land "bloomed and grew with unabated bounty, waving with yellow harvests." What Sir W. W. Hunter, than whom India has seen few more able and distinguished administrators, observed more than a quarter of a century ago in his famous work "England's Work in India," *viz.*, that a fifth of the population went through life on insufficient food, still proves true. It is up to the Government of the country to give a different turn to the state of things by following a policy of restricted export trade. It may not be desirable for Government to directly control the price of rice nor perhaps possible by executive orders to extend its cultivation, but it is always practicable, as past experience has shown, by following a system of control in the matter of movement of food-grains in critical times, "to reduce speculation, to conserve supplies, to keep down prices in exporting provinces and to indirectly facilitate price control in importing provinces."

The International Commercial Congress, held in Paris in June and July, 1920, was also of opinion that the necessities of the producing countries were to be given the first consideration and the needs of the allied nations considered next. It appears from the Report of the Prices Enquiry Committee,

that in 1919-1920 the Government of Bengal acted on this policy and persistently refused to agree to the exportation of rice from the province of Bengal as long as the possibilities of high prices of food-grains lasted, in spite of repeated requests from the Government of India for the withdrawal of restrictions on export. That this was the right policy to pursue was proved by the fact that as soon as the Government of India subsequently removed all restrictions on the inter-provincial movements of rice, the price of Bengal rice steadily rose week after week. I have already pointed out that in certain circumstances, for example, like those prevailing during the time of the Great War, even the Government of India are prepared to relax the rigid principle of free trade and put some form of embargo on export. During the time of the War the restriction was imposed for three reasons, *viz.*, (1) for the prevention of leakage to the enemy, (2) for the conservation of supplies and (3) for the maintenance of local prices at levels reasonable to both the consumer and the producer. The first inducement was a purely temporary one and has ceased to exist but the other two will continue to be operative from time to time, for the conditions on which the growth of crops are so much dependent in India are most variable. The Government of India will always have to keep these two points in view, in dealing with the question of export of rice from India.

“SALBURD.”

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE AMONG THE ARABS

Of the civilisation of a people no test is surer than the status they accord to woman. When she is endowed with full legal rights, and stands by the side of her husband—not merely as the mother of his children, but the mistress of his household—not merely the first among his attendants, but his life-long friend and companion—then, and then only, the people among whom the relationship subsisting between the sexes has developed on these lines may be said to be civilised. Of this proposition early Arab annals offer convincing proof.¹

During the highest bloom of Arab nationality, woman was not only man's equal, but was not infrequently the object of a chivalrous devotion. But, with growing political degeneration, the social conditions worsened too, and the *Harem-system* began to manifest its degrading influences. The portrait of a free, courageous wife, with an independent will of her own, vanishes and, in her stead, step into light the fair captives of the *Harem*, immersed in toilet, in trifles, in sensual pleasures, shorn of all dignified pride—the brightest ornament of emancipated womanhood.

The modern Arab woman is pretty, but generally not educated; virtuous, but not always from a consciousness of the value of chastity. But whatever may be her position now—far different is the picture of her which has come down to us from the early days of Islam, or from those of Arab antiquity.

Harith Ibn Auf, the powerful chief of the Murra tribe, decided to woo a bride. He asked a friend if he thought any Arab chief would dare refuse the hand of his daughter to him. Yes indeed! said he. And when Harith questioned who that proud one might be—his friend replied: Aus Ibn

¹ Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, Vol. II, pp 95 *et seq.*

Haritha of the tribe of Tāyy. He straightway ordered a slave to get two dromedaries ready for him, and, when ready, he rode away with his friend to Aus. Aus met him just in front of his house. He greeted the new-comers and enquired the business which had brought them there. I come to seek a bride of thee—said Harith. Thereupon rejoined the other—to the wrong place hast thou come, and angrily made back for his house. His wife, who was of the tribe of Abs, asked him who the stranger was that had stopped, and to whom he had spoken so curtly and sharply. He told her that it was Harith Ibn Auf—the most prominent figure of the entire neighbourhood—that he had come to seek a bride of him, and that he had peremptorily refused him and turned away from him, taking him to be mad. The wise woman bitterly reproached her peevish husband, and vehemently remonstrated with him for treating in such an off-hand fashion so distinguished a tribal chief, and argued with him until he yielded and promised to ride after the two strangers and induce them to return home with him. This he did. He speedily set out, overtook them at a little distance, and begged them to return and accept his hospitality. They consented. Aus, after he had seen to the comfort of his guests, sent for his three daughters.

To the eldest he spoke first. He told her what the matter was, and asked her if she would accept Harith as her husband. She replied: O father! I am not pretty, and I have many faults. Besides my suitor is neither my cousin nor yet a neighbour of mine who would, for thy sake, show consideration to me. Nor must I forget that, if I please him not, he will divorce me, and then eternal will be my disgrace. Aus said: may God bless thee, my daughter! Thou art right. In the same strain he spoke to his second daughter, and she too, like her elder sister, declined the offer. To Bahysa, the youngest, he now turned with the same proposal, and this was her reply: I am pretty and am well-versed in handicraft.

Of noble descent am I. Fair and tall too. Despite all this—were my husband to put me aside and divorce me, may God punish him! Her father said: God bless thee! He then went to his guest and said: I give my daughter Bahysa as a bride to thee. Now preparations were made for the wedding. The father of the bride had a large tent pitched, and when everything was ready the bride was conducted to the bride-groom. But, when he wanted to approach her, she repelled him, saying: what! here, with my father and my brothers and sisters, shall I celebrate my nuptial day? Never. Thereupon Harith gave orders to start. Tents were taken down; camels were saddled and loaded and lo! the small caravan was on its way home. After they had gone some distance, Harith halted for the night. When again he approached his young wife, she repelled him, saying: what! dost thou treat me like a slave-girl whom one purchases or takes as a captive of war. By God! thou shalt not embrace me until my marriage is festively and fittingly celebrated in the midst of thy tribesmen, with camels and sheep slaughtered for the feast, to which are invited guests from all the Arab tribes. Thereupon they continued their journey until they reached the homeland of the tribe. A feast was prepared. Guests were invited. Camels and sheep were killed and roasted. Once again Harith approached his wife, but she, as before, repelled his advances, saying: How findest thou the time to fondle and caress women, when the Arabs outside are mutually extirpating themselves, and the two tribes of Abs and Dhubyan are well-nigh on the verge of extermination. Hasten, then, to them; reconcile the two tribes; and then come home to thy wife, who longingly and lovingly will await thy arrival. Harith, forthwith, rode to the two hostile tribes, and restored peace among them. The slain on either side were counted, and blood-money was arranged to be paid to the tribe which showed an excess of slain over the other. Harith pledged himself to the blood-money, assessed at 3,000 camels,

which he undertook to deliver in course of three years. After this was done, Harith returned home—praised, applauded by all. His wife Bahysa received him in her loving, caressing arms and bore him as many sons as daughters.¹

The classical finish and noble simplicity of this charming little story alone show that it comes from the best days of Arab Chivalry, and present us with an ideal portrait of the Arab woman as she was then conceived, painted, described. It would perhaps be rash to accept this story as a true presentation of facts, but doubtless it does convey a fairly accurate idea of the Arab woman as entertained in those far-off days. The story may be set down as one, in all probability, belonging to the first or second century of the Muslim era. It was an age when they loved to invent such romantic, moving tales of Arab antiquity, or of Beduin life, to cheer and enliven friendly gatherings at eventide. Both at the court of Damascus, and later at that of Baghdad, such stories were highly relished.

The qualities expected of a woman, to please and attract men, were not merely personal beauty, but noble descent, intelligence, cultivated taste, forceful character. The most shining embodiment of these qualities was Ayasha, daughter of Talha, grand-daughter of the Caliph Abu Bakr, and niece of Ayasha, wife of the Prophet. She was the prettiest and the proudest woman of her time. She never wore the veil, and to her husband (Musab), who bitterly taunted her for it, she answered: "on me God has set the seal of beauty, and I rejoice when my beauty is seen and the mercy of God is therein acknowledged. Never shall I cover my face, for no flaw or fault finds a place in God's work." This led to a scene with her jealous husband, and being of a fiery temper she broke off all connection with him for a time. The husband went to war, and returned victorious. Ayasha, however, felt the estrangement deeply, and secretly wished

¹ Kitabul-Aghani, IX, 149-151.

it would end. A freed woman suggested the return of her husband from war as the right and proper moment for peace and reconciliation. Ayasha went to meet him ; congratulated him on his return ; wiped the dust off his face and coat-of-mail, and when the husband said that he feared that the smell of the rusty iron coat-of-mail and of the weapons might be offensive to her she rejoined ; By God, it is sweeter and lovelier to me than the musk. Musab, her second husband, gave her a dowry of 50,000 Dirhams. After him she married a third time ; and her husband, one of the wealthiest and noblest Omayyads, presented her a dower of 1½ million Dirhams, and to it he added another half-a-million as a gift. Even her third husband she survived. When he died, she sang the funeral dirge, conveying therein that she never would marry again.¹ Such repeated marriages were by no means rare, nor did they cause the slightest scandal. Atiqah, belonging to one of the noblest families of Mekka, married three times ; and when, on the death of her third husband, a noble Mekkan sought her hand, she replied that she was by no means inclined to outlive her fourth husband.² As all her husbands had fallen in battle, the saying arose " he who wished speedily to enter Paradise let him marry Atiqah."

In the choice of husbands women enjoyed the most perfect freedom. There is even a case on record of a widow of the Caliph (Saffah) marrying a private gentleman of poor circumstances, though of distinguished lineage.³ Suspecting an intrigue with a slave-girl, she divorced him in the end.

I shall conclude with one more instance ; namely, that of Sukaina, who distinguished herself, not merely by marrying several times, but by making complete freedom of action a condition-*precedent* to her marriages.⁴ On her third

¹ Aghani, X, 54. ² Aghani, XVI, 133. ³ Aghani, IV, 80.

⁴ Ibn Khalikan, Vol. I, p. 581. " Maimunnah, daughter of Al-Harith Ibn Hazn and member of the tribe of Hilal was married to Masud Ibn Umar-ul-Thakafi in the time anterior to the announcement of Islam. Divorced by her husband she became, the wife of

marriage she stipulated that she was in no way to be interfered with in her freedom of action, and that her husband was to give in to her in everything. She enforced this stipulation so vigorously that her husband had no alternative but to divorce her. She married a fourth time, but this marriage too was soon dissolved.¹

In the social intercourse of the sexes there was no check or hindrance. Men called on women without hesitation, and women received them without the least fear of comment—not only their relatives but even strangers.² They went out when they pleased, and enjoyed with men the right of praying at the mosque at the stated time of prayers³—a practice which fell into disuse by the third century of the A. H.

The right of choosing husbands was conceded to them, and so was the right of refusing those that did not please them. Unanimous was the opinion of the oldest jurists that a wife never could be bought; that the presents which her father or other kinsmen made to her, before marriage, were her own separate property.⁴ Finally, the jurists expressly acknowledged the woman's right to bind her husband, before marriage, not to take a second wife during her life-time.

Although the instances cited above refer to women of the highest circles of society, the statement that the position of women, in less exalted spheres, was no less favourable, hardly calls for special proof. If anything, it was, in point of fact, freer and more independent—only as might be expected, the wife had to attend to domestic work.⁵ In the humble hut of the

Abdul Uzza, and on his death she was espoused by the Prophet, A. H., 5. She was the last of his wives." Ibn Khall, Vol. I, p. 580 (note 11).

¹ Aghani, XIV, 170, 171.

² Aghani, XIX, 161.

³ Bukhari, 553, 555, 567.

⁴ Muatta, III, 8.

⁵ Spinning was the work which women did in the highest circles. Maarri speaks of it in one of his epigrams: Teach her to spin, to weave, to do embroidery work. I might observe here that the word which I translate as 'embroidery work' perhaps only means 'crotchet work,' for it is well-known that 'embroidery work' was only introduced into Europe in the XVIth century. It is said to have made its way first in southern countries—

peasant ; in the tent of the dwellers of the desert ; in the houses of the modest commoners and the simple artisan, she exercised an influence perhaps greater by far than that exercised by the wife in the palace of the rich where the master could easily forget the displeasure of one in the embraces of another. For those the wife was the ruler, with unlimited powers in the domestic circle. And thus it need not surprise us to find Abul Atiyyah (of the time of Harun-ul-Rashid) referring thus to his wife in a poem :

“ Ah ! For her will I gladly renounce all life’s prizes and all the world’s wealth.”

In the beginning of Islam the status of woman was indeed high, honourable, independent. For sometime woman was even the object of chivalrous devotion. Men sang of her in rapturous terms and wove around her all the enchantment of romance. In the legends of the North Arabian tribes, nothing is reckoned nobler, more glorious, more worthy of imitation, than the daring feats of a warrior who, in defiance of all danger, nay, at the very risk of his life, seeks to protect women from shame and lust. And in a heroic defence of this sort does Antar, the hero of the North Arabian legends, end his life, loved and honoured by all. In an attack he saved the women of his tribe from dishonour, and single-handed held out against the hostile troops until his tribesmen had effected a safe retreat. Though mortally wounded, he stuck to his post on his charger, at the mouth of a defile, leaning on his spear. There, in that position, he breathed his last. While thus holding his post, women managed to get safely back to their tribal camp, where the enemy did not venture to pursue them. Only when the movement of the horse brought the corpse down, was it perceived how even in death he continued his yeoman service to his very own. Unworthy and contemptible it was always held to be, to wound or kill a woman.

Spain and Italy. I will not venture to decide whether this was a European invention or an importation from the East.

When the wife of a rebel was killed under orders of Abdullah Ibn Zubair, the rival Caliph at Mekka, a poet, expressing his indignation, concluded thus :¹ "Ordnained for us men it is to kill or to be killed, but for women naught else is ordnained but to trail the train of their dresses." And another poet thus speaks of his wife: I see husbands strike their wives, but may my hand wither were I to raise it against Zainab.....Zainab is the sun, while naught but stars are the rest of womankind. Before the splendour of her peerless beauty not one single star doth man notice.² Even in the earliest period of Muslim warfare, it was settled law that women and children of the enemy—even non-Muslims—were not to be killed or ill-treated unless they actually took part in war.

The disgrace of having lowered the high position of women belongs, in the first instance, to the morose, fanatical theologians of Islam. It was not due, to be sure, to the fact that they were indifferent or insensible to feminine charms—for they had their own well-stocked *Harems*—but outside that delightful little paradise—they loved to affect a thorough contempt for things earthly, and to express a pious horror at the sinfulness of the world and the levity of the fair sex. For this reason, perhaps, one of the oldest traditionists has collected, with apparent relish, several traditions which purport to say³ that women, for the most part, will go to Hell. The pious traditionist has obviously forgotten that Mohamed has peopled his paradise with *Huris* of unfading beauty, youth and grace. But these attacks of the theologians and the fanatics would not, of themselves, have been powerful enough to effect so complete a transformation in the social status of women as that which later followed had there not been other causes contributing to that end. The gradual decline of the old Arab aristocracy appears to have dealt

¹ Aghani, IV, 227.

² Ibn Khall, under Kadhi 'Shuraikh'; Ibn Hamdan, II, 207.

³ Bukhari, 21. Muatta, 1, 337.

a serious blow at the dignity of womanhood. The old families of Mekka who, during the first century, regarded their right to rule as a hereditary right, rapidly disappeared during the unceasing wars, and gave place to a mixed race wanting alike in purity of descent and in refinement of feelings. Equally responsible for rapid degeneration, I doubt not, were frequent marriages between close relations. This was felt early enough, for it tended to prejudicially affect physical development. Thus Omar I is once said to have observed, and expressed, in an assembly of the Quraish, their small, undersized stature; whereupon they rejoined that it was due to the extreme frequency of marriages between relations (cousins). Omar I is reported to have recommended the discontinuance of this practice. A poet, speaking of a man whose physical strength he intended to emphasise and applaud, says: *His father was not a cousin of his mother.*¹ The idea of transmission of hereditary defects is illustrated in the remarkable statement that a curious defect in speech, called *Rattah*, a certain clumsiness of tongue, at the beginning of speech, was a peculiarity of the noblest families—a peculiarity which was transmitted as a hereditary gift.² Whatever it may be—other causes also—to which we shall allude later, soon hastened the moral and physical declension of the Arab race. Noble figures—such as we have described—became rarer and rarer. Zubaida, the cultured wife of Harun, was the last of the band of the noble, self-asserting, high-born lady of the old aristocratic type. The poems of a certain Hamida, handed down to us, best illustrate the proud consciousness of these aristocratic ladies. She was constrained to wed a man of low descent. In a satire on him she said; *A full-blooded Arab woman am I—born of a noble mother. A noble child do I bring to the world. If such an one—know 'tis mine. But if a*

¹ Isphahani, *Muhadherat*, I, 207.

² Ibn Hamdun, I, 79. *Lanc: Lexicon*, Sub '*Rattah*.'

monster—know equally 'tis his.¹ Soon, indeed, such women disappeared, and this not merely because the old aristocratic Arabs dwindled and died away, but also because such women were no longer in demand. They, therefore, as a class, became extinct. The idea of nobility of descent, both on the father's and the mother's side—so tenaciously held in earlier times—gradually lost its hold on the popular mind. In the beginning of the Caliphate there is not one single instance of the son of a concubine (even when the father was a Caliph) succeeding to the Caliphate. An Omayyad Caliph attempted it, but unsuccessfully.² While in the beginning they despised the sons of concubines; later they altogether blinked at or ignored descent on the mother's side.³ Thus in the place of *marriages of equals*—on which great emphasis was laid earlier—the rule of mistresses and courtesans set in. The legitimate wife could not successfully combat or quell the growing influence of the fair sinners deeply versed in all the arts of seduction and conquest. The pleasure-loving husbands found these absolutely irresistible; and never, indeed, seems the thought of securing legitimate children to have disturbed their smooth current of pleasure and shame, or to have drawn them to their lawfully-wedded wives. In this the Muslim Law is not altogether free from blame, for it put no difficulty in the way of acknowledgment of illegitimate children, nor did it worry itself with the question whether the mother was of noble or of ignoble descent. Nor could any such question be seriously or decorously raised, for most of the Caliphs themselves were sons of Greek or Persian slave-girls. The greater the laxity, the more jealous and rigorous grew the watch placed upon the legitimate but neglected wives. This marks the first step in the history of the real *Harem system*—so degrading to womankind—which has made Eastern womanhood—so

¹ Aghani, XIV, 130.

² Von Kromer, *culturgeschichte*, Vol. 1, 393

³ Ibn Khall, II, 210, under *Zain-ul-Abidin*. Kamil, Mubarrad, 299.

lavishly endowed with all the gifts of nature—what it is to-day. It is not possible precisely to lay one's finger on the exact date when so deep and tremendous a transformation took place, for such changes occur slowly and unobserved, making the boundary line scarcely discernible where the old order vanished, yielding place to the new. But so much we can assert, that the change in the social position of women was effected some time between the end of the Omayyad rule and the Caliphate of Harun-ul-Rashid.¹

When Mukhtar (a politico-religious party-leader who, in the first half of the first century of the A. H., caused a great deal of trouble, and obtained even temporary possession of Medina), on taking possession of Medina, repaired to the mosque and ascended the pulpit to address the assembled populace there, he is reported to have said : you have chosen singing-girls as your companions and taken to eunuchs with delight. We can infer from this that the introduction of eunuchs was then regarded as a foreign innovation. The old prejudice against eunuchs continued still later.² This hateful fashion of using eunuchs to guard the *Harem* came into existence, for the first time, under the Omayyad Caliphs, presumably in imitation of the Byzantine court, or of the Persian kings. We know, indeed, that trade in eunuchs was entirely in the hands of the Byzantine slave-dealers. In the beginning, eunuchs may have been employed in rich houses, as articles of luxury, to attend to womenfolk, but with altered conditions they were transformed into imperious warders and supercilious supervisors.

Next to eunuchs, that which contributed most to the degradation of womankind was the slave-trade. With the

¹ Goldziher, M. S. I, 121. "In the history of the decline of morals it is notable that Mamun legalised *muta marriages* by a proclamation which he was soon compelled to withdraw." Ibn Khall, IV, 36.

² Kutb-ul-Surur, M.S., Fol. 148.

³ Ibn Taghribardi, I, 611.

Ibn Taghribardi, I, 148.

conquest of Syria and Persia slave-girls came to Arabia in much larger numbers than had been the case before. When later the residence of the Caliph was transferred to Baghdad, it was especially the Turkish tribes of the North-Eastern frontier—conspicuous for their physical beauty—which sent in numerous contingents of attractive young women to Baghdad, to be sold as slaves. It was then a very profitable and by no means a degrading trade to purchase young women; to train them carefully in music and song, and then to sell them, at enormous prices, to rich men. The houses of the slave-dealers were the meeting-places of rich youths, who amused themselves with the girls—full of music, song and fun. Love-affairs were not altogether absent from these abodes of shame and lust, but these generally ended in either the purchase of the slave-girl for an extravagant sum or in the ultimate ruin and penury of the lovers. Both the slave-dealers and the slave-girls were adepts in the art of money-making, and they reaped a rich harvest.¹ In Baghdad and also in the large towns of Iraq

¹ The author of the *Kitabul-Mowashsha*, in the chapter dealing with the social conditions of Baghdad, sounds a note of warning against the snares of singing slave-girls. He says: 'if one of them sees a rich youth in a company she tries to infatuate him. She casts amorous glances at him; she sings to him; she drinks the leavings out of his cup; flings kisses at him until she captures him in her meshes and he falls desperately in love with her.....Then she sends messages to him and pursues her cunning ways. She lets him know that for him she is robbed of her sleep and never ceases to pine. She sends him a ring; a lock of hair; a piece of her nail; a little chip of wood from her lute; a fragment of her tooth-brush; a bit of sweet-scented incense (Loban) which is meant for a kiss; a short letter, folded up and tied with a chord of her lute, moistened with a few drops of tears, sealed with *Ghatiya* and impressed with her signet-ring, bearing on it an appropriate maxim or proverb. Once in her complete control, she begins asking for valuable presents, such as: materials for dress from Aden; curtains from Nishapur; garments from Angog; Turbans from Sus; silken waist bands; shoes; sandals from Kanbaja; head-ornaments set with jewels; bangles; valuable ruby rings. Not infrequently she feigns illness. She has herself treated or bled without the slightest cause. All this, indeed, with one object: namely, to obtain presents from her worshipper—presents such as: amber-scented shirts; chemises fragrant with musk; expensive lozenges; neck-chains of camphor or cloves soaked in wine, etc., etc. Unending are her demands for presents. The lover's purse exhausts itself, money is gone and the purse lies empty. Perceiving that there is nothing more to be got, she shows signs of impatience; and makes her lover feel her change of attitude. She speaks unkindly to him, and seeks a pretext for breaking with him. *Kitabul-Mowashsha*, MS, Folio 91.

these houses were the most favourite resorts of frivolous and light-minded youths. The description of one such place of business has come down to us where a rich slave-dealer, named Ibn Zamin—apparently a Persian or an Indian—living under the Caliph Mansur—received his numerous customers and lovers of his slave-girls—visits which always meant a rich flow of gold to the house. His slave-girls—one outshining the other—freely mixed with the guests; sang songs or played music before them, or received musical instruction in their presence. Salma (surnamed Zaraqā, the blue-eyed) was the *prima donna* of the house. Besides her, two other girls of this establishment (Sa'da and Rubaiha) are expressly mentioned. Very loose must have been the relations between the sexes there, for the beautiful slave-girls were not restrained by any sense of modesty in their intercourse with their rich, money-lavishing lovers. No favour was indeed withheld if only the necessary gold was forthcoming. Alongside of the *Café chantant* of Ibn Zamin¹ there was yet another *place of meeting*, at this time, at Kufa—the meeting-house of Zuraiq—where Suhaiqa held sway. Between the two *honest* men there was a violent spirit of rivalry, in which even the governor took sides, often even the side of Ibn Zamin. This honest man did excellent business with his charming slave-girls. One of his girls, Rubaiha, he sold for 100,000 Dirhams; another, Sa'da, for 90,000 Dirhams and the beautiful Zaraqā for 80,000 Dirhams. This Zaraqā was purchased by a youth whose father was the governor of Basra. The ill-advised son sought to keep the affair back from his father as long as he could. But he got wind of it, and one day he surprised the loving pair. Zaraqā scarcely had time to conceal herself. The old man made a fearful scene, and overwhelmed his son with taunts and reproaches. The son hardly knew how to appease his angry father. He made a sign to Zaraqā, who suddenly

¹ Aghani, XIII, 128. The name Suhaiqa is not calculated to ensure us of the respectability of this place of business.

appeared on the scene; threw herself round the neck of her old father-in-law, kissed him, caressed him, and succeeded in so enchanting him, that he was completely won over to her side. There was reconciliation and forgiveness.

More and more were the rich and powerful drawn to these seductive priestesses of the enlivening arts, and instead of seeking the hands—as in the days of yore—of girls of good birth and breeding—they purchased pert and pretty slave-girls who united with the charm of good looks the careless, sunny temper of the artist. Thus Mahdi, when still Crown-Prince, purchased a pretty singing girl for 17,000 Dinars, and by her had his daughter Olayya,¹ who distinguished herself by rich artistic gifts and accomplishments.²

With but few exceptions the later rulers pursued the very same course as Mahdi. Light-minded, frivolous women ruled the palaces and fashioned the tone therein. This was a veritable misfortune. Numerous instances show what laxity of manners these women introduced in the best circles of society.³ Polygamy, too, may have been largely responsible for it, by weakening and destroying the feminine ethical sensibility. In spite of this and other evils, oriental polygamy has been wholly misjudged and improperly condemned. At the time of the rise of Islam it was an institution consonant with the then existing conditions of popular life and society. For this reason, precisely, we find polygamy prevalent among all the civilized nations of antiquity. It will easily be conceded that at that stage of human history, when the tribal system reigned supreme, and there existed no strong bond binding the individual tribes—such as generally leads to the formation of a state—every tribe, every family, had to hold itself in readiness for self-defence against the rest. To defend itself successfully, it was imperative that the tribe should be strong, and able to muster a sufficient number of efficient men. This could

¹ Aghani, XIII, 131.

² Aghani, XIII, 114, 115; Ibn Khall, I, 317, note 2.

³ Aghani, XI, 98, 99; Aghani, XVIII, 185.

only be done by securing the support and assistance of other tribes through kinship or other alliances. Furthermore, it was of imperious necessity that every tribe and every family should do its utmost to secure a large number of children, for upon numerical strength depended the power, the reputation, the security, the very existence of the family and the tribe. Polygamy met the needs of the time by not merely enhancing the family prestige, but by satisfying the craving for children. 'Through it alone could be woven valuable family alliances of one tribe with another.' And how highly such connections were prized, is evident from the care with which the most distant marriage-relationships were looked upon and cherished.² Milk-kinship was reckoned as good as kinship by blood.³ They sought, moreover, the aid of the institution of adoption, and even recognised a kindredship between the master and his manumitted slaves, which the Muslim Law sanctioned, for according to that Law, patron and client—in the event of failure of ascendants and descendants—could mutually inherit from each other. These facts convincingly prove the pressing need—then felt—for enlarging the circle of kinship, to strengthen and enforce the family and the tribe for attack, offensive and defensive. The polygamy of those days is in no way to be compared or confused with the later oriental *Harem system*. The Arabs were a race of decided aristocratic bent. On nobility of descent they laid an augmented emphasis, and cases of *mésalliance*

¹ It will not be out of place to refer here to a passage in the "*Occasional Addresses*" of Mr. Asquith (p. 17): "Whether you are judging a book, a picture, a character, or a movement, no one now dreams of denying that it is the first duty of the critic to put himself, so far as may be, imaginatively at the point of view of his subject, to take into account the antecedents which led up to, and the atmosphere which surrounded, its production, and not to be a party to that worst form of *ex post fact* legislation which imports modern standards of thought and taste into our judgments of the past."

² Von Kremer, *Gesch der herrsch. Ideen*, p. 340.

³ Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 172; Also pp. 206 et.

were very rare with them.¹ In the house or tent of the tribal chief several women—with equal rights—never ruled or held sway. One, and one only, was the mistress of the house; namely, the noblest, the full-blooded one. The other co-wives held a position midway between the first and the rest of the domestic servants. Of this the relation of Sarah to Hajar offers the best proof.

When Islam made its appearance, the old order was unchanged. In fact, it received fresh sanction and support from the Qur'an, which emphatically recommended begetting of numerous progeny. Then the existing position of affairs was such that polygamy could not be regarded as anything but necessary and wholly justifiable—more so even than in antiquity. The Arabs conquered large countries, and settled down over immense tracts of land where conquered races constituted an overwhelming majority. These they had to rule and keep in check by a huge network of military colonies. But these colonies were insignificant compared with the subject races whom they were called upon to govern and hold in check. The only way they could avert the inevitable doom, namely, of dying out speedily amidst a foreign people, was to rapidly enlarge the Arab population. For this purpose they pressed polygamy into their service, and on a very extensive scale. True enough, many *mésalliances* took place—unions of full-blooded Arabs with women of foreign nationalities—which eventually destroyed the purity of the race—and also other evils ensued which later shewed themselves in glaring light—but in the extraordinary condition of things then existing no one can justly find fault with the polygamy of those days, which was the only means available of multiplying and strengthening the ruling race. In the great families of the Mekkan Aristocracy they adhered to the old principle of national exclusiveness, and laid great stress upon the purity and nobility of the race. They lived for a long while in the

¹ Kamil of Mobbarrad, p. 27.

old traditional way, and looked upon numerous offspring as the surest guarantee of power and influence. There was no fear then of the struggle for existence, nor was there any reason to economise, for the entire Arab population lived at the expense of the conquered countries, and the ruling families acquired fabulous wealth by conquests, by shares of booty, by means of lucrative posts. No consideration checked or hampered the multiplication of the Arab race, which grew with remarkable Arab fecundity. The subject population, on the other hand, declined in number, due partly to starvation and partly to conversion to Islam, which at once raised them to the ranks of the ruling race. Thus the families of Arab magnates became exceedingly large. A son of the Omayyad Caliph Walid I had no less than sixty sons ; and with the daughters, the inmates of the *Harem*, male and female attendants, relations and clients, the entire household may have counted more than 1,000 persons.¹ The household of an Abbasid family² even reckoned 4,000 heads. The ruling families multiplied with an enormous rapidity. When an insurrection broke out under Yazid I, in Medina, members of the Omayyad family with their clients, were expelled from the town. Their number, according to one version, was over 1,000, and according to another, over 3,000. Somewhat later, at the battle of Wadi Sabu, which was fought against the rebellious Berbers, no less than 10,000 Omayyads were said to have taken part in it.³ Without attaching very much importance to the exactness of these figures, so much is certain, that immense was the increase in the ruling families—due either to high birth-rate or to the introduction of a large number of clients among them. When the Abbasids rose to power, their number grew with such astonishing rapidity that, at the time of Mamun, the members of the ruling family counted no less

¹ De Goeje: *Frag. Hist. Arab.*, I, 13.

² *Mujam*: IV, 18.

³ *Ibn Athir*, I, 42.

than 33,000 heads.¹ These facts suffice to convey to us some, idea of the then existing social conditions, and the enormous effect of polygamy thereon. But hitherto we have looked only at the bright side of the picture—to its dark side too we must turn our attention.

(To be continued)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

SONG

Come with me, sweet, and we will go
A-harvesting the spring ;
I know a place where bluebells grow
And where brown thrashers sing.
We'll trip across the fragrant hills,
Abloom with haw and crab ;
We'll listen to sweet-sounding rills,
And dance a round with Mab.
We'll chance on violets, I know,
And toadstools in a ring.
Give me your hand, and we will go
A-harvesting the spring.

WAYNE GARD.

¹ Masudi, VII, 59; De Goeje, Frag. I, 351; II, 430; Ibn Athir, VI, 225; Ibn Taghri: bardi, I, 575.

FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

VI

We now propose to discuss the remedial measures that are likely to be efficacious. Before doing so, however, it would probably be helpful to the reader if we briefly recapitulated what has been said in the previous articles. We have shown that the widespread, virulent type of malaria was synchronous with the construction of railways and raised roads about 1860, and that it spread from Central Bengal as a focus all over Northern India along with their extension. There is hardly any dispute about these facts. There is, however, some dispute about the way in which railways and roads may have affected health and caused fulminant malaria. There are some who hold that the railway and road embankments have increased malaria by obstructing drainage, others opine that they have done this not directly but through the "borrow-pits" bordering them, while there are a few who maintain that they have led to this lamentable result not by impeding drainage, but by causing diminution of water.¹ We saw that the hypothesis of "borrowpits" is practically the same as that of obstructed drainage. Of those who recognise that railway and road embankments have led to obstruction of drainage, there are some who hold it primarily responsible for the violent outbreak of malaria about 1860, while there are others who

¹ So far as I am aware, Dr. C. A. Bentley is alone in this opinion, which I think, is altogether untenable. After I had sent my article (No. IV) criticising his views I received from him a pamphlet on "Some Economic Aspects of Bengal Malaria" (reprinted from the *Indian Medical Gazette*, September, 1922) along with some other pamphlets which he very kindly sent me, and I may take this opportunity of saying that his view which he has reiterated in it, that railway and road embankments have led to diminution of water in Central Bengal is quite unintelligible to me. By intercepting the drainage from villages and towns, they may have diminished the supply of water to *bils* and adjoining paddy fields, but as there is no evidence that there has been diminution of average rainfall, I cannot understand how there could be diminution of aggregate water-supply. The evidence on which this conclusion is based is of a most unsatisfactory character.

assign it a secondary place. We have refuted, and I trust convincingly, the arguments in favour of the two most authoritative hypotheses advanced by the latter—congregation of labour on a large scale and the loss of the floodspill of the Ganges. In our last two articles, we have shown how sad and signal has been the failure of the antimalaria measures which have hitherto been adopted by the Government of Bengal—flooding low lands, spasmodic jungle-cutting, and sale or distribution of quinine. Their failure might have been predicted as they do not touch the root cause of the virulent type of malaria which has proved the greatest scourge of Northern India, especially of Bengal, during the last six decades—the obstruction of drainage caused by the embankments of railways and roads

With the single exception of Dr. Bentley, the importance of this cause has never been denied by any authority whose opinion is entitled to any weight, though there has been considerable diversity of opinion about the degree of that importance. We have already seen that the Malaria Commission of 1864 pressed it, and that Chief Engineer Nicholls, though he differed from them to a large extent, admitted that “some obstruction is inevitable and should be remedied as far as practicable.” Col. Bate said at the Malaria Conference of 1909, that “in the Punjab very extensive tracts had been drained with great benefit to the people, and so far as he was aware there was hardly any desire on the part of the people greater than one to be delivered from the suffering inflicted by imperfect drainage.” Col. King emphatically declared at the same Conference that “in his opinion for permanently getting rid of the anopheles there is no measure that could equal that relating to the drainage of surface and subsoil water.”

Col. W. M. Clemensha who, as we have seen before, considers the congregation of labour during the construction of railways and other large public works to be the most

important cause of virulent malaria admits "that the blocking of drainage is, in many parts of the country, a very serious affair."

The obvious remedy for the impediment to drainage caused by railways was, as we saw in our second article Oct.-Nov., 1922, pointed out by the Malaria Commission fifty-eight years ago, and has since then been repeatedly urged. But no steps commensurate with the gravity of the problem have hitherto been taken by Government. In fact their attitude may not inaptly be compared to that of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning.

Four years ago the Government of India made a show of action, as will be seen from the following extracts from a circular¹ issued by it to all provincial Governments:

"3. The Railway Administrations have generally agreed that borrowpits should not be dug within the boundaries of considerable towns and railway stations, and that, when practicable, railway excavations should be made so as to drain off promptly and not result in a stagnation near inhabited areas. The Railway Administrations have also accepted the suggestions made in the circular letter of the Railway Board that Railways and local bodies should share the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations in equal proportions, though reservations have been made by certain railways that they should not be required to carry out drainage or reclamation when for sufficient reasons this is not practicable.

4. The Municipalities cannot legally be called upon to bear half or any portion of the cost of filling up or draining the existing borrowpits and excavations dug by Railways, and the provisions of the Railway Act do not deprive municipalities of their Statutory powers to require railways to fill up or drain excavations prejudicial to health.

5. The Government of India trust to the local bodies to exercise their legal powers in such a way as not to call upon the railways to incur expenditure which would not serve a useful purpose.

6. I am further to observe that it is generally agreed that the water-logging in certain areas is due to the interruptions of the natural flow of water by embankments, canals, etc., which are insufficiently provided with

¹ It is numbered 4 and dated 7th January, 1919.

waterways, and that by such waterlogging both the health of the people and, in certain large tracts of country, the productivity of the soil are prejudicially affected. Every endeavour should be made to see that natural drainage is not impeded and that, where it is already impeded, such impediments should be removed. This is one of the points which the Sanitary Commissioner in paragraph II (f) of his note has indicated as requiring attention when a new line is under consideration, but equally when the question is one of the removal of existing impediments to drainage the best results will be secured by consultation and discussion between the various interests concerned."

From this circular, it is quite clear that the conscience of our Government is very susceptible to the interests of railway administrations. If it were as mindful of the interests of the people, matters would have been quite different. Even in regard to the future, the railway authorities are so considerate as to agree not to dig borrowpits within the boundaries of only *considerable* towns, and to see in regard to other inhabited areas, that the excavations be so made as to drain off promptly, but only *when practicable*. Those who know how peace-loving and inarticulate the mass of our people are, how patiently and resignedly they face evils, and how heartlessly the high-placed functionaries take advantage of these traits of their character, will readily understand, that this little qualification renders the undertaking given by the railway authorities practically valueless.¹ But the question of drainage in connection with railway construction in the future is more or less

¹ In connection with the recent disastrous floods in Northern Bengal, it came out that some people of Adaundighi (a village between Santahar and Bogra on the E.B.S.R.) applied to the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, in April, 1921, through the District Magistrate of Bogra, for a bridge on the railway line between that village and Nasratpur. The Agent replied (October, 1921), that his "investigations do not show that a bridge is necessary." Yet, the E. B. S. Railway is under State management, and that a bridge was urgently needed is clearly shown by the fact that the floods were heaviest in the area in question. When the Sara-Santahar line was doubled some years ago, the waterways were reduced. It is said that the then Commissioner of the Rajshahi division strongly protested against the reduction, but to no effect. The consequence has been catastrophic. If the railway authorities are so very apathetic in the matter of waterways which are necessary for the protection and security of the railway, one can imagine what their attitude is likely to be in regard to the draining of borrowpits which would be adverse to the railway interests.

of academic interest. For, there is not much room for further railway expansion in the alluvial flats where alone, as we have shown before, the obstruction of drainage caused by road and railway embankments is highly injurious. The great question is how the very serious mischief which they have already done is to be remedied. That mischief has been done by them is admitted on all hands¹ though there may be divergence of opinion in regard to the acceptance of the hypothesis of obstructed drainage as the primary and immediate cause of the post-railway virulent malaria. The recent catastrophe in Northern Bengal has only brought to a head the sufferings of the people during the last six decades. Yet, the tone of the circular issued by a Government who profess paternal solicitude for the interests of the people is feeble, apologetic, and elusively inconclusive as if they were mortally afraid of offending the powerful railway administrations. It is suggested that "railways and local bodies should share the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations." We do not quite understand the distinction between "borrowpits" and "railway excavations." We are under the impression that borrowpits are excavations whence earth is dug out for embankments. "Railway excavations" other than these must be rare, and it is rather confusing to be told that one class of excavations is to be filled up and another class is to be drained. Besides, it would

The following instructions are given in regard to borrowpits in the "Bengal Nagpur Railway Construction Manual (1900)." "When setting out land for side borrowpits, arrangements must be made for berms at suitable intervals, whenever it is desirable to prevent side-cuttings developing into water courses, and to allow of convenient access to the line during construction. For this purpose a width of 50 ft. in a length of 300 ft. should generally be adopted." (p. 22.)

¹ Dr. Bentley is reported to have told an interviewer in connection with the recent floods in Northern Bengal last September (1922); "Unfortunately, the engineers who are responsible for the construction of District Board roads and Railway lines in this region did not trouble their heads about the natural drainage of the country. The roads and railway lines are insufficiently provided with culverts and waterways." This remark applies generally to all the railways and to all roads whether constructed by District Boards, Municipalities or the Public Works Department of Government.

generally be much more economical to drain the borrowpits than to fill them up, for filling up would necessitate fresh excavations which would have to be drained. However that may be, one fails to see the equity of an arrangement which would make the local bodies share with the railways "in equal proportion," "the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations" for which railway administrations are solely responsible, which have been made by them in contravention of elementary principles of hygiene, and which have had disastrous consequence in diverse ways. Indeed, it appears that the palpable iniquity of the arrangement struck the legislators, and there seems to be a law which empowers Municipalities to "require railways to fill up or drain excavations prejudicial to health." I doubt, if any Municipality has ever had the temerity to take advantage of this right; but should any wayward Municipality ever take it into its head to do so, the Government of India is so very considerate for railway interests that they "trust to the local bodies to exercise their legal powers in such a way as not to call upon the railways to incur expenditure which would not serve a useful purpose." The Municipalities which are the only local bodies that are vested with such legal powers are few and far between; and it is much to be doubted whether even any of them after this authoritative caution will venture to enter the lists with the puissant magnates of the iron road.

If borrowpits and obstructed drainage have affected health prejudicially—and that is admitted—they have affected the health of towns—people as well as of villagers. One, therefore, fails to understand, why law should have empowered the former only to seek for relief. Besides, effective relief even for them cannot be secured unless the causes of the unhealthiness of the country adjacent to Municipalities are removed. These objections are so obvious, that they must have occurred to the Government, and in the last para. of the circular we have quoted above which deals with the mischief done by

waterlogging over the country generally, they say that where drainage "is already impeded, such impediments should be removed." But that this is only of the nature of a pious wish is evident from the facts, that no remedial measures are indicated, and that they are left to be "secured by consultation and discussion between the various interests concerned," as if we have not had enough of such consultation and discussion during the last sixty years. The circular we have cited is so far as we are aware, the latest pronouncement of the Central Government upon the problem of health—the most momentous of all the problems we are confronted with to-day. Until the extremely pro-railway bias it discloses is removed, there is not, we are afraid the shadow of a chance of anything like a satisfactory solution of it.

It might be urged on behalf of the railways, that they have conferred great benefits and, therefore, deserve special consideration and indulgence. But there is no evidence to warrant such a contention. They have no doubt done some good; but they have also done harm, and the harm, in our estimation, considerably outweighs the good. It is true, that by facilitating communication they have raised the prices of agricultural produce; but by facilitating the export of food grains of which there would be no surplus if our entire population were to be fed properly, and if provision were to be made for years of scarcity, they have contributed to the reduction of their vitality. They have stimulated the production of non-food crops, but they have done so at the expense of food grains and fodder which are essential for the subsistence of our people and their cattle.¹ They have put more money into

¹ The following figures are taken from the report of Mr. K. L. Datta on High Prices.

	Quinquennium 1890-91 to 1894-95	1895-96 to 1899-1900	1900-01 to 1904-05	1905-06 to 1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
Food grains	81.3	81.0	80.2	79.5	79.2	78.2
Oil seeds	6.0	5.5	5.7	5.4	5.6	5.8
Jute	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.4
Cotton	4.6	4.4	5.1	5.5	5.8	6.0

the pockets of our peasantry, but by spreading "civilization," and facilitating the transport of imported inutilities, futilities and superfluities they have also served to drain them to no useful purpose. If they have helped to raise wages, they have also helped to raise prices, and to a proportionately larger extent.¹ If they have lessened the horrors of occasional famines, they have made famines more widespread, more frequent, and, on the whole, more destructive. By facilitating the transport of foreign merchandise, they have killed indigenous industry which a century ago not only made India self-contained in regard to her textile requirements but also enabled her to export a good portion of her surplus cotton fabrics. The soul of Indian civilization lay in villages: they have well nigh killed it, and have served to expand urban life at the expense of the much healthier (physically as well as morally) rural life. As the term 'benefit' is ordinarily understood, they have benefited a small number of industrial and commercial people, especially foreigners, and increased the number of exploiting, profiteering and parasitic millionaires and multimillionaires, but have, on the whole, done more harm than good to the mass of our people, by helping to reduce them to a condition of cultural and industrial servitude, by impoverishing them indirectly, if not directly, and by obstructing drainage and thus making floods productive of

Mr. Datta observes.—

"Another effect of this increased cultivation of the commercial crops on the food supply of the country has been that the best lands available are applied towards that cultivation, while the cultivation of foodgrains is relegated to some extent to inferior lands the yield of which even in normal years is much less."

¹ These and other remarks here made are based upon facts given in the writer's work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization, Pt. I Impoverishment of India and its Remedy."

"The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly has printed extracts from a paper by Messrs. Mann and Kantikar read at the Conference of the Indian Economic Association held in January 1920, in which the authors observe that "in general, the evil effects of a rise in prices on the general condition of the rural population can in the Deccan at any rate, hardly be gainsaid. And this is clear, that the question of the maintenance of low prices, by any available means, may be a matter for much more serious concern on the part of those in authority than has hitherto been realised."

calamitous consequences¹ (instead of being more or less beneficent as they would otherwise be) and causing grave injury to health. This last is probably the most serious of all the evils that have resulted from railways. For health is the first requisite of happiness, the most tangible and abiding of all the good things of the world, the end of all ends, the most valuable of all the assets of a nation. No amount of short-sighted material advantage, however great, can compensate for the loss of health.

If the interests of humanity are to prevail over those of a coterie of exploiters, then the railway administrations should not be shown any special favour, but *should be compelled by legislation* to remedy the colossal injury they have done. Not only the railway administrations, but also the Public Works Department of Government, the District Boards and the Municipalities, who, in varying degrees, are also responsible for it. They should all be made by Law to provide adequate waterways, and to effectively drain borrowpits.² In the Delta tracts, the draining of the borrowpits would probably be best

¹ The following is the official estimate (which is considered by various eye witnesses to be an under-estimate) of the damage done by the recent floods of Northern Bengal in September, 1922 in a portion of the area affected. "The principal areas affected are nearly 400 square miles in the District of Bogra, 1,200 square miles in the District of Rajshahi in varying degrees and a small area in Pabna.....In the District of Rajshahi, it is estimated that the loss of the winter rice crop in the affected area is on the average 70 to 75 per cent.The huts demolished or damaged in the District of Rajshahi are estimated at 50 to 60 per cent."

The Rev. C. F. Andrews who has recently (January, 1923) returned from a tour in the flooded area of North Bengal has stated to a representative of the Associated Press "that matters appeared suddenly to have taken a very serious turn for the worse among the villages in the Rajshahi area. Cases of actual starvation had been discovered by the workers, and in one part a whole village had been found to be without food for nearly three days. The last year's crop had utterly failed. The straw was lying in a rank condition on the fields which were left in exactly the same condition as when the flood subsided. The peasants had no funds to buy cattle for ploughing or seed for sowing, and if immediate steps were not taken, there was a very grave danger of the land falling out of cultivation for the whole of the present year."

² In regard to the existing canals, proper siphon arrangement should be made where it is wanting now, and in future none should be constructed without making adequate provision for drainage.

done in many cases, by connecting them so that they may form flowing watercourses with outlets into the nearest streams, or, failing such, into deep tanks, *bils* or *Baonrs* (deep pools in deserted river-beds).¹ Such water courses besides serving the purposes of drainage and sanitation, would remove one of the most unsightly features of the alluvial plains traversed by roads and railways, and might, in some cases, provide wholesome drinking water.

In regard to ways and means, if the execution of the suggestion made above be confined, to begin with, to Central Bengal, which was the centre whence virulent malaria radiated along with road and railway extension, and which is still the greatest sufferer from that scourge, the cost is not likely to be very heavy. In any case, it would be preposterous to impose burdens upon the people for the remedy of evils for which they are in no way responsible and which have been caused by the authorities concerned in persistent and perverse defiance of the elementary and universal principles of health. All of them—the Railway administrations, the Public Works Department, the District Boards and the Municipalities—should be compelled to order their budgets so that they may not incur any expenditure on extensions and improvements until the present borrowpits have been properly drained and until adequate waterways have been provided for the existing roads and railways such as would permit free flow of flood-water even during years of exceptionally high rainfall. Better that the number of serviceable roads and railways be restricted, than that they should be allowed to continue to be a standing menace to health. The sages of the East as well as of the West, of antiquity as well as of modern times are unanimous in their pronouncements about the paramount importance of health.

¹ This is substantially the suggestion made by the Malaria Commission of 1864. In the Madras Presidency the Public Works Department is prohibited by a Government ruling from digging borrowpits within certain distances of villages, and their drainage is enjoined. But there is no such ruling in the case of railways.

There is a well-known Sanskrit aphorism—*Śarīramādyam khalu dharma Sāadhanam* (Health is one's first duty). "Health," avers Gautama Buddha, "is the greatest gain." "*Mens sana in corpore sano*" (A sound mind in a sound body) was held by the philosophers of Rome to be the proper aim of right living. "The first wealth," observes Emerson, "is health..... get health : no labour, pains, temperance, poverty, nor exercise that can gain it, must be grudged." "The wealth of a nation," according to Ruskin, "is the health of its people." Material development at the sacrifice of this invaluable asset of the individual as well as of the nation is mere moonshine. The cool assurance and placid self-complacency with which some people talk glibly of the benefits conferred by roads and railways in India would be laughable, but for the tragic consequences they have led to. A large number of the people who extorted the admiration of Lord Minto in the beginning of the last century as "tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest cast of countenance and features," has become puny, shrunken, cadaverous skeletons. A good portion of the province which, three decades later, was extolled by Macaulay as the "Garden of Eden," has been converted into a howling wilderness.

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH ROSE

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT V ; SCENE I)

[*Scene.* A room in Mahadevan's Palace ; Mahadevan discovered with Manashtri his queen.]

Manashtri—

So to the audience came the lovers not.
I saw upon the face of Gurprashad
A smile of triumph, while a heavy cloud
Darkened the brow of Krishna. Now is flown
The hour of sunset, and the die is cast.

Mahadevan—

Nor may Mahadevan revoke his word,
Though Krishna rage and Gad his lightnings wield
Of threatened onset and the shock of arms.

Manashtri—

Rama defend us ! O my lord the King,
Can nothing turn aside this dire mishap ?

Mahadevan—

Nought I can see ; but yea, one thing remains,
A single ray to pierce the thundercloud,
The single chance that might preserve us peace.

Manashtri—

Thy meaning ?

Mahadevan—

This : should Gad to Draupadi
From Magudani's eyes exalt his suit,
Then with our blessing he might take his bride
And leave us to appease the Brahmin's wrath.

Draupadi—

The wisdom of the gods is in thee stored.
Let me but meet him father, face to face,
And I will win him for our people's sake.

Manashtri—

He will not woo thee, since his heart is set
On Magudani.

Mahaderan—

Let him then, bemoan
His baffled love in ignominious shame,
And when our banner floats on Narankot
Curse his own folly at our chariot wheels.

A Serrant—

His Highness the Prince Krishna.

Mahaderan—

It is well.
Now Rani, pray withdraw thy counsellings
To inner walls of silence, lest our plans
Suffer defeat through thy unwariness
And artless habit of sincerity.

(*Enter Krishna in sordid garments.*)

Mahaderan—

My noble kinsman !

Krishna—

Prince of princes, hail.

Mahaderan—

Arise, O Krishna, wherefore thus attired
In garments vile dost thou our presence seek ?

Krishna—

Because thy servant, King, is sore distressed
For Magudani, and the evil spells
Of witchcraft that enthrall her, since he came,
The white magician with his teachings strange
To lure our people from their ancient rites.

Mahadevan—

'Tis not the first report we have of him ;
He must be silenced. But, meanwhile, disclose
More of thy daughter and her evil plight.

Krishna—

Yestere'en thy servant from the bath had risen
And in his banquet-hall long time reclined,
Awaiting Magudani, ere she came
Belated home at nightfall. When I asked
" Whence comest thou, and whither didst thou go ?"
" To the Physician's house," she made reply,
" Who heals the bodies and the souls of men.
The sainted Thomas." " Callest thou," I said,
" That wizard a physician and a saint ?
Have his vain words bewitched thee ? Art thou mad ?"
" Hast thou not heard," quoth she, " the miracle
He wrought on Sitaraman's wife and child ?
As to his words, if thou wouldst only hear,
They should convince thee of the very truth
Of what he preaches, showing us how long
We have been fooled by falsehood, and estranged
From the true God who loves us, and whose love
Gave us His son who suffered in our flesh,
Died, rose again, and lives for evermore."

Mahadevan—

We would hear more of this—but to your story.

Krishna—

“All this dost thou believe it, child?” I asked,
 “With all my heart,” she answered, “and confess
 The faith of Christ, Him only, and refuse
 All other gods allegiance.” Sore perplexed,
 “Do what thou wilt,” I answered, “so thou make
 Incense oblation to the gods at eve
 In the King’s hall to-morrow. Whereupon,
 She vowed that rather would she die the death
 Than wrong her conscience and deny her Lord.
 In vain I reasoned with her, shewing forth
 All that her whim would cost her—how ’twould bring
 Loss of her princely lover and a throne,
 The peace endangered of his realm and ours,
 Her shame for ever, and her father’s curse.
 “Yet doth the gain,” said she, “outweigh the loss.”

Mahaderan—

This is but folly, Krishna ; it will pass.

Krishna—

The gods bestow that favour ere too late ;
 I can do nothing. Had the child a mother,
 She yet might be persuaded. Wherefore, King,
 I pray thee send for her deliverance
 The Maharani in a mother’s stead.

Mahaderan—

What says the Maharani ?

Manashtri—

I will go—
 Though what avails thee, Krishna, my success
 Now the third sun hath set ?

Mahadevan—

O artless candour !

Krishna—

I trust the goodness of Mahadevan
 Not to inflict a doom of life-long woe
 Upon two parted lovers, nor destroy
 For a maid's freak his people's hope of peace,
 When she repents her folly. Let this justice
 Fall rather on the head to which 'tis due,
 On that false wizard unto whom I owe
 The sorrows that enwrap me in these weeds,
 And wait to clothe them on Mahadevan
 Should he his justice temper or delay.
 Already to that Sadhu's lodge repair
 Of the blood royal more than one. 'Tis said
 Among them goes thine only son and heir,
 The Prince Vizayan.

Mahadevan—

What is that I heard ?

Vizayan goes there ? (*To Manashtri*) Know'st thou
 aught of this ?

Manashtri—

The truth must out. His tutors, where are they ?
 'Tis theirs to answer for his whereabouts.

Draupadi—

They will, my father, be hard put to it,
 Vizayan comes or goes in their despite,
 E'en as he listeth.

Mahadevan—

We must look to this.
 Ho, footmen, bid the Pundits and the Prince,
 Into our presence.

(*Exeunt some attendants.*)

Manashtri—

Be not over harsh,
His years are tender, and his spirit, if high,
To love responsive.

Mahadevan—

It shall bend to mine.
By *Fishnu*, 'tis a liberty unheard!

Draupadi—

'Tis time his liberties were brought to book.
(*Enter two Pundits with Vizayan*).

Mahadevan—

How now, *Vizayan*! It is told of thee
That thou hast been to *Sitaraman's* house.
When and how often?

Vizayan—

Once, *Mahadevan—*
But yester evening.

Mahadevan—

Prithee, by whose leave?

Vizayan—

I knew not anyone forbade it me.

Mahadevan—

Where were thy Pundits? Didst thou go alone?

Vizayan—

The press was great, my father; as we turned
The corner we got parted. So I went
Borne in a stream of people towards the house,
And entered where they entered.

Mahadevan (to Pundits)—

Is this true?

Pundit—

The Prince has more imagination, sire,
Than memory for detail in diary.
'Tis true that as we went our wonted walk
We reached a corner; where to our dismay
The Prince was parted from us. But 'twas not
The crowd that did it, but his speed of foot.

Mahadevan—

Did you not call him? Made you no pursuit?

Pundit—

Thrice did we call. He only ran the faster,
Till in the crowd we lost the sight of him.

Mahadevan —

Is this the heed he gives to your commands?

Pundit—

The Prince is wilful and defies control.

Mahadevan—

Then we shall now control him. Take him hence,
Lay on full measure of pages' discipline,
And bolt a door upon him.

Vizayan—

Nay, my father,

I am of the blood royal.

Mahadevan—

Hence—away!

Pundit (to Vizayan)—

Come!

Now shall your Highness rue you were so long
Perverse in forming Hindi characters.

(Exeunt Pundits leading Vizayan. Enter Gurprashad in white robes of mourning, his head shaved and beating his breast.)

Gurprashad—

Woe for the pitcher shattered at the well!
Woe for the broken wheel, the loos'd cord!
Woe for the lamp put out by hand profane!

Mahadevan—

What is the reason of thy wild lament?

Gurprashad—

O deed too dark for day to look upon!
O crime too cruel for the night to hide!
O sin too black for death to expiate!

Mahadevan—

What hath befallen? Succour our suspense.

Gurprashad—

O blissful state of unenlightenment!
O halcyon calm before the hurricane!
O happy dream of those who wake to weep!

Krishna—

Now of a truth he is beside himself.

Gurprashad—

Mourn for the flock her shepherd stricken down!
Mourn for the earth her outraged sanctity!

(Regarding Krishna)—

Mourn most the fool who cannot feel the loss!

Krishna—

He feels it not, if he hath lost his wits!

Mahadevan—

It were ill spoken to deride distress,
When 'tis a day of mourning for ye both,
But tell us, holy sage, thy cause of woe.

Gurprashad—

A holy priest of Rama hath been slain.

Mahadevan—

Where and by whom?

Gurprashad—

In Sitaraman's house,
And in the room of Thomas Didymus,
The Christian wizard.

Mahadevan—

Ram be merciful!

Gurprashad—

Stabbed in the back that holy Sadhu lay,
Nor e'er went such a shiver through the heaven,
Since Rama lay on Lanka's bleeding field.

Mahadevan—

By all the woes of Sita, 'tis enough!
Krishna, thy prayer is granted. Hence resort
To Sitaraman's house and seize them both,
And lodge them in a dungeon till such time
As we have leisure to pronounce their doom.

Krishna—

Mahadevan hath said. His slave obeys.

Gurprashad—

Never more kindly drew the feet of night
Behind the burning heels of ruthless day.

(Exeunt Gurprashad and Krishna.)

Servant—

His Highness the Prince Gad of Narankot
Craves audience of the great Mahadevan.

Mahadevan—

He hath been long expected. We will leave
Him now to Draupadi's soft-hearted wiles.
Come, Maharani, 'tis no place for us.

Manashtri—

I like not thus to leave her.

Mahaderan—

Howbeit, come!

(Exeunt all except Draupadi; Enter Gad, looks around and sees only the veiled form of Draupadi.)

Gad (aside)—

'Tis strange! Methought I heard Mahadevan
But now the room is silent and deserted,
Save for this lady's presence. Who is she?
Can it be Magudani? then indeed
Fortune hath smiled on me. Love, is it thou?

(Draupadi stretches out her arms and moves towards him; clasps her in his embrace.)

Life of my life, it cannot, shall not be
That aught of man's device should sunder us.

Draupadi—

O sweet assurance of my heart's desire !
(*Gad disengages himself and starts back.*)

Gad—

Who art thou, lady ? I supposed thou werst
The Princess Magudani.

Draupadi—

O happy error
That drew me e'en a moment to thy breast !
I am not she thou namest. Would I were !
I am but the daughter of Mahadevan,
All, all too conscious of the lower place
Thy choice assigns me. What though all the world
My higher rank acknowledge, I am less,
Till in thy heart thou throne me in her stead.

Gad—

Daughter of Kings, I am ashamed for thee,
That thou shouldst humble at thy servant's feet
The pride of Mailepur's illustrious line,
There to throw down what Princes not a few
Have sighed in vain for, ay, and yet shall come
To sue for on their knees. And for myself
I blush, constrained to the discourtesy
Of slighting what with too much graciousness
Thou puttest in my power to lay aside.

Draupadi—

To use thy vantage may be perilous !
Not lightly thus may Mailepur's Princess
Be slighted. Nay, if thou for thine own self
Art fearless, then bethink thee of thy land.
Doubtless thou comest to Mahadevan
For Magudani to repeat thy suit,

While flouting his condition. Sir, 'tis vain.
 I know my father ; rather would he die
 Than his decree revoke for any man :
 Against this marriage he hath set his face,
 And means to march his hosts on Narankot,
 Unless thou take the bride he offers thee.
 For war the Brahmins clamour, but to them
 His care for us will seal my father's ear
 So thou but take his daughter for thy bride,
 And thus preserve from bloodshed both our lands,
 Make sure thy throne, and save me from despair.

Gad—

Princess, if thou hast any love for me,
 Think not that I despise it—God forbid !
 For love ennobles woman and uplifts
 Her soul to heights the loveless never reach :
 It may be to the hills of happiness
 In mystic union blest with mutual joys
 Of troth and trust unbroken ; or again
 It may be to a mount of sacrifice,
 And self-effacement for that other's sake,
 Where Heaven itself bends down and God is found.
 But Love with bribe or menace ne'er compelled
 A lover to betrayal of his love,
 Or profanation of that holy thing.
 Therefore, though earth should split and heaven should fall,
 I dare not give thee what is dedicate,
 For love, like God, itself cannot deny.

Draupadi—

Thou cloakest thy refusal with fine speech
 Learned doubtless at thy Jewish Sadhu's feet,
 But in the rose lies hid the scorpion
 As sin behind a mask of holiness,
 And murder at his door they call a Saint.

God—

What slander ill of omen hast thou heard ?

Draupadi—

But now Mahadevan hath sent a guard
To seize this Christian Sadhu, on the charge
Of murdering a Brahmin.

God—

Let him beware !
If aught befall the Apostle, he shall answer
For this to Gondophares.

Draupadi—

O 'tis droll !
A menace to the lion from the mouse !
'Twere safer made afar, presumptuous Prince,
Than in the reach of those death-dealing claws.
Unsheathed already for thy chastisement.

God—

I thank thee much, Princess of Mailepur,
And own the wisdom of thy counselling.
'Tis time my ill-starred visit to this Court
Came to an ending. In the garb of peace
I sought a bride, and brideless hence am driven ;
Next time I come it shall be in a suit
Of shining armour, with a naked sword,
To fight for God, Saint Thomas and for her,
My Magudani, Rose of India ! !

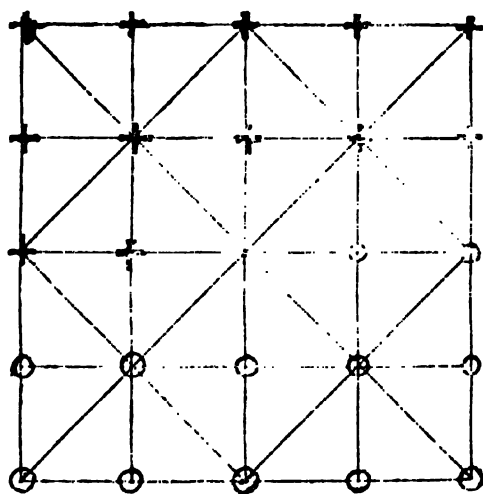
CURTAIN.

(To be continued)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

A TYPE OF SEDENTARY GAME IN THE PUNJAB

In the year 1919 I had an occasion to visit the Chor peak in the neighbourhood of Simla and in course of the march from Phagu to the bank of the river Giri, I came across a square drawn on a rock surface, the square being divided into a number of smaller squares by means of lines as shown in the following figure. On enquiry I came to learn that the figure was used for a particular type of sedentary game. According to the rules of the game two persons are necessary for playing it and the players are to provide themselves with twenty-four pieces of small stones or gravels of two different descriptions so that they can be easily-recognised.



The diagram shows that there are twenty-five points where two or more straight lines have met. These points may be called cross-points (Kruis-punten). Each of these cross-points, with the exception of the central one, has got a playing piece set on it. The move begins after the completion of this arrangement and when a player has one of his own playing pieces set next to one of his opponent's in such a way that the next cross-point

in the same right line is vacant, the former's piece can jump over the latter's one, occupy the empty cross-point and the former player takes away the piece belonging to the latter. The player who can, in this way, capture all the pieces belonging to his adversary is declared to be the winner of the game. The game is not confined to the hills, but, as I could gather through the kindness of my friend Mr. Shiva Raj, it is also found in the Punjab plains and goes by the name of *bāra guti* (twelve ballets), the name being evidently derived from the fact that each player has to provide himself with twelve ballets.

As far as I have been able to ascertain very little has been published dealing with the different types of the sedentary games of this country. In the year 1907 a very interesting article was published by Mr. Binodeswar Das-Gupta¹ in which description was given of the different types of games prevalent in Vikrampur, in Eastern Bengal. A reference to this paper shows that there is one game named *Mangal-pātā*² with which the Punjab game has a great similarity, but there are two main points in which the two games differ. In the first place, the diagram employed for *Mangal-pātā* has two triangles on the sides of the square and cross-points are produced in these triangles and these cross-points are filled up with the playing pieces. In the second place, the cross-points on the central horizontal line are all kept empty when the game is started. This type of diagram is also used in Behar.

Sometime ago Edw. Jacobson published a paper dealing, among other things, with the games prevalent at

¹ Quarterly Journal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Vol. 14, pp. 214-245 (1314 B.S.).

² According to Mr. Das-Gupta (*op. cit.* p. 240) the name of the game is derived from Moghal-Pathan and it is supposed to represent the strife between the Moghals and the Pathans and hence the play is not of very old origin. Mr. Basanta Ranjan Roy, Lecturer on Bengali in the Calcutta University, informs me that the word *pātā* may be derived from Prakrita *patta*=a plank. I think that the name of the game had its origin in the fact that the diagram used for the game was drawn on a piece of plank and that it was usually played during auspicious days, i. e., holidays or at auspicious places, i. e., holy places. It was only when the original interpretation came to be forgotten that the name of the game began to be associated with the fight between the Moghals and the Pathans. The name possibly originally meant *auspicious plank or board*.

Simaloer, the most northern of the islands situated along the west coast of Sumatra. In this paper the author has described a game known as *Saloel*¹ which agrees with the Punjab game in having only the central cross-point vacant. In this game, however, the square has two triangles on the opposite sides as in the Bengal game of *Mangal-pâtá*, but the number of dividing lines is much greater and there are altogether ninety-three cross-points and the play is carried on with pieces of two different kinds, the number of each kind being forty-six. According to Jacobson, the play is of Malayan origin and it agrees very much with the game of draughts. A little consideration will show that there is an important difference between a game like *Saloel* and the game of draughts. In the latter the pieces with which the play is carried on are all placed on the squares while in the game of the former type these pieces are placed on the cross-points. Jacobson also described in this paper² a game called *rimoe* or *tiger play* locally in which also the pieces, with which the game is carried on, are placed on the cross-points. In parts of India there is also prevalent a type of tiger play the diagram of which recalls that of *rimoe* and in which also the pieces are placed on the cross-points. This game has been compared with the fox and geese game but in this case also there is the difference that the pieces are placed on the squares and not on the cross-points, though in one type of the fox and geese game that is played on a solitaire board³ the pieces are placed on the cross-points. According to Jacobson these games are of Malayan origin, but in view of the fact of an ancient colonisation of Sumatra and Java by the Indians, in which, as it

¹ Tijds. v. Ind. taal-,land-en volkenkunde Deel 58, pp. 10-11 (1917).

² *Op. cit.* pp. 8-10. According to the writer of this paper the diagram used for the play is cut in the floor planks of many houses and most *Socraces*, i.e., houses where instructions are given regarding the mode of serving God.

³ Cassell's Book of Sports and Pastimes, p. 393.

was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar,¹ the Hindus from Northern India also had some share and of the prevalence of types of sedentary games, at least in parts of northern India, in which the pieces are placed on the cross-points, whether these kinds of game were not originally carried to these islands from India is a question, which I think, is worthy of being investigated by the students of ethnology.

HEMCHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

¹ Journ., Bomb. Br. R. A. S., Vol. 17, Pt. 2, pp 7-8

THE CONTACT OF INDIAN ART WITH THE ART OF OTHER CIVILISATIONS¹

I.

The process of art has two dimensions. The one is invisible to the eye. It stretches from the object of artistic representation to the artist. This is the main direction of creativeness and all works of art lie on that route. A work of art however exists not only by its expressive form. It is at the same time a means of communication. Primarily, it comprises an individual experience intimately connected with some concrete object; secondarily, it brings into or represents the contact of an aesthetic confession and a receptive mind. By a law which does not belong to the physical world, the two dimensions, the inner and the outer, are inversely proportionate. The deeper the object has sunk into the artistic subject, the smaller their distance has grown, the more intense is the effect the work of art has, the more lasting will be the impression it creates and the greater will be the number of persons who get impressed. Duration and extension of an artistic tradition are thus ultimately dependant upon the vitality of one or a few works of art.

Indian art spread eastwards and westwards. We can follow its expansion as far as France and Ireland in the West, and Japan in the East. From the 2nd century B.C. onward to the fourteenth century A.D. it was a continuous source of inspiration to the Far East and proved an intermittent stimulus to Western art. India's power of artistic colonisation is equal to that of Greece. Almost simultaneously these two centres of civilisation which stand for the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements sent forth their

¹ Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture for 1922 delivered on the 16th and 17th December, 1922

traditions which mingled without any resistance with the indigenous arts and crafts of any country they came to. Greece, before its fatal end, had extended its artistic dominion over Asia Minor and Italy. After its death Rome became the heir and colonized the whole of Europe, the north of Africa, Minor and Central Asia and the Far East. The Indian and the Hellenistic tradition thus were for sixteen centuries rival missionaries promulgating their artistic creed over the surface of the whole world known to those ages. The equally great success of these antagonistic efforts is striking. The two mother countries India and Greece, both peninsular, both in the south of a continent had independently evolved their art, though their remote Aryan unity left traces in either. From these two roots art grew up in two vigorous stems which got full growth in their own soil and spread their branches heavy with fruits to sunrise and sunset and the twigs crossed each other and formed a bewildering thicket. But wherever their fruits dropped the new seedlings bore the unmistakable features of the mother stem and the profuse crop which thus grew on the ground of the multifarious traditions outside India and outside Greece is called Medieval art in Europe and Asiatic art in the East.

Medieval European and Asiatic art, therefore, are the syncretistic periods and regions of art, while Greece and India and similarly Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Far East are the creative centres. Of these, however, Greece and India had the most far-reaching bearing.

Forms of art do not spread by themselves; they need a vehicle in which they can be carried and various vehicles run from India into various directions. Religion was the driving force which moved them towards the East. While Central Asia and the Far East were inspired by and became permeated with Buddhistic speculation and the pictorial forms peculiar to Buddhistic art, the south of Asia, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and the Sundia Islands

shared Buddhistic and Brahmanic divinities and their corresponding forms of art with India. Indian works of art, however, were brought to the West far less in the service of religion than in that of commerce. The fashionable world in Rome during the days of Augustus paid fancy prices for Indian pearls, brocades and textiles and Indian ivory work was as much in demand by the Christians of Egypt as it was liked by Charles the Great. The currents of Indian art outside India have thus a threefold source and speed. The one which links Indo-China and the islands, especially Java with India, keeps measure with the Indian evolution and its peculiarity is due to the indigenous art of the country which has become fused with Indian tradition from one centre or the other. The invasion of Indian forms into Central Asia on the other hand had to face not only the artistic traditions of every special country but also those currents which came from the extreme East, from China and from the West from the Hellenistic world. Still more currents mingled in the West to the effect that while Indian art to the South-East of Asia means a natural growth and therefore a continuous unity, it becomes an inspiring incitement to Central and Eastern Asia as long as Buddhism maintains the rule, and in the West it occurs sporadically and does not lose the charm of the exotic as long as it is not absorbed by and made into a Western convention.

The transmigration of forms of art proves with accuracy which features of the national spirit of any art can be transplanted—the elements accepted for instance by China will differ widely from those which found favour in Rome. It testifies on the other hand what features of the mother art resist all transformation so that in the most complex, locally and racially remote combination they still remain distinct. In short, colonial art keeps up the salient features of the mother art ; but as these enter new combinations, compelled by merely an outer necessity, that is to serve religion or trade or fashion, it is needless to emphasise that the works thus produced will be interesting

documents with regard to the history of form but cannot claim to be works of art. For spontaneous growth, the fundamental condition for creation is replaced there by a clash of traditions and purposes. Indian art comes to an end the moment it leaves India. As long as it can afford to spend it does so. The gain, however, is not on its side and the chapter of Indian art closes when the Eshin Sozu painted his Amida and when the Kathedra of the Bishop Maximian was carved in Ravenna. These masterworks are nothing but Japanese or nothing but early Christian and yet they could not be as they are without that faint scent of Indian tradition which pervades them.

We have to come back to them. But we have to follow the route which Indian art took. At every turning of the way we shall meet it offering an unknown mood. —A Siamese Buddha head, for instance, though obviously derived from the Buddha type familiar to the sculptors of Magadha is yet a new individuality. Its refinement is less spiritual than physical; all the features have grown thin, and sharp accents emphasise them in pointed outlines. The subtle modelling of the Indian prototype has given way to a strained and sensitive definition of the Buddha's features and the calmness of his meditation has given way to a state of trance where all nerves vibrate. This sort of sensitive rigidity, hardened modelling and sharp and pointed outlines are typically Siamese. Expression and body, body and dress have become separate features. An almost imperceptible cruelty lingers for instance round Ardhhanarisvara's eyes and mouth while his male-female body is equally above sex and above life on either side. It stands in heavy stiffness, for all movement has been concentrated into the winglike folds of the garment. They swing to either side sharp like knives.

The Buddha head dates back to the 9th or 10th century and the Ardhhanarisvara image to the 14th or 15th. The Siamisation of the Indian form has progressed; sharp outlines joined in

narrow angles have overpowered the round modelling of the Indian prototype. The art of the Sukotai Savankolok, of which the bronze Buddha head is one of the finest examples, is the spontaneous Siamese continuation of the art of Magadha. The Ardhhanarisvara figure however visualises the effort made to connect the two elements with the result that an Indian body stands on Siamese feet, is clad in Siamese folds and wears a Siamese head. This style is frankly eclectic. The conclusion is that India supplied Siam with its iconography, Buddhistic and Brahmanical and with the iconography, the "icons" were transplanted and translated into Siamese. The one feature of Indian art which remained intact was the modelling in the round, though it had to withdraw from those parts of the figures which received the greatest attention by the Siamese artist. Face and garment were freed from the Indian discipline and only those parts of the body which remained uncovered also remained Indian. It is the plastic element, the modelling in the round which asserted itself against the Siamisation, and was carried along the centuries of Siamese art as dead weight, surrounded by frail and nervous outlines.

The Khmer art of Cambodia contemporary with the period of Sukotai Savankolok let its individuality flow through the channels of Indian tradition and received it back purified and strengthened. There is scarcely any idiom of Indian art with which the Khmer artist was not acquainted. And yet his language is entirely new. Warriors, for instance, defile on some of the relief pannels of Angkor Vat. Their crowd is arranged in a firm row of which foot—and head—line are drawn in straight parallelism. The rhythm of their bodies strained forward in one direction, forms pattern-like segments of the lowest part of the relief. Each of them has a motion of its own. The distorted ejaculations of limbs and faces of the mob come to a sudden stop where the arrow bearers march in severe dignity. Their arrows, however, reflect and repeat the

curves of hands and fingers of the former group; while, on the other hand, their energetic steps become enhanced by a similar movement of the horses. The group of the spear-bearers at last throngs forward without restraint and their rushing bodies are bent by the hurry of their action. Yet in spite of all those contrasting groups and in spite of their arrangement is their procession but a narrow uniform strap at the bottom of the relief. Subtle trees of exuberant growth stretch over the rest of the surface actionless, but moved in peaceful, playful curves. Top and bottom of the relief at last are strewn over with a profuse sculptured ornamentation. The composition of this relief has nothing in common with Indian art of the same period, but it is closely related to compositions met with at the time of Sanchi. There too figures are arranged in rows and are set before a tapestry-like background of vegetation. This similarity is due to the epical spirit of either school. Narration there is the chief purpose. Contemporary Indian art, however, had progressed from narration to a canonized symbolism where such things as a cluster of trees and the like had become superfluous and insignificant. The age of mind therefore in which Khmer sculpture is executed agrees with the Sanchi stage of Indian art, with the difference that while the Sanchi artist had to rely on his own resources, the Khmer sculptor has the whole stock of the Indian inheritance at hand. And this may be seen in the supple modelling of the bare bodies and in the curvature of the branches. But what he had to give of his own exceeded that what he accepted. Again his hand similar to that of the Siamese artist cannot but chisel in angular outlines, which subdue and surround the fine modulations of the "plastic" and make the whole relief more into a drawing in stone than a sculpture. This way of artistic treatment is the natural expression of the peoples of Further India. Another peculiarity is their sense of proportion which makes the figures of men simply grown over with and buried under an immense

vegetation. This way of treatment, however, has its roots in India, though the part which vegetation plays there is far less prominent. As a whole the Indian tradition and the indigenous inspirations of Further India keep the balance and make a strong amalgam because their affinity is close. But it must not be overlooked that the active part is played by the inspiration of Further India while the Indian tradition figures as foundation or background, and shines through the thin atmosphere of Khmer art.

The distribution, however, of creative power and the capacity for absorption is entirely different in Java. Javanese architecture and sculpture of the empire of Mataram are the works of a local school of Indian art which achieved its masterworks on this island, similar to the genius of Greece who at a time of full maturity occasionally found its culmination on Knidos or Lesbos. The Hindu kingdom of Mataram most probably had its artists brought from India. Sometimes however a local hand is traceable even in the sculpture of Middle Java. A relief from Tjandi Prambanan, for instance, maintains the rounded softness of Indian prototypes while a distorting eagerness bends arms and legs in unexpected angles and makes the physiognomies of men and animals alike grin with malicious cruelty. Angular distortion of the Indian limbs and a cunning brutality of facial expression makes Javanese reliefs and especially those of Eastern Java akin to the artistic ideals of Further India. This, however, was not until the eleventh century when middle Java had lost its power. A new flood of Indian art then spread from the South of India to the East of Java and at this time the Indo-Javanese mixture produced a compromise of which the obverse has all the qualities of Indian form while the reverse exhibits those of Malaya-Polynesian conception and the truth and perfection of either is alike. The figure of Ganesh may stand for one of the purest achievements of an all-round restlessly modelled volume, a treatment so dear to Indian art, yet the back view

presents on its flattened surface the mighty grimace of a Kirtimukha dissolved into petty protrusions interspersed with holes full of dark shades ; and this appearance perturbing with its vicissitudes of clumsy shapes and formless holes shews the indigenous style of Eastern Java. Nowhere in India has the head of the Kirtimukha a similar gruesome liveliness and it seems as if this ornamental device were given to India from the store of Polynesian totemistic and frantically phantastic animal heads. But where the grotesque and the gruesome has no right to appear, figures like that of Prajnapara Prajnaparamita or of Durga Mahishasura Mardini attain sublime incarnation in purely Indian form.

Middle and Eastern Java were the leading centres of Indo-Javanese civilisation. The west of the Island remained more aloof from Indian civilisation. And yet its sculpture renders the breathless calm of meditation but does so with means of its own. The squatting figure of the man who holds a lotus bud has been laid into one vertical plan and reminds in its symmetrical simplification of the sitting Buddha from Sarnath. But it would be premature to draw any conclusions. It must suffice for the present to point out where, under what conditions and surrounded by which forms the Indian element rules, influences, or is subdued. The Javanese experience is complex. Java proved an extraordinarily fertile soil for the evolution of the Indian principles of form. In the outstanding works of Mataram it scarcely added anything of its own but it is worthwhile noticing that the ease with which the heavy full round figures in the reliefs of Borobudour move is the same that gives unapproachable dignity to the Eastern Javanese figures of Durga and Prajnaparamita. No indigenous Javanese trend of form will be found there. The extremes, however, which mingle with and set the limit to Indian form are the dissolution of the plastic volume into small sculptured compartments which rise as an agitated pattern over a plain and dark ground on the one hand, and the geometrical

discipline of an abstract schème on the other hand. But either convention has the two-dimensioned surface for its working field and it is this Malayo-polynesian symptom which had to offer the strongest resistance to the Indian perception of form, which comprises the three dimensions of space in one plastic volume. Java puts the full-stop to Indian art in its propagation south-eastwards.

Surveying the extension of Indian art in the south-east of Asia it proves to be colonial art in the same sense as Greek art in Asia Minor or Italy. The indigenous traditions of the various centres of artistic production, as the Khmer style of Cambodia or the Malayo-polynesian style of Java were either subdued or remained untouched. Buddhist, Sivait Visnait ideas and their corresponding images and forms were brought to the colonies. How readily they were accepted there is testified by their local taste, which in the case of Cambodia and Java is far above provincialism. Indian art in Java or as created by the Khmer artists is in a similar position as it is in the southern part of the motherland. There too the Dravidian population had a strong personal way of artistic expression. Yet this was overcome by the æsthetic of Northern India. The contact of South Asia with Indian culture dates back in historical times to the first Christian century for Java or even to the age of Asoka with regard to Further India. Thus the penetration of forms and ideas in the successive centuries had that leisure which is necessary for a productive assimilation.

The propagation of Indian art, however, in north and north-eastern direction, though historically not less fragmentary, has at least one cause in common. It is Indian art in the service of Buddhism which supports the art school of Gandhara during the first five centuries of the Christian era, and migrates to Khotan where it is traceable at the close of this period, and takes its way through the Turpom to the confines of China

where it reaches its climax in the caves of Vungkong and Longmen and in the ninth and tenth century in the caves of the thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang, while in Japan at the same time the Buddhist frescoes of the Kondo of Horiuji were painted and Eshin Sorn got inspired by Amida's glory. But the most essential links of this north-eastern chain of Buddhist art are missing. Nepalese art is not known before the ninth century and the earliest Tibetan painting was found in China in the caves of Tun Huang, in the ninth century, brought or painted there when Tun Huang was under Tibetan domination.

We need not fight against the windmills of Gandhara which appear to European eyes so huge because their Greek features are so near to cherished reminiscences. The question for the present moment is: What did Indian art contribute to the International school of Gandhara for such it was, as Indian, Parthian, Scythian and Roman colonial workmen and traditions met there. It gave its plastic conception, not at once yet in the course of time, and in this way the syncretistic Gandhara sculpture became Indianised. Buddhism and local mythology moreover supplied the sculptors with Indian themes. The most ardent problem, however, involved in Gandharan production is whether, as it is held up, the pictorial type of the Buddha originated in Gandhara or not. The question still has to remain open. But it is remarkable that such essential *lakshanas* as the *ushnisa* and the short curves of hair turned to the right and the elongated earlobes are met with in Indian sculpture of pre-Gandhara time, when the representation of the Buddha was still taboo to pious Buddhists. Examples of this type are carved as detached heads single in lotus-medallions which adorn the railings from Bodhi Gaya; there a standing figure of a Dvarapala exhibits the same *lakshanas*. There can be no doubt that these representations did not represent the Buddha and it is difficult to say how far the *lakshanas* of the Mahapurusha were associated with

these unidentified heads. In any case Indian sculpture was acquainted with a plastic form which is identical with the latter *uṣṇiṣa* at a time when neither the bodily representation of the Buddha nor the Gandharan productions had come into existence; and so much can be said that these distinctly Indian bodily characteristics were not for the first time translated in stone in the province of Gandhara; on the contrary the undulated hair of early Gandhara Buddhas betrays Hellenism and is against the Indian tradition. Similar as in the case of this iconographic detail is the general behaviour of the Gandhara artisans; they took in every case the iconographic suggestions from India and as they were no longer fettered by any religious or artistic scruples and had the entire tradition of Hellas and India but also of Central Asia at their command, they did their best in illustrating as well as they could the stories and sacred heroes for which there was so much demand amongst the Buddhist devotees. The artistic quality of this market supply naturally cannot be but of the worst sort. The suddenness of the Indo-Hellenistic clash could not cause anything but disturbance on either side. The Hellenistic importation on the other hand got no supply on the spot and its fate was to be overcome and annihilated by the living force of Indian art. Yet there is one scheme of composition which was of greatest consequence in all future arts. This is the symmetrical arrangement of the groups of divine personages for the purpose of worship. The beginning of this frontal symmetry can be found already in Barhut and also in Sanchi. There of course some symbol or the other takes the place which later on is occupied by the icon. In Gandhara for the first time however those triads as Buddha with Brahma and Sudra are introduced and sometimes the donors represented in an attitude of worship are admitted into their circle. This strictly symmetrical form of composition originated in Gandhara and spread from here in the

service of the Buddhist Church to the Far East and reached its height in Central Asia and Japan in the 10th century and is alive in Tibet to the present day. This artistic achievement of Gandhara is of an ecclesiastic type. Though Indian art is religious and at times conventional the business spirit of a clerical institution was needed to invent a way of representation where the donor could enjoy to see himself brought into direct contact with the object of his worship and where on the other hand any number of new gods to be propitiated and any combination possible was easy to be managed. This economical mechanism was set into working order for the first time in Gandhara. This way of representation became the standing type for the representation of Sukhavati, Amitabha's Paradise in the West. The Mandala of Tun Huang are based on Indian painting as far as the representation of human bodies is concerned. Their curved outlines betray Ajantesque tradition.

A drawing on paper gives the key how such compositions were quickly supplied to the market. It was used as pounce; the one half of the pounce is pricked the other drawn in outline. Variety was brought into the symmetrical monotony by a brilliant display of symbolic colours. The mechanisation of Buddhist art led also to another way of rapid multiplication. Numberless Buddhas were stencilled and formed geometrical pattern; for the greater the number of images consecrated, the greater the merit of the donor. The caves of the thousand Buddhas, the caves of the million Buddhas are in this respect pure works of Buddhist art, for Buddhism in India had no special art of its own. The forms were Indian and the iconography Buddhist. But uprooted from the Indian soil, iconography, that is the prescription becomes almighty, for the creative vigour which soaks its strength from the soil of the motherland had to be left at home. Buddhist art fostered the various techniques of reproduction. Clay models, stencils and pounces were in use and the most ancient wood-cuts known were

current amongst the communities of Central Asia, though their origin lay in the East.

No doubt Central Asiatic art grew up in local centres of Buddhist worship. The forms of art we therefore meet with are Central Asiatic conglutinations of the neighbouring zones of art. China and India, Persia and Greece were united there. In this melting pot we find the Indian stuff to be prevalent. The principle of decoration, for instance, peculiar to the caves of Tun Huang is the well-known tapestry-like cover of paintings (*cf.* Ajanta) extended all over the walls and the ceiling. But the exuberant jungle of living forms has been cleared and dried up. Only what is iconographically necessary remained and covered the walls in stereotyped order. The migration of Indian models into these centres of ecclesiastic art is indicated by several paintings and sculptures which, though made on the spot, keep up the Indian convention. These finds represent a provincial museum of Indian art. They mark movements of the Indian artistic evolution separated by thousand years and more. An ink-drawing found at Tun Huang for instance, repeats in free interpretation the design of several reliefs of the Sanchi gateway. The crowded figures which stand in rows and on top of one another according to the Indian conception of space are Indian in spirit and construction in spite of their Chinese features and costumes and exemplify a tradition at least as remote as the Sanchi monument.

A carved and painted wooden slab from Ming-oi Kara-shar introduces a new and nude type of the Buddha. The two upper pannels correspond with the style of sculpture in vogue in India under the early Guptas, although the faces of the figures do not try to hide their Mongolian origin of which the lowest pannel is a frank confession. But composition and movement, proportions and modelling, the treatment of cloth and skin coincide with that of early Indian art where no Hellenistic suggestions were accepted.

Some temple banners from Tun Huang painted on silk, cotton or paper represent contemporary Bengal art as understood in Central Asia and China. The Avalokitas show different distances of interpretation from Bengal prototypes. The Bodhisattvas on the banner to the left, apart from the treatment of his toes and from the flower pattern on top, could pass for a mediocre work of that school of Bengal painting of which only examples three centuries later than the Tun Huang banner have come to us.

But the most convincing taste of the archaeological and ecclesiastic behaviour of Central Asiatic Buddhism towards India is a large silk painting from Tun Huang; its inscription says that the different painted figures were intended to reproduce sculptured images worshipped at various sites of India. One of the figures is mentioned to represent a statue in the kingdom of Magadha while others are either directly copied from Indian originals as the lowest figure to the left, and interpreted by the local painter. In none of these examples any Hellenistic feature is traceable. Indian art migrated *via* Nepal and Tibet and pictorial representation was the most popular way through which Buddhism captured the hearts of simple people of Central Asia. Its rapid success is due to the avalanche-like course it took. Impelled by missionary zeal it carried away within its movement whatever forms came in its way. Whether they were Hellenistic or Persian made no difference. And so we meet not only with provincial but also with hybrid mixtures where a Hellenistic modelling of the body mingles with the flowing style of Indian garments and Mongolian flatness squeezes the heads into a distorted laughter.

The achievement of the various missionary schools of Buddhist art in Central Asia thus has one artistic merit. Subventioned by the wealth of Indian forms the local craftsman was enabled to meet the demand of devotees, however, so extravagant in their craving for numberless figures of Buddhas

and Bodhisattvas. But as the directions to be followed were all more or less alike, symmetry resulted as the most dignified but also as the cheapest and quickest way of satisfying the donor. Thus a specific Buddhist art came into life in Central Asia which established the type of ecclesiastic art. The idiom of these paintings is Buddhistic and derived from Indian art-language. It achieved the refinement of an old pictorial tradition when coming to Japan; for although Indian art brought the type of the Buddha to perfection it was left to Japan to make Buddhism visualised in the myth of a landscape which has for its background the mood of Dhyani.

An inscription on the Hokke Mandala which was added at the occasion of a restoration of that Japanese picture, in the eleventh century does not forget to mention that this Mandala is a real product of India although except the Buddhistic composition in frontal symmetry, every brush stroke is Japanese. Yet the sacredness of the picture was enhanced by that suggestion, which reminded the Japanese worshipper of remote ages, when emperor Ming ti of China had sent for the first time to India to seek the truth about Buddhism and his messengers brought back amongst other religious documents, the first Buddhist image from India. This was in the year sixty-seven.

The earliest trace, however, of Indian art outside India we find, strange to say, in a Greek work of art of the first half in the second century B.C. It is the relief frieze from the altar of Pergamum in Asia Minor, where in the war between gods and giants the threefold goddess Hekate intervenes with many arms. This is the most ancient document of the gods of India with multiple limbs and it is preserved in Greek surroundings. And from this time onwards we meet with Indian motives here and there and now and then, without any continuity but brought to Europe just as pearls and precious silk, for which the taste of dying Rome had so much fondness. The other

factor which eagerly seized the oriental form are the early centuries of Christianity, which were groping for some form adequate to their contents, and Indian or Persian, Syrian and Egyptian forms and symbols were welcome without discrimination for the expression of Christianity, the oriental faith in Western lands which could not be satisfied by Greek illusionism and which could not derive any inspiration from a non-extant Jewish art.

A painted cloth of truly pagan pattern rapt round the mummy of an early Christian lady was found in Egypt. There Bacchus triumphs and Selene dances and all of them wore Buddhist halos and their Greek limbs are curved with the voluptuousness of Indian lines. The product of Egypto-Indo-Hellenistic design has a pagan freshness of vision. The later examples of Europeanised Indian art of the middle ages appear in Egypt and Byzantium, were made in the south of France in Germany and in Ireland. The Sanchi composition of the war of the relics, which did not miss amongst the treasures of Tun Huang occurs again in an ivory carving from Trier in Germany. The cherished motive of woman and tree, a leading device throughout the centuries of Indian art may be seen on the pulpit of the monastery at Aachen. There however, the female figure is changed into a male and Bacchus plucks the grapes whereas the Lakshmi touched the tree with her foot. The ivory creeper of Indian art which carried there its life movement ornares the Kathedra of Bishop Maximian from Ravenna. But it is needless to enumerate the ivory elephant of Charles the Great or to draw attention towards an ivory carving in Orleans, where Christ and various saints figure in the canonised scene of the great miracle at Cravasti. Most of these medieval reminiscences of Indian art lingered in ivory reliefs and the material and the form might have come from one source. Under the Karolingian and Ottonian empire the Indianisation of European ecclesiastic book covers carved in ivory was at its height. One illustration

may stand for the rest of them. It shows an altar in so-called bird's-eye view according to Indian perspective, an altar-cloth with early Indian lotus pattern, rows of worshippers on top of each other, the lowest row turning their faces inside the relief,—all this being early Indian conventions to visualise the third dimension, that is, the continuity of the assembly round the altar. This scheme belongs to the eighth century in Europe, to the second century B.C. in India. It must have come to the West at an early date and has preserved the memory of India in the seclusion of an ecclesiastic tradition of work carried on by the medieval monks.

A late Mahajanist conception in a fresco from Baraklik gives the scheme of composition to an ivory sculpture in Germany representing Christ under the form of the Armenian Yima. To another period of Indian art belong the frescoes in the palace of the Pope in Avignon. There the proportion of tree and man and their peaceful and decorative harmony is of the same kind as that which accompanied the representation of prince Vessantara in one of the wall paintings of Miran and is akin to the treatment of men and forest in early Mughal landscapes.

The Indian element in European art was always inobtrusive and of no consequence. In the structure of European art it had the function of a loan-word. It remained a name of foreign origin for contents which had become familiar to Western thought. It disappeared completely with the Middle Ages.

Resuming we may state :—Indian form outside India means: full unfoldment of the national genius of South-east Asiatic and Polynesian races; in Central Asia it created the ecclesiastic type of composition for Buddhist art and in Europe the Indian element acted through fourteen centuries as a ferment in the abstract art of the middle ages.

II

IN INDIA.

Self-defence is a reaction of the living organism against irritating or destructive intrusions from outside. Without assimilation on the other hand life cannot maintain its existence. The two processes act upon one another and keep the individual vigorous. Their balance depends upon the strength inborn to the individual. Artistic production as a living organism is obedient to these two laws.. But the meaning of self-defence and assimilation as applied to art needs explanation. India, for instance, sending out her works and traditions of art to East and West was free from either activity. There it gave itself away to any context it entered and far from assimilating new suggestions it accumulated them and carried them on from country to country and from century to century. For Indian art there was no longer immediate expression of an inner experience, but it lived on its past and used it as store from which convenient formulæ could be drawn. It had become petrified in the service of religion and commerce and needed not the protection so necessary for growing life.

The earliest art we meet with in India is that of the Asokan age. At that time it is already fully matured so that its early history remains veiled by ages and its movements lie hidden under the cover of an unknown past. The science of the creative genius and its work is new. Laws and periodicity are not yet established, yet as far as from a comparative study can be judged it appears that the art of every cultural unit is open to extraneous influence either in its early infancy, when

to the groping spirit who wishes to express himself every form wherever it comes from is welcome for that purpose, or again after complete self-expression is reached and fatigue has overcome intuition. At that stage again foreign forms are appreciated and accepted though they cannot rejuvenate the senile body of art and a fresh impetus from within is needed to start anew the game of self-defence and assimilation. This periodicity may be verified from the evolution of Greek art for instance which affords the best example as its beginning, its height and end are fully known. In the early stage Mediterranean and Asiatic conventions supplied the stock of forms to an imagination which had not yet grown sure of its own trend. But after these external helps were assimilated and digested sufficient strength was gained for self-defence against a repetition of a similar invasion and Greek art from the 6th to the 3rd century B. C. attained its national form which after having exhausted almost all resources looked round to the same funds which it had used centuries ago, but neither freshly imported subjects nor forms could stop its decay.

The case however of Greece is extraordinarily simple, for there one well defined mentality, we may say one creative individual, had lived its life. The evolution of Indian art however contains many artistic individuals and what to the one may have the meaning of death reveals itself with regard to some other as the beginning of new life. But this vicariate of creative unities and personalities is not peculiar to India, and the same rule is valid for Europe in its entire artistic productions. The marks of beginning or end are set in every case by the dynamic power of artistic creation inherent in the single national units. Indian art thus passed through three critical ages, the Asekan and post-Mauryan age, the time of the Moghul Empire and the present moment. It goes without saying that apart from these well marked periods of foreign contact some minor motives linger on and ooze down to the devices of popular art and cottage industry where they remain in the vocabulary of domestic crafts throughout the centuries

of its existence. In this way we find for instance some animal patterns as those of the heraldic two-headed bird or fish-tailed human figures as devices known to the textile arts all over Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe and this early Asiatic art cannot definitely be traced to one centre only, though the Persian was apparently the most distinct. The immortal Acanthos of Greek origin on the other hand occurs at times as border on late medieval temple banners in Ceylon and the same device is to be seen on semi-Europeanised Bengal village architecture where it seems difficult to decide whether its use is due to a more recent importation or whether it lingered on as one of the hereditary motives of the unwritten grammar of domestic crafts. But we shall leave those unessential details aside, and start from the beginning where mighty stones tell their message in discordant tongues.

The lion capital from a broken pillar at Sarnath is witness of a complex artistic process. Four lions there are united into an all-round pattern round the elongated shaft of the column. They rest on a round plinth where four wheels of the law are circumambulated by various animals, the elephant for instance and the buffalo. This pedestal with its load is superimposed to a bell-shaped flower-like bulb. The structure seems organic because it is powerful enough to overcome two discordant plastic principles. The one is the modelling of the lions' bodies, that is to say, their artistic physiognomy. The other is the way how the bodies are combined in the round and how this all-sided form is linked to the rest of the capital.

The striking feature of head, mane and legs of the lions is their distinct precision. How the face is kept apart in sharp line from the mane and how neatly but also how abruptly the mane ends on the legs. Inside the clear confines of every essential part thus formed an equally precise, sharp and abrupt modelling distinguishes forehead, cheeks and snout while the eyes, moustache, teeth and mane are articulated by minute and

independent single shapes. Legs and paws show the leading features of this kind of sculpture in the most convincing way. Muscles and bones are firmly marked by high ridges and an interjacent channel, and each single tendon and joint of the toes is as boldly represented as the carving of the claws is minute. The effect of this plastic treatment is a vigorous naturalism which perceives the living form as strained by force and effort. No lassitude but also no softness is in these abrupt, strained and firm limbs.

Compared with these lions the animals of the plinth are tame and gentle beasts whose trot is full of swiftness and lyrical tenderness. Yet their modelling is carefully articulated with regard to joints and muscles although it is obvious that the fleshy part is no longer hard and strained, but has that healthy roundness which betrays life at ease. The outlines of these animals in relief though characterising every smallest peculiarity, are as a whole continuous so that they can be followed by our eyes in one uninterrupted gliding movement. If now it has to be decided whether the structure of the entire capital follows the artistic principle as incorporated in the lions on the top or that which acts in the animals of the plinth, the answer can be readily given. For one uninterrupted line glides over the angular profile of each lion and links it with the curvature of the chest bedecked with mane, and curves from there in negative way along legs and pauses in order to embrace in a mighty bow the angle built by the plinth. From there the complete succession of curves is repeated all over the floral capital in a more compressed and more emphasised manner. Thus it is established that the structural conception of the capital coincides in its continuous rounded outline with the plastic treatment of the animals on the plinth--while that of the lions in its abrupt tension stands apart though it is included in the general scheme.

Keeping in mind that this capital belongs to a pillar set up by emperor Asoka and thus represents an official work of art

or a work of court-artists, we shall analyse the contemporary sculpture which has a more intimate character. The well known early figure of a Yaksha shall be the starting point. The minute analysis of these early Indian works may seem tiresome yet in this way only exact knowledge can be gained once for ever whether, how far and in what respect Mauryan art and henceforth the whole of ancient Indian creation was indebted to or dependent upon Persian form. No inscription and no written record can fully reveal this connection. The monuments themselves have to be consulted and they unravel their secrets to the observing eye. The animal representations on the top of the columns excepted we do not hitherto know of any other contemporary sculptured animals for comparison. But this is irrelevant for we are not concerned with the subject represented, but with the way of plastic treatment. Any contemporary sculpture whatever be its subject will throw full light on the actual situation.

The Yaksha figure shows a fully developed modelling in the round. Is it the same as that of the lion capital from Sarnath? Head and arms and legs obviously are isolated from one another by sharp accents. Necklace and belt are treated as independent plastic bands laid over the modelled body. In so far the two sculptures under consideration fully agree. The naturalism also of the Yaksha figure is not less conspicuous than that of the lions. And yet the effect of the whole figure is entirely different, for every detail of it is shaped by a new kind of life. The treatment of the legs for instance, makes them appear smooth and rounded. Neither the knees nor the ankles are accentuated but one organic movement in the round moulds them into shape. The plastic details on the other hand as for instance ribbons and ornaments are, inspite of being well marked within their confines, subordinated to the main modelling of the body which they accompany and emphasize. They have no value of their own and if taken from the

body their curves would lose all sense for they do not belong to them but reflect those of the body. The curves of the lion's mane on the other hand even if imagined apart from the lion retain their significance for they have a plastic volume and movement of their own. The main difference in the artistic treatment of the two sculptures amounts to an abrupt, isolated and strained modelling on the one hand and a flowing and therefore connecting and relaxed modelling on the other. Either of them however goes in the round with the difference that within the style of the lion-treatment every part whether important or subordinate is treated equally as fully three-dimensional volume while within the style of the Yaksha figure only those parts deserve a modelling in the round towards which chief attention has to be directed. In this way the subordinate parts emphasise those of greatest importance and this principle of subordinating extends equally over accessories as for example hair, dress and ornaments, and the sides from which the figure has to be seen. Thus front and side view give an impression of bulky roundness while—in the case of this Yaksha figure—the back view appears flat. This peculiarity however cannot be generalised into a statement that Indian art within its own resources is unacquainted with sculpture in the round and treats its statue as a kind of two-sided relief. Other early Indian statues, the Yakshini from Patna for sample, exhibit a view as fully rounded as the corresponding front view. In fact hair, back, scarf and *sari* display a plastic animation which by its asymmetrical arrangement has more charm than the symmetrical rigidity of the front view. Moreover the slight bend forwards of the back view from the hips onwards suggests the alert movement of a youthful walking body while the front view merely stands in solemn symmetry. In every other respect however the Yakshini figure belongs to the same conception of form as that of the Yaksha. The difference between the artistic treatment of those two figures

shrinks down to almost naught if the cubic form peculiar to the lion capital is compared with.

Derived from the same source of plastic form are some of Yakshini figures from Barhut. There however they are made to recline against the octagonal post so that only the front view is visible. But even then the plastic treatment remains that of a sculpture in the round.

In sharp contrast to this Yakshini figure stand those of other Yakshas and Yakshinis, Nagas and Naginis from Barhut. The relief pannel representing Kuvera, one of the most accomplished pieces of Barhut sculpture, is governed by that smooth flatness of the modelled form which remains a leading feature of Indian sculpture up to the Gupta age. Still the treatment of the Kuvera figure from Barhut in all its novelty is implicit contained in the Yaksha figure from Parkham and the other statues belonging to that class. The relation of the accessories to the bare body has remained unchanged while the flowing modelling has become emphasized. But now indeed the whole figure appears as if compressed between two plates of glass and that this flattening is achieved with full artistic consciousness is proved by the violent, and from a naturalistic point of view distorting turn, given to the hands joined in adoration and to the right foot turned outwards in the knee, like that of an expert dancer.

The informations with which these early Indian sculptures furnish us are of greatest importance. We learn that Indian art in the moment when we make its first acquaintance passed through an artistic crisis. It had reached the height of one artistic evolution and was just on the way to evolve a new trend.

The old tradition is represented in its best in the Yakshini figure from the Patna museum ; the new trend has found pure expression in the Kuvera figure from Barhut. This critical age through which Indian art passed extends over the rule of the Maurya and Sunga Dynasties. It was the natural

evolution of a strong and mature art which changed its form according to the prevalent mood of new generations. But without going into hazy interpretations, so much can be said that approximately one century brought about an evolution from the full, heavy and stabilised form modelled in the round, to the flattened, supple and flowing plastic. In either of them however continuity of an unbroken outline was the predominant feature.

In this critical moment and just at its opening another mode of artistic expression sets in. Its best representative is the lion capital from Sarnath. There we find a strained and stagnant cubic form as peculiar to the treatment of the lion quartette, while the plastic treatment of the animal frieze in the plinth, though it shares the vigorous tension with the lion capital, yet has become subordinated to a flowing and continuous outline, just as the structure of the whole capital is obedient to that flowing line. The only discordant feature therefore is the abrupt and vigorous modelling of the lions which stands in strong contrast to the smooth and flowing treatment of all other forms whether fully modelled in the round as in the earlier examples or flattened as in the later type, which may be called the Barhut style. This fundamental difference testifies two different kinds of nervous energy of the artist's hand. It also denotes a different attitude towards the outside world; it signifies an altogether different perception of nature. The one, that of the lions is bold and energetic and laden with physical strength; and accordingly those aspects of the visible world attract its greatest interest which are full of nervous vigour, bold, strong and commanding. The other treatment of the following modelling is melodious and without effort and those attitudes and forms of nature therefore are dear to it which suggest a harmonious play of forms at ease. The one means strain and the other repose, the one emphasises flesh and bones and the other suppresses either. The one sees and creates the

living form as compressed into the forceful tension of one second of strained energy, the other feels and shapes the living force as state of an all-pervading movement which is at rest within its own activity. What lies at the root of this difference ?

It is conspicuous that the animal figures which crown the various capitals of Asokan age are treated more or less in the same way. It further deserves notice that where similar animals are introduced in the gateways of the railing at Barhut or at Sanchi they have lost the vigour of brutal bestiality and have turned tame and gentle though clumsy animals. In no other connection however do we meet with this kind of artistic treatment while that of the liquid modelling abounds in all works of this and of the successive periods of Indian art. The Yaksha-treatment thus is entitled to be called purely Indian while the origin of the lion-treatment has its parallels and ancestors in Mesopotamia, and this connection apart from being obvious through the similarity of form of ancient Assyrian sculpture, is also testified by history. The hunting scenes for instance, the animals from the palace of Persepolis exhibit a muscular strength, a tremendous vital vigour in movement even when at rest. The gulf which separates the early Assyrian prototypes from Asokan art in India is bridged over by Asoka's rock inscription which were inspired by Achaemenian rock inscriptions as found in Bahistan and elsewhere. The sculpture therefore of the Asokan pillars is indebted to Mesopotamian art. These pillars however are works of Court art and this being dependant largely on the will of one person, are freed from the necessity of creative form, as peculiar to national genius. For in this case it is not the subconscious and therefore inevitable intuition of the artist who is brought up in the tradition of his country which is at work but the artist has become a tool in the hands of a potentate who imposes his will on his employee. And it also may be that he calls foreign artists into his country

to work according to his wish. The question however as to the nationality of the artists who carved Asoka's pillars and capitals must be answered thus. Design and outline that is to say the structure of the capitals are Indian. With regard to the plinth of the Sarnath capital it appears that an Indian hand endeavoured to work à la Persian, though more or less freely, while the crowning part, the lions either represent a careful attempt of Indian artists to work in the desired fashion or else they are the work of Persian craftsmen called to India specially for this purpose. The Persian influence therefore in Asokan art is restricted to the capitals of the columns. Forms of art however carry some germs of contagion with them, and so capitals which pretend to be more or less after the court fashion, occur in Barhut and Sanchi in a somewhat childish and clumsy translation while the various winged monsters and combined animals which assemble so joyfully round sacred altars appear as Indian children of Mesopotamian or more likely Pan-Asiatic parentage. The Persian element in Asokan art thus is born in and vanishes with Asoka's court. This is the only trace of foreign devices in Indian art of that age and in spite of Alexander's conquest of Bactria, no trace of Greek art whatsoever can be discovered in pre-Christian time.

The Persian way of modelling disappeared quickly. The succeeding attempt of Hellenistic provincial art to intrude India did not meet with more success. Gandhara as a province of art represents a local centre, a melting pot so to say of Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian forms, and the question is whether and how far the Hellenistic element entered the stock of Indian form. We must however assume two entrances for the import of Roman Hellenistic forms. The one from the North-west frontier and from there it reached as far as Muttra. The other on the sea way from the South-west where the port of Barukacha was a trading centre with the

Roman empire. From there Greco-Roman forms reached most probably Amaravati (on the Kistna).

The import of Roman arms was caused by reasons other than those which brought Achæmenian forms. The Greco-Roman forms came along with traffic and commerce and so they were spread over distant monuments. But their effect on Indian art was as ephemeral as that of the Mesopotamian devices in Mauryan art. No praise has to be squandered on the magnificent Akanthos ornaments of Amaravati. The fact that they are of Greek extraction is denoted by the name but their vitality is as Indian as that of any lotus flower. Apart from the Akanthos device no pattern bears any resemblance with Greek form and the so-called honey-suckle is neither an Assyrian palmette nor a Greek floral motive. It is one of those uncounted Indian devices which have not yet received a name from students of Indian art. The modelling of the human body on the other hand derived relatively stronger impetus from the treatment as practised by Greco-Roman artist. But here it is almost edifying to watch how the conventional dullness of the Gandhara academy becomes quivering with the delight of youth and suppleness. The Mathura school of sculpture which is remarkable for its triviality of vision and for its lack of originality is satisfied with and concentrates on the sensuous charm of forms of this world, and so naturally forms of the Greek type had an allurements for this indigenous school. The early work from Mathura stands stilistically in one line with Barhut, with the difference that it consciously exhibits the forms of the human body while in the Barhut School they are accepted as a matter of fact and do not receive special emphasis. Thus the Greek sensitiveness to the softness of skin and elasticity of the flesh were welcome to the school of Mathura which embodies Indian plus Greek sensualism. The proportions of the figures however with long waist and short legs are decidedly non-Greek, and the *softness* of this naturalistic modelling is

also a contribution from the Indian side. The Mathura school was a second-rate branch of Indian art; but not because it admitted Hellenistic connections into its own repertory of form; it did so because it had not a self-reliant imagination.

The whole atmosphere however is changed in Amaravati. There the pliable and intensely moved modelling is Indian, though some faint flavour of Greece might be tasted. The school of Mathura thus stands for a compromise of Hellenistic and Indian form on the basis of an uninspired sensualism, while Amraoti in the 2nd century A. D. by digesting the imported Greek stuff achieves a perfection of its own which may be seen in Indian purity at the early parts of the railing. With these two schools Hellenism in Indian art disappears as thoroughly as did the Persian element in post-Asokan art.

These two factors, the Persian and European, make their appearance once more at the time of the Moghuls. It is however worthwhile noticing that artistic traditions of no other country had any contact with Indian art in India. Egypt is out of question, but China which must have reached its artistic height and stood at this time in close commercial and religious relations with India left no trace in Indian art in early medieval times. For just at that period India was the giving part and was so full in its wealth that no room was left for any for intrusion. The situation changes only from the 16th century onwards when the Moghul rulers desired to establish an international court art. For almost two thousand years Indian art thus maintained its integrity. At the beginning and at the end of that period the admission of foreign forms was due to the desire of the rulers with regard to the Persian element while Western features entered Indian art almost at the same time in the earlier case uninvited yet called for by the Moghuls. The Moghul art painting is an official affair just as were the capitals of Asoka's columns. That sometimes idioms of Moghul painting also

occur in Rajput pictures is no wonder as the two schools were so near in time and space.

In order however to realise to what extent and in which combination the Indian, Persian and European tradition of painting got fused in India it will be necessary to define the leading features of the three components. The Chinese factor has to be left aside, for although several Moghul paintings are not only influenced but practically painted à la Chinese and although even Rajput art, for instance the frescoes from Bikaner, exhibit Chinese elements it was not the Chinese method of painting which was accepted but Chinese motives entered the confines of Indian art and were rendered there in the Indian way. Moghul art on the other hand is conspicuous by the versatility of pictorial methods employed. The European, the Indian and the Persian principles of painting intermingled in the brush of the Moghul Court artist.

Contemporary and pure Indian painting as represented by the various Rajput schools has to be examined first. It relies on the effective contrast of coloured surfaces which are made distinct in bold outlines. Pavilion and men, sky and interior of the houses, action, movements and architecture are laid into one severely observed plan and the eyes of all the figures have to obey the same rule. Colours and outlines are the only means utilized in this kind of painting. The colours are bold in their contrast, the outlines are extremely simple and yet significant and what in the first moment appears to be stiffness reveals itself on closer observation as the unavoidable round lines of Indian painting, which get full scope in the sitting figures while the standing ladies have to match the elongated niches of the pavilion into which they are placed. The thinness of the pavilion moreover is due to its Islamic design. This work of popular art illustrates the tendency of the painter to tell in a clear and dignified way about the subject which he represents, and his simple language is satisfied with a pictorial world which is not more

than a surface deep, for all surroundings cease to exist in the presence of the chief actors. This way of surface decoration is Indian but it is moreover popular Indian. The horizonless field of the picture which is filled by the surface of one vision we meet throughout the world in village art and children's designs. The early Rajput pictures thus represent people's art in India of the 16th century which gets its distinguishing mark by the curved outline of the figures, not to speak of course of costume, features, architecture and the like. A later Rajput painting—and the difference of schools is here where the main features in common to all Rajput painting are concerned out of consideration—though far more elaborate and complex in design relies in its essential effect on the same requisites as the earlier example. Again colour surfaces within minutely defined outlines which embrace with delight the animated figures of the painting. But the plan of action has grown in width and the slanting surfaces of walls and floor surround the actors, while at the back on top of the gate a strap of landscape is inserted, where broad banana leaves and distant hills with shrubs are laid in one plan and form a pattern which repeats in its rounded outline the curves of all the pots which serve Radhika for cooking. Again as in the previous picture the architecture and the arch represented are Moghul, but the way of representation is Indian, that is to say Rajput.

The difference between Moghul and Rajput becomes apparent when similar compositions are compared. Again the story is told in an open courtyard with architecture on the sides. The slanting surfaces have become less slanting and the surfaces less of surfaces but looking more like illusions of real walls which mark the front of the house and you can go up the stairs and enter the hall and sit on one of the benches or look out of the window or you may go to the second story and join the peacocks or leave them and go further on through the long corridor which leads you right into the inner

apartments. But it will be best if you imagine yourself sitting next to the two gentlemen, for there is room enough for you in the spacious hall or else if you do not wish to disturb them, just take your seat on the broad brim of the wall or walk up and down the courtyard. This is what the picture wishes you to do or at least to imagine that you were doing, for otherwise for whom except the spectator would the whole illusion be got up. There was however no room for you in Radhika's little courtyard nor was there room for any house except for the one window from where Krishna's passionate glance was sent forth and cut off by its direction the outside world and kept Radhika enclosed within his longing and her garden and you the spectator through the painter's vision could steal a glance of their feelings and doings. The space therefore in which and the composition with the help of which the Rajput scene takes place are concluded within themselves. They represent an objectified intuition. The Moghul space and composition on the contrary include you, the third person in their scheme and in order to make you feel at home with what they represent, they must give you as complete an illusion of the actuality of the scene as possible. The figures represented in either of these paintings are treated accordingly. Radha and her companion live one sort of life and the rhythm of their action and the beat of their heart is ruled by one fate. The two men of the Moghul picture however show their widely different characters by physiognomy and expression and their dress underlines and actually visualises their different personalities. The figures of Rajput art breathe in the thin and clear atmosphere of lines and only the face has a conventional and faint modelling while Moghul figures create the impression of living bodies dressed in the folds of costly materials.

This fundamental difference of the Moghul and Rajput way of painting is not due to Persian influence on the Moghul side. In fact history alone is not to be held responsible for

the obvious distance between the two treatments, and it is wrong to conclude that because the Moghul rulers came to India from Persia and also brought Persian artists with them, the foreign element in Moghul art must be first of all Persian. The Persian influence was no doubt mighty at the beginning of Moghul art and paintings like that of the Hamzah nameh for instance are truly Indo-Persian art. Later however the Persian element becomes less and less conspicuous in Indian art and it is the European treatment of landscape and architecture, of man and space which prevails. Whether this European style was fostered to a greater extent in India itself or whether it came to India under the cloak of Persian paintings is difficult to decide. In any case is the European element in Persia for instance in the work of Riza Abbasi not so widely used as it is in Moghul court art. We must therefore first extract that what is European in Moghul art in order to find the proportion of Indian and Persian conventions as contained in the rest. We have already seen that the illusion of spacious places, ample halls, massive walls and full round bodies is one distinct feature. Another is the treatment of landscape. If we recall the early Rajput representation, some plain dark blue colour meant landscape, night and vastness and timeless atmosphere of the picture. The latter showed more detailed features of nature as a binana garden and distant hills with shrubs and a pale sky on top. But trees, hills and sky were simply names and design within one surface as calm and broad as that of the blue of the earlier picture. No distance had removed man from nature and all of them shared one plan of existence and so it remained wherever Rajput art was untouched by foreign influences. But we must be aware that Rajput painting is not to be identified with Indian painting as a whole. It is nothing more but also nothing less than popular art, and uses the simplest means possible. The cubistic as well as the way of foreshortening achieved by Ajanta are completely

forgotten. Rajput painting is just a vernacular, expression narrow in its expressions but nevertheless deep. The landscape of a Moghul painting on the other hand is something quite new to India. There an attempt is made actually to surround the human figure so that it can move about and look around, and chains of hills beset with trees denote the distance from the main figure. The trees in fact are made into landmarks denoting distance. The smaller they are made, the greater a distance do they denote and their endeavour is just as absurd as that of their Dutch or Italian prototypes which had not yet solved the problem of perspective and overshot their now awakened observation of nature which taught them that the greater the distance the smaller the objects appear. They made therefore trees or building of minute size as if far away, while the hill which supported them appeared to be quite near. This incongruity of vision and knowledge peculiar to Dutch painting of the late 14th and early 15th century was taken up by Italian painting where it is still to be seen in Raphael's early work and the Indian artists, if their distance is considered, are not to be blamed for keeping up the same treatment for one or two more centuries. This failure in an attempted illusionism with regard to landscape was brought to India from Europe; in the field of architecture however Western perspective and the Indian conception of space were fused on the spot. Thus the illusionism of Moghul painting whatever be its source was inconsistent *a priori* and remained so to the end and the only escape from a complete artistic fiasco was either personal genius of an artist or else utmost possible Indianisation.

The illusionism suggesting the material out of which our surroundings are built makes Moghul painting heavy and earthbound. It subdues the frail charm of the Persian form just as much as it hampers the melodious flow of the Indian tradition. The treatment of trees illustrates best the interference of Western with Eastern principles. The Ragini

for instance stands on a Persian lawn surrounded by flowers Persian in arrangement and conception, under the shade of a tree of Indian art origin, facing a group of smaller trees of the same artistic family while the top of the hills in further distance is crowned by small specimens of trees of European art extraction. The Persian way of treating plants is to show stems and branches, thin and frail, spread out in a motionless atmosphere and leaves and flowers appear as so many gems and precious stones, cut into minute shapes and stuck on to the branches where they fit in best. The trees of Indian painting simply grow. The sap which circulates through the tree and links its top with the earth is visualised by a solid round stem from which the top branches off in a few but vigorous twigs. They are bent with vigour and elasticity of growth and with the burden of a large and abundant foliage. The European trees at least at a distance wear a top summarised in one outline, as one whole in light and shade. This Ragini picture is a museum of various specimens of art trees. All of them are acclimatised to the atmosphere of eclectic court art and have lost much of their original freshness yet retained enough to denote their origin. The varieties however gained by cross breed are large in number. Persian trees for instance either remain intact in their fragile aloofness or else and next to it they suddenly grow fat and round with European modelling or at last they incorporate the beauty of Persian leaves and flowers and the European substantiality of the wood in the Indian vigour of growing life which makes the branches turn and twist in elastic curves. A painting where all the three factors are assembled to equal parts, sets groups of men and animals in a rocky landscape where tents and trees stand in the Indian convention of space, where rocks derived from Persia are invaded by European mass and Indian agitation and where the single groups remind as much of Rogier van der Weiden's emotionalism as they stand near the scenes of

village life familiar to Rajput painting. But apart from that quaint mixture not much is achieved in an artistic respect, for the decorative, that is to say Persian display of European trees obstructs the construction of the landscape and the agitated story could be told with less expense and in a simpler way.

The only rescue for Moghul painting therefore is the genius of an artist who as in the case of the "Dying Man" achieved a masterwork international in its artistic language and universal in its expressiveness. There all reminiscences are merged into one personal and subtle vision. The other way out of the whirl of imported conventions was Indianisation. A night scene for instance speaks of the intercourse Indian art had with Europe and yet no sound will be heard in the silence of worship and night. Though the form is mixed, the inner experience visualised is one and its nature is Indian. But Moghul painting was spoiled from the beginning. Its combination was artificial and therefore ephemeral. Unless a unique genius found a solution of his own quite personal mode of sentiment the Indian artist even where his vision was Indian could not but translate it into the international court language of Moghul art. It was only outside the circle of Court art that Indian form was found for Indian contents and there even where European allusions—and scarcely any of Persian origin occur—they stand in the background and though they appear as additions they are neither offensive nor of much consequence. The episode of Moghul painting closes and with it the import of Persian and European forms. After centuries, that is, at the present moment Indian art for the third time opens its gates, wider than before, for East and West have come nearer and it means much for modern Indian art to have realised the crisis and knowing all forms by which it is surrounded to go on the eternal path of art in its own way.

VENGEANCE IS MINE**BOOK II; CHAPTER XV****THE INVITATION**

Jasubha was sitting at his ease in his tent, an electric fan was put upon a table near him. He was sipping his tea and Ranubha was seated at another table writing some letters. Raghubhai came in and after obeisance stood meekly aside.

"Well, Raghubhai!" drawled Jasubha without even looking up, "So this district has been thoroughly inspected? Let us get away now."

"Yes, Your Highness, it has been inspected. We can start the moment Your Highness desires."

"Now then, Ranu, why are you still insisting upon going on to Varat? But Raghubhai," asked the Prince, raising himself up a little, "have you really inspected the affairs of Varat?"

"Yes, sir. Everything is quite in order."

"Oh, well, quite so," said Jasubha a little impatient, "I am not asking about that." Jasubha could not talk of one subject for any appreciable length of time. The conversation had to follow his shifting capricious mind. He took a long sip of tea, whilst Raghubhai waited patiently.

"Have you seen this book?" asked Jasubha, picking up a book, "What excellent printing! We do not get such printing even in our capital."

"Your Highness, I have also heard that some things are done there very well indeed."

"Who is responsible for all this?"

"I do not know," replied Raghubhai, striving to hide the truth. Jasubha looked at Raghubhai through his half-closed eyelids. With his innate cunning he was able to sense some new and deep game going on around himself. The nearer he had come to Varat the greater were the proof he had seen of

the fame of Varat, of its arts and of the power of its Master. He could easily see the wonderful influence that Varat exercised upon all the surrounding country. A small town of two thousand souls had, in the course of less than a decade, become a flourishing city with a population of nine thousand. Jasubha, tired of his own indolent life and fed up with the petty palace quarrels, had agreed upon this tour merely to please Champa and Ranubha. For some unknown reason Raghubhai had opposed this tour. Now he was opposed to the visit to Varat, and under the mask of sweet reasonableness lay concealed his inordinate ambition. Nothing of all this was outside the knowledge of the Prince, all the resulting struggles amused him. He found great pleasure in watching Champa and Ranubha striving to corner Raghubhai and also the tug-of-war between Revashankar and Raghubhai. And he behaved like a mere neutral spectator and his chief amusement was to disappoint each in turn. He knew very well that it was now Raghubhai's turn at the game, but he did not trouble himself to find out what the game really was.

"And who is this Swami?"

"Who, Your Highness? That fellow at Varat? Oh, he is a clever ascetic, who is messing up things over there. Besides he is very overbearing. He does not leave any state officer in peace."

"Why?"

"I don't know."

"But some one was telling me that Varat is worth a visit. How far is it from here?"

"Thirteen miles. But there is really nothing to be seen there," said Raghubhai at last laying bare his game.

"Oh, I see!" said Jasubha finishing his cup and lighting his cigar: "Have you been there?"

"No, sir. But people say so."

"Then Ranu," asked Jasubha turning to him, "why this useless insistence?"

Ranubha turned round in his chair, "Sir, if you are not going, pray give me a day's leave, I will go there with Champa."

"Yes, sir; it will be too much trouble for you. Besides, the road is very bad," added Raghubhai for himself.

"But I have heard that the road there is first rate," said Ranubha.

"Oh no, sir. Varat had asked for permission but Revashankar never allowed a proper road to be constructed."

"Well, then, Raghubhai, you do not advise us to go, do you? Now let it stand at that," said Jasubha, wishing to disappoint Champa and Ranubha and thus teasing them.

"As Your Highness pleases."

"Now go, and arrange as you please. We have seen so many cities and Varat does not deserve this honour. Let us return," declared Jasubha, stretching his legs. His fear of the inconveniences of travelling was much greater than his desire to see Varat.

After such announcement Raghubhai was not the person to miss his chance. He bowed low and went out in search of Chhotu Nayak. Within five minutes the Swami had heard of the Prince's resolve.

"You scoundrel," muttered Jasubha under his breath, "you do not wish me to see the place and so you are inventing all sorts of excuses." "Ranubha," he added loudly, "you will have all to retire from the state."

"Why?"

"Because *he* will not allow you to stay a moment there."

"Who is 'he'?"

"Raghubhai. Just let him become the Divan."

By reason of his age and his close friendship, Ranubha was often allowed greater liberty with the Prince. He winked and said: "Let him count his chickens after they are hatched."

(To be continued)

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT

A one-sided view in regard to Railway management may obscure the fundamental issues. Whether a Railway is satisfactorily and economically managed by the State or by a Company, irrespective of the question of the ownership, it is necessary for the public to determine whether controlled private management is better than uncontrolled or irresponsible State management. I characterise State management as "uncontrolled," because there is no higher controlling authority. With Company management under proper control, is better, for, the public can have their interests safeguarded by the State. In uncontrolled State management, the public should first of all determine its relationship with the State before it can hope to have its grievances remedied or its will asserted. Apart from the question of the form of the State it may be observed that the relation between the public and the State is remote and nebulous. I take "public" in the sense of "the major portion of the people"; so that there is room for difference of opinion with the State. This difference makes the argument strong in favour of Company management, since in democracy there is little cause for difference (1) amongst the people themselves and (2) with the State for any default by a company which forms a part of the public in management. Thus no difficulty in State administration arises meaning much confusion in the creation of party politics favouring one type of management and disfavouring another. India is a country of mixed races, classes and interests; the less the growth of and encouragement to party politics, the better for India and its future. There is enough of it already in the State administration of India : it is sapping

the foundation of the economic structure of the country; its dominance would stagnate the economic life of its citizens.

The people demand State management because they want to secure to the country the surplus profits enjoyed by the Company management, by diverting them to the State coffer. But they forget that the State is hardly economical in respect of management, and the surplus profits may prove to be a gradually vanishing quantity.

The State purchase of Indian coal at pit's mouth is one of the points which can be put forward against State management. The North Western Railway was paying Rs. 3·83 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 3·67 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 4·32 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 5·25 per ton in 1919-20, Rs. 5·29 per ton in 1920-21; the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway, Rs. 3·09, Rs. 2·97, Rs. 3·83, Rs. 4·72, Rs. 4·80 per ton for those years; the Eastern Bengal Railway, Rs. 3·18, Rs. 2·92, Rs. 4·03, Rs. 4·31, Rs. 4·21 per ton for the similar corresponding years; and on the 3' 3½" gauge, the Eastern Bengal Railway quoted Rs. 2·84 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 2·73 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 3·86 in 1918-19, Rs. 4·00 in 1919-20, Rs. 4·21 in 1920-21; on the 2' 6" gauge, the Eastern Bengal Railway pays Rs. 4·03 per ton, Rs. 4·31 per ton, Rs. 4·22 per ton for the years 1918-19, 1919-20, and 1920-21; the North Western Railway through Kalka Simla Railway paid Rs. 3·83 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 3·67 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 4·32 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 5·25 per ton 1919-20, Rs. 5·29 per ton in 1920-21; through Trans-Indus (Kalabagh-Bannu) and Kohat-Thal and Nowsera-Durgai, the same for the above years; on the 2' 0" gauge, the Jorhat (Provincial) pays Rs. 9·81 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 10·65 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1919-20, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1920-21.

The figures are significant.

It is rather remarkable that the quotations for 5'6" and 3'3½" gauges of the Eastern Bengal Railway for different

years should vary. The difference for 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19 and 1919-20 are Rs. 34 per ton, Rs. 0.19 per ton, Rs. 0.17 per ton and Rs. 0.31 per ton respectively. The reasons, if there be any, are obvious. The 5'6" gauge lines are paying higher rates than the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " lines, although both the systems are managed by the same agency, *viz.*, the State. If it be argued that the 5'6" gauge lines use engines which require coal of higher steam value than for the engines in the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", the 2'6" gauge line engines cannot be said to justify using coal that is generally consumed by the 5'6" gauge line and to pay higher prices than those of the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " gauge lines of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Now the difference in steam coal quotation on the Eastern Bengal Railway raises the question—what standard of coal should be used for the 5'6" and 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " gauges? The use of the standard of coal for 5'6" on the 2'6" gauge lines cannot settle the final question of standard. The consumption of inferior coal on the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " lines is false economy since the engines are subject to inferior steam value and other consequential defects. But the consumption in pounds per engine mile on the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " lines is less than on the 5'6" lines; although it is alleged that the former line uses inferior quality of coal. Again, the 2'6" line, paying the same rate as the 5'6" line, consumes less quantity of coal per engine mile. If we consider the consumption value as the basis to determine the standard of coal already in use on the Eastern Bengal Railway the best quality is that which is being consumed by the 3'6" line. Then the next best quality is the one used on the 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " lines; and the last comes the 5'6" line in respect of coal consumption quality. So that it is not unfair to point out that the 5'6" lines are quoting higher rates than what we could possibly think of, considering the low value of consumption per train mile. The anomaly unfortunately lies in the *game* of prices irrespective of the quality of coal consumed by the Eastern Bengal Railway system. As to consumption in pounds per engine mile the following table

clearly shows the relative strength of coal on the different lines :—

		5'6"	3' 3½"	2'6"
1916-17	...	66·57	52·32	...
1917-18	...	64·92	49·99	...
1918-19	...	67·00	53·27	22·19
1919-20	...	67·74	53·00	30·98
1920-21	...	70·93	52·80	30·50

Thus the argument that the difference is due to quality falls to the ground. So far about the anomaly in the standard of quality and prices in *one* State-managed Railway. A comparison with the other State-managed Railways would indicate a larger anomaly in the standard. I am not very sure if this anomaly can be effectively and finally removed from the State-managed Railways on the North-Western Railway. I find that the rates for all the gauges are the same, though the rates are higher than those of the Eastern Bengal Railway system. On both the 5'6" and 2'6" gauges the N.-W. Railway paid Rs. 0·65, Rs. 0·75, Rs. 0·29, Rs. 0·94 and Rs. 1·08 per ton more than the E. B. Railway, for the years 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20 and 1920-21 respectively. It may be noted in this connection that, the comparison of E. B. Railway 2'6" gauge line with that of the N. W. Railway, holds good only from the year 1918-19. It has been argued by some that because the North-Western Railway requires special steam value of coal, it has to pay high rates. But the consumption value per engine mile shows that the 5'6" line of the N. W. Railway, uses more coal than the E. B. Railway ; similarly in regard to the 2'6" line. There is, again, a remarkable difference in the consumption of coal on the Kalka-Simla Railway, Jacobabad-Kashmor, Kohat-Thal and Nowshera-Dargai Railway, and Trans-Indus (Kalabagh-Bannu) Railway per engine mile. It may be argued that the difference is due to gradients. But the consumption value per engine mile has been determined by the total mileage run under 5'6" and 2'6" gauges

of both the N. W. and E. B. Railway systems and special considerations do not apply. So the conclusion is, that one State Railway is economical in the purchase of coal, another is extravagant. Again, it is interesting to note that when on the 5'6" and 2'6" lines the mileage open was 3,683·82 in the North Western Railway, the consumption value of coal remained 67·82 pounds per engine mile on the 5'6" gauge whereas when the mileage open at the end of 1920-21, was 3,907·62, the engine mile consumption rose to 94·18 pounds, but under 2'6" gauge the following discrepancies are not very easy to explain :—

		Mileage.	Consumption in pounds per engine mile.	
(1) Jacobabad-Kashmor	(1) 1916-17	76·70	28·74	}
(2) Kohat-Thal and				
(3) Nowshera-Dargai	1920-21	76·70	46·53	}
(4) Kalka-Simla Railway	(2) 1916-17	61·75	28·74	
(5) Trans-Indus (Kalabagh- Bannu)	1920-21	61·75	46·53	}
	(3) 1916-17	40·40	28·74	
	1920-21	40·40	46·53	}
	(4) 1916-17	59·92	66·69	
	1920-21	59·92	70·15	}
	(5) 1916-17	135·39	52·73	
	1920-21	135·39	91·67	}

Under the 5'6" gauge it is clear that, with the increase of mileage by 223·80 since 1916-17, the average calculation basis ought to have brought down the figure of consumption value of coal purchased by the North Western Railway system. The rise almost phenomenal—indicates that there is hardly any economy, or efficiency in the administration. The situation is accentuated by the decision of the State to purchase for this railway Welsh coal which is the best of all types. The statistics indicate that Indian coal which is being consumed by this system is hardly satisfactory, although a very high price was paid for it, at any rate higher than what the E. B.

Railway (another State-managed concern), paid for it. These details, unfortunately escape the attention of the public.

Under the 2'6" line it is impossible that with the mileage remaining constant there should have been any difference in the consumption value since 1916-17. Here also the rise is unintelligible. With the same engines, the same gradients, the same distance covered since 1916-17, the rise is the result of either inferior coal or wonderful machinery of State administration. Is this efficiency? or, is this economy? The coal is certainly poor in quality, as is quite evident from its consumption value, but why such a coal is accepted and at a higher rate than that of the E. B. Railway, is more than what one can easily determine from the distant workings of the State Railway Department. I should consider this to be a grave defect in the State Railway Administration.

Again, as we calculate the total coal consumed under 5'6" and 2'6" gauges in the years 1916-17 and 1920-21 with the total train mileage for those years, we are compelled to look with disfavour on State Administration. When the train mileage is higher, the consumption of coal is greater; so that the quantities must be larger, if the standard of quality remains unchanged. But unfortunately the case is different. When the train mileage was higher in 1916-17, the coal purchase was smaller in quantity than in 1920-21. This discrepancy is also noticeable in the E. B. Railway System. The N. W. Railway figures are shown below :-

	Total Train Mileage (in thousands of miles).	Total Coal Consumption (India) Tons per engine mile.
1916-17	22,235	798,669
1920-21	19,676	1,032,075

Now take the case of the O. and R. Railway coal purchase figures. The price does not vary much from that of the E. B. Railway, though it is quite marked as compared with that of

the N. W. Railway. The consumption value is also not highly variable with the E. B. Railway though it is at great variance with the N. W. Railway, since 1919-20. Why it is so, is left for the public to judge and to form their conclusions on the efficiency of State management.

The following tables clearly show the essential difference between the consumptive value of coal as consumed by the N. W. Railway, E. B. Railway, and the O. and R. Railway, on the 5'6" gauge lines:—

			Consumption in pounds per engine mile.
N. W. Railway	...	1916-17	67·82
		1917-18	73·15
		1918-19	76·95
		1919-20	81·60
		1920-21	94·18
E. B. Railway	...	1916-17	66·57
		1917-18	64·92
		1918-19	67·00
		1919-20	67·74
		1920-21	70·93
O. and R. Railway	...	1916-17	67·38
		1917-18	75·36
		1918-19	76·30
		1919-20	76·82
		1920-21	73·80

The differences in the consumption-value, the price and standard quality of coal for State Railways cannot be explained, since all purchases are made by one expert officer, *viz.*, Mining Engineer to the Railway Board, and not by the Railways direct.

So long I was trying to point out the anomalies that exist within the administration of State-managed Railways and it is now clear that the financial transactions in regard to coal State Railways are not governed by a uniform principle.

This consideration, alone, seriously questions the capacity of the State to manage economically and profitably even under the existing system of company management. It is presumed that pure company management, without Government management may show better results.

Let me now discuss if the Company Railways are economical on coal purchase. But before I do so, I should not omit to mention that the pit's mouth quotation of the company-managed Assam Bengal Railway does not appear in the statistics which raise a suspicion in the public mind as to the nature of the State control over that system.

In comparing with the coal rates, I am reluctant to do any injustice to the prospective improvement in the system of State management. First, with regard to the Company-managed Railways: The East Indian Railway paid Rs. 2·07 Rs. 2·33, Rs. 2·47, Rs. 2·71, Rs. 3·13 per ton at the pit's mouth for the years 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20, 1920-21 respectively; the Bengal Nagpur Railway, Rs. 3·26, Rs. 3·30, Rs. 3·30, Rs. 3·36, Rs. 3·47 per ton for those years. A comparison of these figures with the Eastern Bengal Railway payments at the pits' mouth shows that there has been negligence on the part of the buying agent for the E. B. Railway, specially from the year 1918-19. I say, "specially" because with reference to the previous years (1916-17 and 1917-18) the differences in favour of the Companies are negligible. Further the E. B. Railway coal cannot be said to be superior to that of the E. I. Railway, when the latter system consumes 63·32 lbs. per engine mile and the former requires 70·93 lbs. per engine mile. The condition of B. N. Railway is rather unsatisfactory, since it requires 78·29 lbs. for an engine mile, *i.e.*, 7·36 lbs. more than that consumed by the E. B. Railway. But this is because the B. N. Railway consumes and pays for mostly second class coal, whereas those who argue that the E. B. Railway consumes better quality of coal will now be convinced of the hollowness of their argument. The E. I.

Railway pays least and consumes least,—which can only be attributed to efficient method.

Secondly, as regards Company Railways working at a considerable distance from the coalfields, it is not unfair to point out that they suffer much on coal account from the mischievous effects of combination amongst the merchants. This combination probably takes place for two reasons :—(1) Commercial and (2) Political. The commercial aspect is seen clearly where the merchants fear that payments by the Company Railways may be delayed ; and the political aspect takes the shape of favouritism through special influence. With all these disadvantages, they manage to consume better coal at cheaper rates than the North-Western Railway. The whole point to be remembered in this connection is that there is a Mining Engineer to the Railway Board sitting at Calcutta to make purchases of coal for State Railways. The irony of the situation is that he has not been able to make purchases with an eye to economy.

If the people urge that the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway get their coal cheap because a lot of it comes from their own collieries at cost price, it merely shows that these two company lines had the foresight to acquire and develop collieries of their own, whereas the State lines did not have this foresight.

Then as to the working expenses per train mile the State Railways have proved themselves to be highly expensive. On the North-Western Railway (Commercial section) the expenditure in 1920-21 was Rs. 5·6978 per train mile in covering 15,736,000 miles, the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway spent Rs. 3·7146 per train mile for 5,228,000 miles in the year 1920-21; the Eastern Bengal Railway incurred the expenditure of Rs. 3·7911 per train for 1,197,000 miles; the G. I. P. Railway Rs. 4·5813 for 4,515,000 miles the same year: whereas the E. I. Railway spent Rs. 2·84555 per train mile for 26,930,000 miles; the B. N. Railway Rs. 3·5517 for 23,416,000 miles; the

Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, Rs. 4·3838 for 5,479,000 miles; the B. B. and C. I. Railway Rs. 4·8636 for 8,486,000 miles. This is the result on the 5'6" gauges; though I regret to point out that the statistics for the Commercial Section of the N.-W. Railway have included 374·16 miles of 2'6" gauges; that 626·03 miles of 2'6" are included in the figures of the B. N. Railway; that 359·12 miles of 2'6" are included in those of the B. B. and C. I. Railway that 201·37 miles of 2'6" and 12·61 miles of 2'0" are included in those of the G. I. P. Railway and that 80·34 miles of 3' 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " are included in those of the O. and R. Railway. The regrettable point is the lack of the total train mileage figures separately under these different gauges. But whatever the reason may be, the framer of the statistics apparently kept the gauges other than 5'6" subordinate probably for their non-earning capacities. So on this principle of revenue-yielding importance the other gauges are merged into the broad gauge; and our general comparison of the working of State-managed train mile with the Company-managed one shows that the balance is clearly in favour of the latter. Even if the comparison is most *critically* pushed by the companies to defend against the attacks of the advocates of State-managed lines, there is no *justification for anybody* to ignore the claims of the B. N. Railway and the B. B. and C. I. Railway (whose train mileage statistics are recorded including the 2'6" gauge branches) for favourable comparison with the N.-W. Railway (Commercial Section), for all of which statistics of train mileage including the 2'6" gauge lines are shown in the Railway Administration Report. And what does the comparison reveal? The B. N. Railway works by about Rs. 2·2 per train mile, and the B. B. and C. I. Railway by Rs. 83 per train mile less than the State-managed North-Western Railway, even though the lengths of the former taken individually are not longer than the latter. It is again a great credit that the former have managed to evolve a better percentage of train mileage with their shorter lines

than the latter. While the B. N. Railway manages to make the train mileage figure run up to 4,248, and the B. B. and C. I. to 5,340, the N.-W. Railway (Commercial Section) gives the low figure of 3,951 in one mile. The figure is based upon the reported activities of 1920-21. The past statistics tell the same tale; but I have given weight to the year 1920-21 because this is more normal than other years. The G. I. P. Railway can be said to bear comparison, since the distance of 12.61 miles under 2' gauge may be neglected. It works with Rs. 1.116 per train mile less than what the N.-W. Railway, although the latter fails to reach the train mileage figure of 7,021 (*i.e.*, 3,070 miles less) in one mile. So far as the O. and R. Railway is concerned, the train mileage figure is only 3,249 in one mile, though the working expense is Rs. 3.7 per train mile.

Then as to the comparison of State Railways under 3', 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " gauges, it is interesting to note that the Assam Bengal Railway spends Rs. 3.5 per train mile, and the E. B. Railway, Rs. 3.6 per train mile whereas the Company-managed lines like the B. B. and C. I. Railway spend Rs. 3.1 per train mile, the M. and S. M. Railway, Rs. 2.7 per train mile and the S. I. Railway, Rs. 3.04 per train mile. Other Company-managed lines do not exceed the working cost of State-managed lines. In this connection, care has been taken to determine the peculiar circumstances arising out of the locations of the different Railways in bringing out the comparison very effectively. Thus the B. B. and C. I., the M. and S. M. and the S. I. Railways could have managed much better had they been situated nearer the coal fields. The E. B. Railway working cost per train mile has, therefore, been most unsatisfactory, even though its place of office is at Calcutta and its materials are purchased by one expert man with high professional skill and experience deriving all the benefits from the statistical information and business activities of the Company-managed lines nearer the coal lands.

The question of the purchase of stores is one of the most vexed problems in connection with Railways. People are under the impression that the Company-managed lines do not purchase indigenous products largely nor do they like to encourage local industry. To determine the question it is essential at the outset to point out that there are certain necessary materials which are not available in this country. Of those that are produced or are available here, the G. I. P. Railway purchased in 1920-21 goods of indigenous origin to the extent of Rs. 2,45,35,000 and of imported stores Rs. 96,82,000; the E. I. Railway of indigenous origin, Rs. 1,29,91,600 of imported Stores Rs. 84,75,000; the B. N. Railway Rs. 13,02,000 and Rs. 58,73,000 respectively; the B. B. and C. I. Railway Rs. 88,46,000 and Rs. 80,99,000. In other words, the G. I. P. purchased about 47%, the E. I. Railway about 47%, the B. N. Railway about 38%, and the B. B. and C. I. Railway about 67% of their total estimated requirements for the year 1920-21, from India; whereas the State Railways like the N.-W. Railway and the E. B. Railway purchased 37% and 32% only from India to meet their requirements. In this connection, it will be necessary to remember the effects of the limitations imposed on the Company-managed lines when the State Railways begin their purchasing operations. Viewed in this light, the Companies have been found to be active in utilising the cheap sources for their own purposes. It is further necessary to note here that materials purchased in India do not include coal and coke, stone, bricks, lime, ballast, etc. I have already shown that the business activities of the Company lines in making purchases of coal are more satisfactory and economical than those of the State lines. I would have been glad to institute a comparison in regard to the purchase of Stores if the statistics of prices and quantities were available and to prove finally and conclusively that the State cannot manage an undertaking with economy. But so far I have, I hope, succeeded in showing (1) that the Companies are more economical in

coal purchase than the State lines—(I use the word “State line” to mean the line worked by the State directly), (2) that the working expenses are heavier on State lines and (3) that the Companies do give sufficient encouragement to local industries in the purchase of Railway materials.

Now let me discuss the effect of the appointment of a European staff upon the profits in State and Company-managed lines. Good supervision is undoubtedly a great factor in yielding better revenue, irrespective of the peculiar conditions prevailing in a system. The regulation of the Coaching and goods traffic demands a very efficient and alert organisation to make a railway system a paying concern; and the disbursements of funds require a highly trained impartial staff, if waste and extravagance have to be avoided. The following table indicates how far the strength of Europeans is responsible for the earnings in State and Company managed rails :—

State Lines.	Length in miles.	No. of Europeans (1920-21)	No. of Europeans in 100 miles.	Percentage of nett earnings on Capital outlay.	Company Lines.	Length in miles.	No. of Europeans (1920-21)	No. of Europeans in 100 miles.	Percentage of nett earnings on Capital outlay.
1 E. B. Rail-	1631.77	320	about 21	1.01	1 B. N. Rail-	2731.24	667	about 22	6.31
2 N. W. Rail-	4281.74	1,124	.. 27	3.38	2 B. R. & C.	1810.34	..	17	6.02
3 O. R. Rail-	1577.23	204	.. 17	3.34	4 E. I. Rail-	2770.50	1,423	.. 31	7.37
					5 G. I. P.	3335.04	1,017	.. 42	3.34
					6 M. & S. M.	1078.70	253	.. 23	5.34

While the E. I. Railway is handling 16,696,471 tons of staple commodities with only 1,423 Europeans, the N.-W. Railway requires 1,124 Europeans to deal with 6,735,536 tons only. It is further noticeable that the M. and S. M. Railway, require only 253 Europeans for the transmission of 3,579,981 tons of commodities. It is a Company-managed concern, and gives a fair percentage of nett earnings on Capital outlay. The

O. and R. Railway has got 264 Europeans for the carrying of 2,498,050 tons only. The manipulation of goods traffic requires great skill ; and the average mileage figure per annum attained in state lines leaves room for evidence of that skill. The difference in the mileage figure run by each goods stock per annum on State lines themselves indicates that the figure is capable of improvement and depends much upon the number and quality of the staff (European). If the E. B. Railway can manage with their open lines of 615·45 miles only to total the average mileage run of 12,830, the O. and R. Railway gives the low figure of 11,737 with their open lines of 1,528·93 miles and the N. W. Railway the lowest figure of 11,070 with open lines of 3,907·62 miles—so far as the commercial section of the N. W. Railway is concerned. If we include the Military section of the open line, the figure of average mileage run by each goods stock per annum is ridiculously low. With long lines, it is easy to run up to a very high mileage figure, since one trip upwards or downwards would give a substantially high figure ; with small distance lines, it would require special experience of running of goods vehicles to cover the high figure by more trips than one. Thus, from the figures of the State Railways it is manifest that the alleged efficiency of the European staff is not maintained and that their number is proportionately higher than in the Company lines.

Now as to the relative strength of *Indians* on State and Company lines the statistics of 1920-21 indicate the following figures on the basis of the mileage open :—

State Lines (Indians) per mile

Company Lines (Indians) per mile

E. B. Railway ... 27
N. W. Railway ... 20
O. & R. Railway 16

E. I. Railway 42
G. I. P. Railway 34
M. & S. M. Railway 44

In calculating the figures I have treated the Railways as one system irrespective of their gauges. Consequently, one can see for themselves that the Companies possess greater appreciation of Indianisations than their State competitors. The statistics of previous years point to the same direction. Do not these figures set at rest the question that with the Companies the Indian public would receive greater consideration, support and sympathy in regard to Indianisation? Already good progress has been made in the upper grades during the past 2 or 3 years and more is expected when State interference is minimised. So long as the direct management by the State continues there is nothing to prevent the State from thrusting themselves upon and interfering with the system of Company recruitments of Indians in higher posts to save the faces of the Government from the public criticisms of India as to why there is less number in State-managed Railways. The Government of India is always anxious to avoid Indianisation of higher posts because they would not like to let the public know that they are under the absolute directions of the Secretary of State who is guided by considerations other than Indian. They fear also the demonstration of the British public against Indianisation lest it adversely affects the British Railway industry. The fear of the Government is more ridiculous than reasonable; and the fear of the Indian public in regard to Company management is more personal than well grounded. The tendency of the Company lines has been to develop the economic life of India; and from the business point of view, they would always try to economise their expenditure. If Indianisation is taken to mean an economy in cost, they would certainly welcome it. With the Government the case would be essentially different, since people might develop tendencies to combine against economy. Government cannot form any direct or indirect alliance with Companies to frustrate the public wishes for salaries which were drawn by the Europeans, since the legislature would

determine the standard of pay in the Scheme of Indianisation.

I do not know why Indians should clamour for State management when it bungles in coal purchases, when it handles traffic unsatisfactorily, when it has a tendency to discourage Indian manufactures and goods available in India on stores account, when it appoints fewer Indian hands and lastly when its nett profit is at a discount as compared with Company management. Whatever little profit the State is making now it is due to the competition with Companies. But should the whole system of Indian Railways be nationalised (in the sense that they be taken over by the State for direct management) there would be all incentive to the State to manage the lines with economy, public convenience and profits will vanish. Even now while the Company-managed lines exist, the State lines ignore the claims of economy and public convenience and the situation will be aggravated if healthy competition is removed.

As regards the determination of the maxima and minima rates, the present policy is arbitrary, since Government fixes the standard on not very weighty considerations. The standard varies with time and circumstances; consequently what was once considered as the maximum is now regarded as the minimum by the Government. But the Government has been thoughtless about the possible effects of the standard upon Indian economic life. I do not know what the position of the Company management is in regard to the acceptance of the present enhanced rates. Whether the Companies have *been forced* to introduce the present rates or whether they have accepted the same freely for themselves, I am unable to discuss this point for want of adequate information. But it is quite conceivable that the State lines could have kept their rates down and shown the Indian public their genuine interest in the economic condition of the country. The B. and N. W. Railway has not increased their rates enormously, and

it is a purely Company-managed railway having very little to do with the decisions of the Railway Board (Government of India). The position created by the B. and N. W. Railway, in respect of railway rates tends to confirm the view that the State has forced the Company-managed lines, like the E. I. R., B. N. R.; G. I. P. Railway, B. B. and C. I. Railway, *and other 33 Railways which are owned by the State* to accept higher rates since the State-worked lines wanted an increase. If the B. and N. W. Railway, could manage their own matters without much increase in rates in spite of the all-round increase in the operating cost everywhere, the Government-managed lines ought to have rendered public service without much individual inconvenience, and allowing freer traffic in India. This they have failed to do in future in case there are no Company lines to do now ; and this they will fail to show that they are charging less than what the Government lines do. So far as the question of low rates for *post*-traffic is concerned, the main idea is to keep the goods within the marketable price at the ports. The idea is not to increase the volume of traffic earnings alone, but to relieve the heavy congestion in lines which are favoured by traders for specially low rates. The congestion implies a loss of revenue to the Company ; consequently, the proposition that the Companies would adopt low rates to bring about congestion in their own lines, is highly improbable. To divert traffic from one railway to another and to divert it from one post to another are sometimes necessary to relieve congestions in any one system. The principle of such diversions is to manipulate the goods traffic of all lines as one system for Railway economy and convenience and for creating less troubles for the State to invest larger Capital on the laying of lines for purposes of easy traffic. Then there is the problem of handling empty wagons to be well attended to for railway purposes in deciding against the question of "Diversion" in traffic.

Very unfortunate has been the tendency in public discussion of railway problems to emphasise the problem of rates to the exclusion of the problem of service. The fundamental point in the theory of rate regulation is that public service enterprises must charge "reasonable" rates. But no test of "reasonableness" has been prescribed by any Statute although a *standard* has been developed by the Railway Board in such a manner that a Company must, ordinarily, be allowed to charge sufficient rates to earn a "reasonable return," on the "fair value" of the property being used by it for the convenience of the public. There is, unfortunately, no definite standard of "fair value" for the purpose of rate-making. A valuation is generally based on a compromise of different possible tests. These tests are the original cost of construction, the amount expended on permanent improvements, the market value of the stocks, the probable earning capacity of the property under particular rates prescribed by law, and the sum required to meet operating expenses; these are all matters for consideration, and are given such weight as appears just and proper in each case. Consequently it is seen that the determination of the maxima and the minima standard is made in a vague fashion. While it may be necessary for the Government to fix a maximum standard for protecting the public from the effects of taxable rates, the minimum standard is unnecessary when Government has the best intentions towards the people. It is rather unfair to think that the Companies would introduce the non-paying rates into their systems for the satisfaction of guaranteed dividends alone. If they could get some surplus profits from their systems, they would be in a better position for developing Railway business, since the public treasury would be on a sound financial footing due to the profits earned by the State through the Railway managing agents. If, the intention of the Companies is ever to remain satisfied with guaranteed dividends only and to make the Railways suffer under non-paying rates, the fixation

of the minimum rate standard contemplates that Government has taken a good care in including at least the item of guaranteed dividends amongst the various considerations of profits from the managing agents. While the Government minimum rate standard *cannot* fluctuate, the money market of Railway stocks and shares is apt to make phenomenal changes in favour of and against the Government due to the rise and fall of the earnings made by the managing agents. The latter has generally been the case and will remain so for the many loans already floated by the Government. Thus the question of minimum standard is unmeaning according to the conditions of the Railway money market, for the guaranteed dividends vary according to the nature of the general money market. The standard of minimum rate-making should change to create freely a happy balance in the Government Treasury for Railway investments, and not by forced circumstances as shown above.

I have already shown that it is not reasonable to expect much in the reduction of rates on State lines in future. Indians believe that they would be able to reduce the rates through the Indian parliament, the Assembly. Apart from the question of their power to do so, Indians cannot introduce non-paying rates lest they should be further taxed by the State in different departments to meet the demands of Indian railways. The standard which settles that this rate would be non-paying and the other a paying one, is not yet determined. It is such a relative affair that the State should adopt such policies whereby comparisons are made possible. The effects of direct State management would be not the reduction of rates, nor the discrimination thereof in the interest of a particular trade or a particular locality or a particular class, but the appropriation of a tax levied on the people under the disguise of "paying rates" whenever there would be any public opposition against the so-called "paying rates," to be more properly termed "extortionate rates," the Government would

show that they are the irreducible minimum. Already there are signs to indicate that Railway Board are thinking of bringing the Indian rate level to something higher than what prevails at present. This they would easily achieve, should there be no Company-managed lines. The public voice will be hardly heard by the State, however vocal it may be, as it cannot think that the railway rate could be non-paying. But with the existence of some Company lines the ideal of rate policy cannot be absolute. It would bear a comparison. This is one great consideration why there should be Company lines for the economic growth of India. There may exist conflicts of interests, when different Companies worked Indian Railways, but the same might be *easily remedied*. There is *no remedy* however for absolutism in rate policy under State management. Which is preferable—the former or the latter?

S. P. MUKERJEA

TEACHING OF HYGIENE

The climate of Bengal is getting worse day by day and the number of epidemic and endemic diseases is increasing. Fifty years ago, Burdwan used to be the Madhupur of health-seekers and Krishnagar and Baraset were the seats of magisterial headquarters. Now these places have become almost pestilential. If we trace the career of malaria in Bengal, we find it starting in Jessore town in 1824 and spreading over the entire district by 1850,—the year in which railways were introduced into this country. In the fifties, it spread to the Nadiya district; in the sixties, to the 24-Parganas, Burdwan and Midnapur and, in the seventies, to Purnea, Dinajpur and Rangpur districts. This steady march of, and progressive conquest by, malaria is significant. The constitution of the people was rapidly breaking down before it. Whatever the causes of malaria, we are now concerned with its cure.

Malaria, cholera, phthisis, small-pox and dysentery are to-day the most prevalent diseases of Bengal and they are all preventable. "If preventable, why not prevented?"

The answer to this pertinent query is not easily given. Nor is it easy to say, who should answer. If we look at the political arrangement, we find the people taxed by the Government in lieu of services rendered. But if we stop to take stock of services rendered by Government, we find more of talk and less of performance, we find more of expenses and less of achievements. Let us take up one by one the work done by the Government to the people in this direction.

Firstly, the Public Health Department. Till recently, this department was known as the Sanitary Commissioner's Department, and there used to be one Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam, who used to do office

work as well as outdoor work. Now we have for pure Bengal, one Director of Public Health and three Deputy Directors, one Publicity Officer and two capable office managers. But what is the amount of work that has been done? The best answer will be furnished by the following solid facts:—

- (1) *Small-pox* is yet very prevalent throughout Bengal and cyclically in Calcutta. *Phthisis* is on the increase.
- (2) *Cholera* yet exacts its usual heavy death-toll.
- (3) *Malaria* kills annually four lakhs and disables at least twelve lakhs of people.
- (4) Good *drinking-water* is yet the rare commodity that it used to be.
- (5) Jute-steeping, septic-tank effluent discharge and other kinds of *water-pollution* continue merrily as before.
- (6) Villages remain literally riddled with *insanitary tanks* and *rank vegetation* threatens to choke each hamlet.
- (7) Piles upon piles of health-literature, written mostly in milk-and-water Bengali, continue to groan on the tables of the department, instead of finding way into every hut and one single *publicity* officer is trusted to reach the ears of 47,592,462 people!!! Could impudence go farther?

Let us now turn to the other Governmental Department—that of the Sanitary Engineer. The public have little knowledge of the activities of this Department—at least none is apparent. Has not this Department any educative propaganda work to do?

The Surgeon-General, another high government officer, who presides over the medical education of the land, is content to sit in his water-tight compartment and let things have their course. He takes little active interest in professional medical education and has still less advice to offer to Government regarding general mass education in sanitation and anatomy and physiology.

Then comes the Calcutta University. It soars into high academic regions and has not much of interest in ordinary mortal affairs. Once, it allowed sanitary science a temporary place in the I.A. curriculum. Only recently, hygiene has been included in the Matriculation syllabus. But this time, the study of sanitary science has been hedged round with such strongly barbed-wire-fencing, that in two years, all Bengal can boast of only two schools having penetrated the preserve!

The Director of Public Instruction, who is immediately concerned with the lower forms of education, has very carefully preserved the sanitary science from oblivion, by just relegating it to the very lowest forms of education and that in a manner that is likely to secure the least attention from those who are intended to be benefited. In the lowest forms of primary and middle English schools, sanitation is supposed to be taught by men who are walking examples of insanitation, who never know of the subject in all their born days and who can but put all gall and no honey into the subject of their teaching. The Director has taken special care to exclude sanitary teaching from the High School curriculum, where alone it can be taught with some benefit.

Turning to municipalities and such-like bodies, we find a Health Officer and some sanitary assistants, in some of them—but that is about all that we find. Not only is it beyond the recognized official duty of the municipalities to undertake teaching of sanitary science, but even existing sanitary fittings, and apparatuses, existing sanitary performances, existing literature relating to sanitary matters, are not available for teaching purposes.

Such, then, is the attitude of the official world. They all sit in water-tight compartments. They all think their official routine the be-all and end-all of their official lives. They have no touch with the people and therefore they work as whims and fancies suggest.

Turning now to the people, what do we find? Those who are "educated," delight in and pride on, administering kicks at everything that *was* theirs. Those who are un-educated, delight in hugging closer everything that is theirs; ignorance, superstition, prejudices, the tyrannies of custom—all weigh the uneducated down and down into the festering pit of insanitation. Living in a pestilential miasma of false academical pride, our educated men allow themselves to be led by the nose by ignorant, advertising charlatans, all the same.

It is useless to recount these unsavoury details. Suffice it to say, that the greatest need to-day is that of arousing a Sanitary Conscience among the people and of co-ordinating all the Government departments. In every other country, where taxation and education are in the peoples' hands, we find all sanitary questions emanating from the people. Here, in India, we see a most unnatural spectacle. It is here that we find sanitary schemes hatched in the serene heights of the Himalayas, far, far away from all human habitation and mortal contact, to be shoved down and rammed into the throats of the people. In every other country, the natural order of things prevails. It is the man pinched by the shoe who alone knows where the shoe pinches him. It is for him to formulate his demands and it is for him to apply the remedies. But that does not suit the bureaucracy and hence it is to the best interests of the bureaucracy to give the people just only that much of smattering in sanitary science which will teach him nothing, but will rather scare him away from all talks of matters sanitary. An exhibition opened here, a lecture delivered there, will not teach the people. Nine days' wonders have never taught people; they might have cheaply advertised their bosses.

Just as politicians have been trying to secure political privileges, it behoves every citizen to secure for himself and for all he loves dearly, health. It is a priceless boon. *It is every man's birth-right to live and to be healthy.* What have

we, people, done, are doing or are prepared to do—just only to be healthy? This burden is ours to bear and we must bear it. The country is ours and ours it is to make it fit to live in. What have we done to make it so?

I must answer in a sad tone, hanging down my head in shame, that we people have done nothing. And I very much doubt if even now we are prepared to make amends for our past neglect. For the last few years, I have been writing in the vernacular and English press too, but till now, I have failed to rouse the sanitary conscience in our people.

I have always held that sanitary schemes should, in the first instance, originate with the people, whom sanitation is supposed to benefit and who must ultimately bear their cost. The people can initiate schemes, only if they have a correct sanitary conscience. Sanitary conscience is partly intuitive and, in part, the result of education. So, from whichever way one looks at this matter, one is on all sides met with demand for systematic sanitary education. It is on behalf of this demand, that I beg to raise my feeble voice.

Any one who dispassionately looks into the matter, will be easily convinced of the wonderful and ingenious manner in which sanitary practices were interwoven into daily practices of the Hindus. In modern society out here in India, we recognize two classes of people—the educated and the non-educated. In ancient Hindu India, society recognized two important classes—the educated or the twice-born and the non-educated or servers. If we lay aside all discussions about the merits or demerits of the caste system, but simply look at Hindu society consisting of the very useful twice-born class and the less intellectual, though by no means less useful, servant-class, we can fit many of their practices into the present-day accepted canons of hygiene. In his daily prayers, the Hindu's first invocation is to Water; and his first prayer is that water, wherever existing on the face of this globe, should remain sweet and free from pollution. In the matter of his

food, he has to first offer it to his Maker, before he can partake of it—thus ensuring its purity in every way. His mourning-rites are strictly in accordance with modern bacteriological knowledge. The lying-in nurse had a very high place in the Hindu household, thus ensuring desirable states of cleanliness in the labour room. He looked upon the cow as a goddess, thus ensuring his best services to her.

It is useless to multiply instances. If we had those practices, we have now forgotten them, and, what is more important to remember, we live under changed conditions. When I was a little boy and read the History of Rome, there was one passage which I read but never then understood. Now I understand it very well. When Julius Cæsar returned to Rome and narrated his conquest of Britain, he was asked what he had done to perpetuate Roman conquest of Britain. Julius Cæsar laconically answered—"I have established fifty *Roman* schools there." Indeed we have been so thoroughly anglicised that we have not only completely wiped out everything Indian but have also learnt unconsciously to despise everything Indian. And therein lies our inability to adopt as much as possible what we had in our social and religious practices. We must look facts in the face and adapt ourselves to the changed conditions.

The first thing necessary to-day is—education. Not that education alone which the University imparts, but also education in sanitary matters. This education and the call for it must come from the people. Every man who has received any kind of academic training and every qualified medical practitioner owes a duty in this respect to his country. He should not sit complacently in his office-chair and think of his *clintele* only. He must make the teaching of sanitation his religious duty. He must organize classes, he must co-ordinate the activities in this respect of every educated man in his sub-division. The medical man, the engineer, the school master in every village must all co-operate and not only

carry on systematic educational propaganda, but also actually undertake sanitary works. Students of all classes must be taken on in hand and led through practical courses in gardening, levelling, mosquito-hunting and mosquito-identification, quinine distribution, guarding drinking tanks and wells, watching and nursing the sick, disinfecting contagious materials. These involve slight expense but are of immense educational value. We will go farther and suggest that models of insanitary tanks, of insanitary households and of insanitary practices, diagrams dealing with the same, may be made by local artisans and displayed in every village. The cost of these productions will be very insignificant and can be met by local subscriptions, if desired. It is in this way that we people should among ourselves—

- (1) Create a Sanitary conscience ;
- (2) Prepare practical sanitarians ;
- (3) Educate school masters in sanitary matters.

When we have done this, we can compel the educational authorities to adapt themselves to our needs, instead of requiring ourselves to fit in with their caprices. We can then demand and demand very successfully,—

- (1) Co-ordination of the five departments—sanitary, medical, educational, engineering and municipal ;
- (2) A systematic, sustained and compulsory teaching of anatomy, physiology and sanitation in all the classes of schools and colleges,—and not a flash-in-the-pan sort of teaching as is imparted to-day ;
- (3) Award of University diploma for students who show proficiency in any of the above subjects, including also—sick-nursing, first-aid, life-saving, invalid cooking ; and—
- (4) Recognition of a certain minimum amount of physical growth and development in each student as a condition preliminary to appearing at any University Examination.

I am afraid I have taken more space than I actually wished to. I find I have yet much to say, which I reserve for a future issue. I have much to say about diets and physical training and much more about school boys' health examination. But just at present I want to arouse in my countrymen—

A LIVING SANITARY CONSCIENCE.

RAMESCHANDRA RAY

LOVE'S OFFERING

I wove thee a wreath of song
Each note a fiery dart
Culled from the inmost flame
That burneth in my heart.

I threw it at thy feet
But it hath flown away,
And thou to grasp it, dost
Look round thee in dismay.

Go not where the roses bloom,
Thick-piled and scarlet-hued
They grow among rude thorns
My song's in love endued.

Seek not in the mountain-rill
The songful silver string
For it dries in summer's arms—
My song, 'twill ever ring.

O look to the stars aloft
That shine eternally
There gleams the wreath of song
I wove and gave to thee.

V. B.



THE BLUE-EYED STRANGER

In the tents of Osman the Brave there was weeping and wailing. And Osman was a mighty Sheik. Famous throughout the whole of Arabia for the valorous deeds performed—in the perpetual state of warfare wherein he passed his entire existence. Also one-third of the Great Desert belonged to him. Moreover still more famous was he for the possession of a steed—the like of which was not to be matched in all the land for strength and swiftness—and that could carry three men as easily as any other would carry one. 'Twas on the broad back of this charger Osman was wont to be borne into the thick of battle, wherein he and his steed fought together as one man—but now Osman beat his manly breast—rent his garments, and wept aloud. Till in the midst of his lamentations the Chief of the Captains came running and announced the advent of a tribe similar to their own, who walked in procession towards them—lamenting, even as they did. Barely had he finished speaking when there swept up to the entrance Mustapha the Gay,—brother in arms to Osman. Scarcely had the two Sheiks caught sight of each other, then they were straightway locked in one another's arms where they continued their lamentations in unison. For Mustapha the Gay was a mighty Sheik—renowned throughout the whole of Arabia for the length and magnificence of his banquets—for the perpetual state of feasting wherein he passed his entire existence. Sometimes also did men call him—Great—for he was broader and bulkier than other men, in consequence of his measuring many many feet around the middle—also one-third of the Great Desert was his alone. But above all was Mustapha renowned for the possession of a certain slave—his Persian Cook—for in all the country there was not such another—Kings and Princes of rank and power coming from afar to taste of the

cunning of his hand. But now, his jovial master, clasped in the arms of Osman the Brave raised up his voice and wept. Till in the midst of their sorrow came the Chief of the Captains running, to announce the advent of a tribe like unto their own, who walked in procession towards them, lamenting, even as they did. Barely had he finished speaking when there swept into the Great tent Yakub the Beautiful—and Yakub was a mighty Sheik. For no sooner did the other two catch sight of him then they hailed him as brother, and the three locked in one another's arms raised up their eyes and wept, in unison. Throughout the length and breadth of Arabia was Yakub noted for the melancholy splendour of his large dark eyes—the poetic charm of his flowery speech—the perpetual state of colourful tuneful scentful ease wherein he passed his entire existence—also one-third of the Great Desert was his alone. But over and above all was he famous for the possession of a fair Circassian—whose very fingernails were rosier than all the roses of Persia—and the beauty and length of whose eye-lashes all the poets of Arabia had striven to describe—and entirely failed to do justice to. But now her enviable master wrung his exquisite pale hands and wept. Till in the midst of the hullabaloo, Osman finally collected his wits sufficiently to speak as follows:—

“I will recount my woes to you, Oh my brothers,” he said. “And do you do likewise—but not until I have finished—for when the heart is full, it is well to unburden it.” And the others answered, “Aye, we will do as you say.”

“As you know then,” began Osman, “in this region of the Desert there was none so honoured as I—for my soul loved War—and I revelled therein. Men sang throughout this Desert of ours of my valorous deeds—and I was thrice blessed. Till one day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as a turquoise of the Mountains. A blue-eyed stranger who told of strange lands, and stranger customs. And when I asked of the land of his birth, he

spoke of a place called New York—and of a marvellous building therein known as Sing-Sing which hath walls of impregnable thickness and chambers untold which he said were easier of entrance than exit, wherein he had spent many years of his life. And I thinking he was one of Royal birth gave him shelter. And he in turn beguiled me with tales, and taught to me a game—wonderful—with cards—such a one as only infidels play. For the sake of it did I forget all things—the sound of arms—and the very food I ate. Moreover in a boastful hour did I vow I was the better player. We played. The stakes rose higher—and in a foolish moment I staked my Arab Mare. Alack! he won—and riding his prize long ere rise of sun the following day—had vanished. Ah woe is me—for weak is a warrior without his charger. Alas! my swift Arabian steed—for I shall never fight again.”

But Mustapha the Gay wailed aloud, and said, “My woes are greater. Listen O my brothers while I tell you—. As you know within my boundaries there was none so famous as I for the excellence of my feasts and the sweet spiced meats therein, also for the rank and power of my noble guests. Mine was a mirthful life—and I was thrice blessed. Till one day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as the sea in summer. A blue-eyed stranger who had a merry wit—and told of strange countries and stranger customs. And when I asked of him the land of his birth—he spoke, as of a Peri’s Paradise of a place called Coney Isle describing the wonders thereof—in manner humorous and mirthful. And I thinking him a jovial comrade, gave to him shelter. And in return he sang me the songs of his country—those which he called rag-time—and we were as brothers, until—he taught me a game—marvellous—such a one surely as only mad men play—for in the end of a surety I lost my senses—and even the pleasure of feasting; for the various foods had for me, no longer, any savour. Nought did I do, the livelong day, but shuffle and cut. Till at last, in a

boastful hour I swore I was the better player. We played; and ever the stakes rose higher—till in a moment of madness I staked my Persian slave—rarest of all my possessions. Allah! I lost—and ere dawn of the following day my famous of cooks—my falsest of friends, together had vanished. Oh! what is a feast prepared without skill—and is not the art of a cinnamon stew a secret of Persia? Alas! my lost Iranian cook—Ah woe is me—for I shall never feast again.”

But Yakub the Beautiful wrung his hands and said, “My woes are greater—listen O my brothers while I tell you—. As you know within my boundaries there was none so renowned as I for my supreme taste in all matters pertaining to the beautiful. Unsurpassed throughout the whole land was I for the shade and softness of my silks, the magnificence of my jewels, and sweetness of my perfumes. But over and above all men envied me for having amongst my slaves a lady—of peerless beauty. In all the land of Arabia there was not another like her. In her did my eyes behold the perfection of all earthly loveliness—therefore was I thrice blessed. Till on a fateful day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as the sky in spring. A blue-eyed stranger who told of strange countries and stranger customs. And when I enquired of him the land of his birth—he spake as of the regions of the Blest of a place called—the Bowerly.¹ And I marking only the azure clearness of his gaze—that was as a babe’s, new born—gave him shelter. And in return he sang me the love songs of his country—also he taught to me a game—wonderful—such a one as only could have been invented by a *jinn*—and with it was I bewitched—forgetting all things from the incense in my censers—to the colour of my garments; even the smiles of the fair Circassian, whom I left to languish alone. Nor any longer did I care to sit gazing for hours as was my wont upon her pearl-framed painted portrait—that I wear ever around my neck—but desired rather

¹ Slum head-quarters of pick-pockets, swindlers, burglars, etc., etc.

that my hand might hold perpetually a card whereon was portrayed the hideous features of a devil—whom the stranger called the joker. Till one day in a boastful hour, I vowed I was the better player. We played—setting the stakes, ever, higher—till in a rash moment I staked—the peerless lady. Alack! he won. And long ere break of day—taking the girl had vanished. Alas! in all Arabia there was not another half so fair. Oh woe is me—my sweet Circassian slave—for I shall never love again.”

And Osman the Brave—

And Mustapha the Gay—

And Yakub the Beautiful—raised up their voices and wept—and rent their garments and said (all together in a chorus).

“Oh why did we ever play Poker—play poker” —.

M. KHUNDKAR

TAGORE

Bards have I known full many in their prime,
Touched with orient light and western glow,
Bards of Ancient Ind and Persian clime,
Whose numbers translucent and stream-wise flow.

Bards whose seraphic voice bestirs the soul,
With music-gushes flooding our heart :
Whose harmonies as mighty billows roll,
Whose fancies like the winged arrows dart.

Bards who commune with Heaven day and night ;
Bards who tear the mysterious veil of life :
And pour forth a flood of peaceful light,
Calming the stormy seas of mortal strife.

Ne'er one was known like unto thee,
With genius above all rivalry.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Like most of its institutions the American university has developed as a compromise between a European tradition and the needs of everyday life. Its earliest college was founded only seventeen years after the first pilgrims came to the inhospitable coast of New England ; for the very essence of the spirit of Puritan Protestantism demanded an educated clergy and laity. New England was to be an experiment, on an increasingly larger scale, of a spiritual and temporal democracy ; and if the experiment was to justify the ardent hope of these early doctrinaires, there must be ample provision made for liberal education.

There is something heroic in this early act of the colonists. Their very life on the narrow fringe of coast between savage wilderness and savage sea was to them a daily miracle, a daily manifestation of the favor of the Deity to whose service the colony was dedicated. Their creed was an intellectual creed, the child of the freed reason of the Renaissance. To safeguard this creed, to safeguard the new democracy which was the natural corollary of this creed, it was necessary that education should likewise be within the reach of each and all in the new country. American colleges then, even at the beginning, were not only devoted to the traditional liberal culture, but to the ideal of making that culture prevail in the new democracy. And these two fundamental purposes, the one a borrowed tradition, the other the new idea of a new country, have for better and worse guided the development of American higher education from the very beginning.

It is a curious comment on the history of education in America, that during those years when the genius of the country was most engaged in subduing the wilderness, in conquering the continent, in bridging mighty rivers and crossing almost impassible mountains,—during this very time the colleges of America were devoting their energies, not to the

training of engineers and soldiers and the other experts necessary for this task, but to the classics, the litterae, humaniores, the traditional means of culture for the established nations of Europe.

But America did not begin by establishing large universities in the metropolitan centres of population. Rather her frequent colleges with their small faculties and handful of students, were the far-flung line of her advance against the wilderness. During the seventeenth century it was Harvard in the suburbs of Boston, in the eighteenth century the colleges were already pressing toward the headwaters of the Ohio, toward Canada and the southern Blue Ridge. In the early years of the nineteenth century nearly every territory that is now a state had its college and its faculty the Liberal Arts. It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that serious efforts were made to expand the facilities of the college and thus to create the university.

More than this, all, or nearly all, of these scattered colleges, with charters from the colonial assemblies or later from the newly created states, permitting the granting of independent degrees, were the result of private endowments. The state as government had as yet not fully awakened to the needs of state interest in education. The theory of Thomas Jefferson was still the orthodox theory of government, namely that state was best governed where the machinery of government was least visible: and that, where public and private affairs could be undertaken without state supervision or aid, it was best to leave them to private initiative. At least in the province of education this theory has borne good fruit. Long before the day when education became a direct matter of state interest these private endowments had taught our people the enormous significance of education, and especially of higher education, for a democracy. As a result to-day it is not an uncommon thing for a state to spend more on education than on any of its other activities.

Under the circumstances it was natural that each of these colleges should develop the tradition of local autonomy; connections between them were difficult to maintain, each was chartered by a separate act of the legislature, each had its own community that it served, and as the years passed each had its body of graduates who served on boards of trustees and watched jealously over the growth of the college. It was natural that there should be large differences between institutions thus loosely organized. One wonders that the differences were not greater. There would be differences in standards—I am writing of the colleges seventy-five or a hundred years ago,—there would be wide differences in policy, there would be differences in the course of study, though it is remarkable as one reads the catalogues of these institutions how in them all there were more points of resemblance than points of difference. The course of study in the main was Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, History, Metaphysics, Mathematics, and perhaps a course in Law. Nearly all maintained as high traditions of scholarship as were practicable. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and some other colleges that had a longer history served as models to the others that with poorer endowments were struggling to keep alight the torch of learning in the less populous communities. The wonder is that under such necessarily loose conditions the American college and the American degree deserved as well of the world of scholarship as it did.

About seventy-five years ago the states awoke to the fact that not only was elementary and secondary education a matter of supreme importance to the community as a whole, but that if social and industrial progress were to be maintained, the state government must be generous to the institutions to higher education. As a result the state universities were opened. The endowed institutions were not aided nor were they taken over by the state. Nearly all of these were denominational in character, and in any case would have preferred

to maintain their independent existence. The new universities were supported by taxes voted directly by the representative bodies of the states and by income from lands that were set apart for public use.

The plan that was originally adopted for these universities has been followed in the main since. They are residence universities, each with a central College of Liberal Arts and with a number of professional colleges, Medicine, Agriculture, Law, Engineering. The faculties of each are separate in theory, but in practice overlap as one college calls for the facilities of another. For example, the department of Mathematics, usually under the administration of the College of Liberal Arts, serves nearly all of the professional colleges. The result is a saving of duplication of departments and of faculties, and an economy of administration.

There is a remarkable similarity in the administration of these state universities. Their organization is provided by the constitution of organic law of the state. New colleges are created by legislative enactment. They are governed by a board of trustees or regents elected by the people of the state. As no remuneration attaches to this office only public-minded persons can be attracted to the task, which is also one of great responsibility. They are responsible to the people of the state for the efficient and economical administration of the affairs of the university. Their function is precisely parallel to that of the school board or board of education, which each municipal community elects to administer the affairs of the local elementary and secondary school.

The regents elect the Chancellor or President of the University, who is the administrative head of the institution and responsible for its academic and financial welfare. He is a full-time officer, and is always a man who has distinguished himself in the scholarly world as well as a man of administrative abilities. All details of administration before they are approved, must pass through his office. Under the

Chancellor or President are the deans or administrative chiefs of the various faculties, Liberal Arts, Law, Medicine, etc. The departmental faculties, such as Mathematics, Modern Languages, Physics, are organized under chairmen whose duties are more or less administrative.

Many of the endowed colleges in the meanwhile outgrew the college state, and added professional departments, received new charters, and organized as universities. In general, these institutions in their organization differ only slightly from the state universities. For regents elected by the voters of the state that contributes to their support, these universities have trustees or overseers elected by the graduates or have a self-perpetuating board. In any case the graduates of the university have much to say about its policy; and in this instance upon being represented on the governing board they are largely justified, for it has long been customary to call upon these graduates for support whenever the university is in need of funds.

The tradition in all American colleges has been to allow the largest possible freedom to the academic faculties. Even in the largest of the state or endowed universities the faculties have complete control of all purely educational matters of policy. They vote degrees, decide on courses of study, through committees have a voice in the administration, and even in places have representatives who meet with administrative boards. The college professor is a peculiarly sensitive person, in America at least, and the greater the freedom that can be given to him in the working of his profession, the better is the result for all concerned. He is a better teacher if he can have a large voice in the management of the administrative machinery; and as a result, there have been few cases of friction between governing boards, administrative officials, and professors.

There is one thing that I feel ought to be emphasized in this connection—the value to the university of pure research.

The ultimate value to the community of the subjects under investigation may be quite negligible, the publication of a discovery in science or linguistics, or history, may not even bring credit to the institution, but the effect upon the scholarship and enthusiasm of the professor is a thing that no community can disregard. The best teaching universities have always been those in which the spirit of independent investigation has been allowed fullest opportunity. There will be a better spirit in the student body, a better spirit of unselfish endeavor in the faculty, less desire to find fault or complain about adverse conditions, hard times, low salaries, and all the thousand and one things that go to make a professor's life miserable, if all can feel that creative scholarship is encouraged, that a professor's worth is measured by other than mere class-room, record-book, and examination standards. A Princeton professor has been at work for years to discover the secret of the glow in the glow-worm; he has not yet discovered it, probably never will; but Princeton University is the better for his vain effort. It is the habit of independent investigation that such efforts foster, and this independence is the soul of the university. If economies are to be practised, let the blue pencil look elsewhere, for the spirit of research is a rare flower, long years are necessary to prepare soil for its bloom, and a breath may cause it to wither. American universities are slowly taking this truth to heart and are teaching it to their committees.

There is not much difference in work between the state and the endowed university. Standards are about the same and the requirements for graduation are similar. A little nearer the people, the state universities must naturally feel a bit more closely the demands of the people, and try so far as may be practicable to meet them. In consequence their technical colleges reflect the needs of the community; local as they are in their support, they must meet, so far as is possible, local needs. Thus the large universities in the

middle west have done all in their power to investigate the problems of agriculture and teach the latest devices in scientific farming. They maintain also extensive agricultural experiment stations and model farms, engage in dairying and poultry raising, test various models of tractors, in short, spare no possible pains to improve the quantity and quality of the agricultural resources of the state. And these extensive investigations have been of direct benefit to the university itself. So soon as the people of the state feel that the university is their affair and contributes directly to the wealth and well-being of the state in a material way, there will be an aroused interest in the more intangible benefit of the academic work. It may be a bit difficult in the first place to justify to the hard-handed and hard-headed farmer on an outlying farm his annual tax to support a department of Greek, but when he sees that the same university that supports a department of Greek also makes experiments in poultry husbandry that bring an increase of millions to the wealth of the state, he will have at least a spirit of toleration to the professor of Greek.

The secret of the large grants that state legislatures have made of late years to the state universities, literally millions of dollars a year, is found in the generally recognised fact that the universities are a direct benefit to the state, not alone in the field of scholarship and culture, but in the most vital and direct concerns of everyday life. And the foundations for academic traditions and scholarly ideals are laid and must be laid on a hearty popular interest and support.

The grants to the state universities have been large. Nearly all this income comes from direct taxation voted by the state legislatures. A trifle comes from the federal government at Washington in return for certain work in technical training and to help support military training. Fees are low. They would average less than a hundred rupees a year; while the cost for each student is considerably over

seven hundred rupees. Naturally a large portion of the general budget of the university goes to the support of institutions like the model farms and experiment stations yet the annual bill for the upkeep of laboratories, libraries and plant amount to a very large sum. Even faculties, notwithstanding the cry of low salaries, are not negligible items when the administrative office makes out the details of annual expenditure. The student enrolment is very large. The larger state universities have anywhere from seven to twelve or more thousand students each in residence—a little city in itself. And these institutions in spite of ever stiffening standards are growing at the rate of nearly ten per cent. a year. As a result, the cost of running a university, with its large enrolment and its varied activities, is a large one. The annual budget of an institution with eight thousand students and a complete set of professional colleges, will not be far from three million dollars a year. The problem is going to be to find means for taking care of the ever-increasing numbers of students without asking for more than the state will be willing to grant.

The large endowed universities have also felt the need of finding resources which will enable them to maintain their positions in the face of the growing state universities. Recently all of them have had campaigns to increase their endowments. Harvard, Princeton, Yale, have asked for millions in subscriptions and their request have been honored. Higher salaries for instructors, better equipment, new buildings, have all been provided for. But if young America continues to demand college education as an equipment for life, there is no telling to what farther efforts all universities will be put.

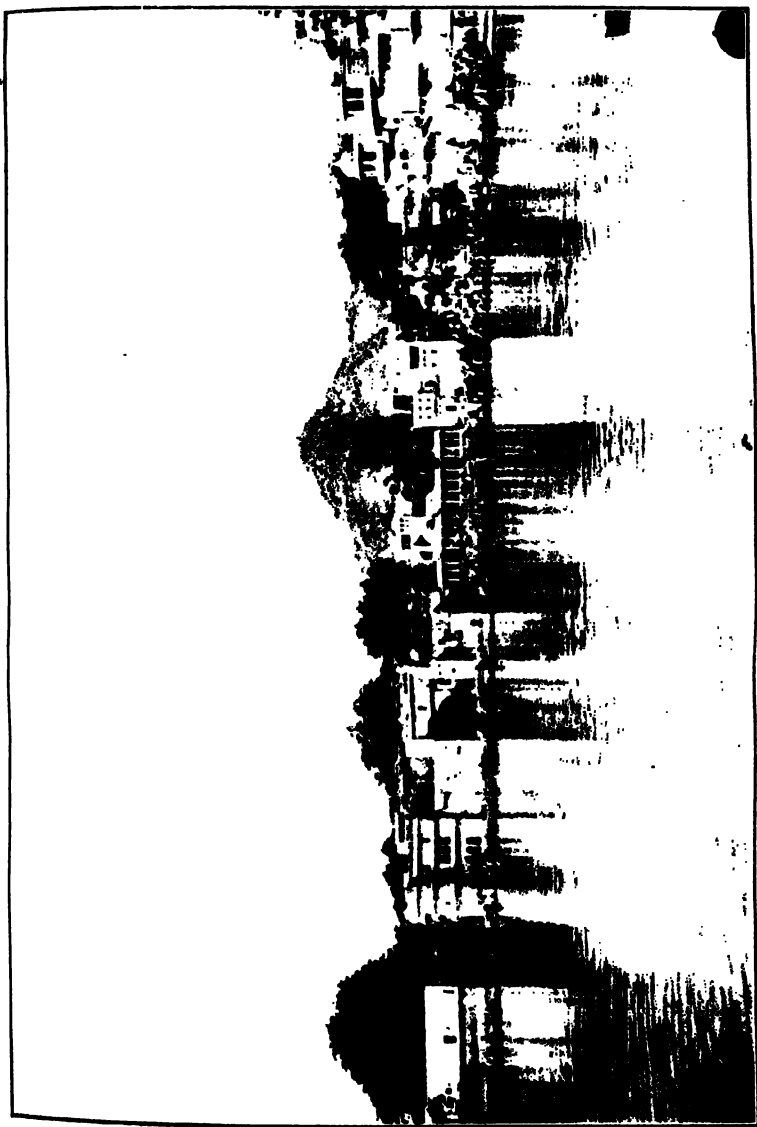
For the truth is America has about decided that a college education is a thing that can be rightly demanded by boy or girl, not as a stepping stone to some particular profession or job, but as a thing worth while in itself. The four years in

academic halls he regards as a social and intellectual diversion which one cannot afford to miss ; and the community pays the price.

But for this willingness to pay the price there exists a reason deeper than the fact that an education is a good thing in itself. If America's experiment in Democracy is ever to justify itself fully before the world and in its own conscience, it will be only when all the citizens have been educated to a high degree of independent judgment and strength of character. If the university means anything it should aim at this double result. In these days of social and mental unrest, in these days when standards and traditions are being questioned as never before in the world's history, America needs, indeed the world needs, the steadying influence of disinterested universities.

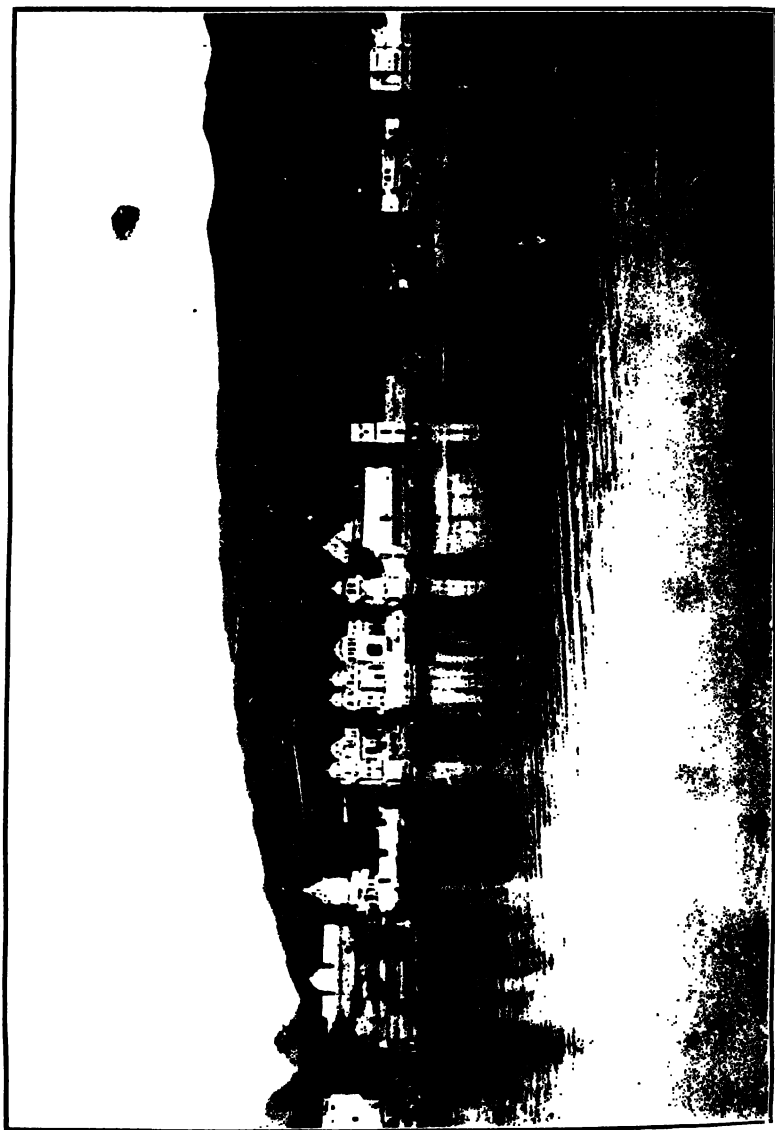
P. M. BUCK

(Transcript of a Lecture given to Calcutta University, Feb., 18 1923.)



The Pushkar Lake.

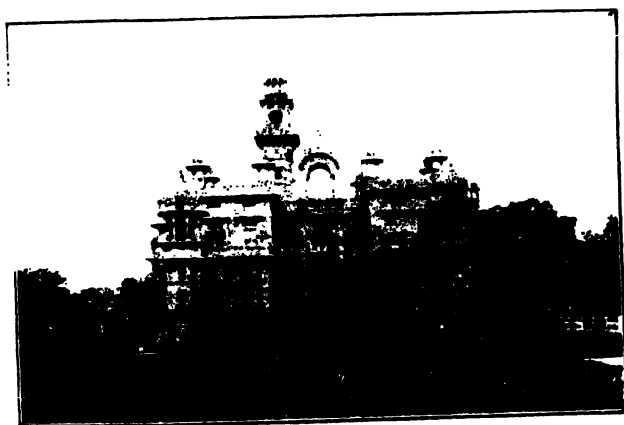
¹ By courtesy of the B. I. C.



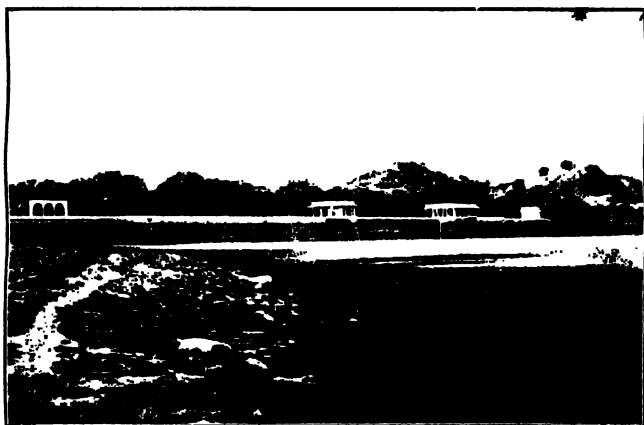
The Post-Office Lake and other views.



The Mayo College.



The Mayo College (School Department).



Am Sugar.



The Savitri Hill.

Reviews

THE ARAB KINGDOM AND ITS FALL

Calcutta University will shortly publish an English translation of Wellhausen's *Arabische Reich und Sein Sturz*, by Mrs. Margaret Graham Weir. Mrs. Weir is to be congratulated on her choice and her excellent rendering of the German text. She could not have selected a more scholarly or a more widely-needed book for her literary efforts; and her translation is undoubtedly a work of high literary order. Wellhausen is a far-famed scholar, and his works on Islam mark an epoch in the history of Oriental Learning in Europe. They are characterised by profound research, rare critical powers, judicial impartiality and keen insight. His book on *Arab Paganism* is a finished piece of historical erudition. It set and accomplished the task of exploring the uncharted sea of Pre-Islamite Arabia. It is a mine of valuable information, and reconstructs for us Arabia before the Prophet, with its quaint fetishism, its strange ways, its strikingly singular customs, its uncanny traditions, its curious social mechanism, and, if we may say so, its extraordinary political constitution. Caussin De Perceval and Wellhausen are the two pioneers in that realm: Caussin, with his easy, graceful, light touch, and Wellhausen with his solid, searching criticism. Next to the *Reste* comes his book *Der Islam*—a model of patient enquiry. There, in those pages, unrolls before the reader the entire panorama of the rise, development and extension of Islam and the Islamic Empire. He has delved deep into original authorities, and has brought western methods to bear upon rich oriental materials that lay to his hand. Not a single text—printed or in manuscript—has escaped his unwearied diligence and not a single modern writer his all-embracing study. We trust, in not too remote a future, we shall have an English translation of this book too; for I consider that simply essential to the study and the understanding of early Islam.

The book lying before us is, indeed, a monument of learning.

I confess to a strange predilection for the Omayyads. True—tinged with paganism, unorthodox, fond of pleasure, lovers of wine, women

and sports, full of life and fun—they sought to live up to the gay old traditions of Arab Heathenism, untrammelled by religion, undeterred by threats of hell. All this and more, if you please. And yet—was not their Empire the pure, unalloyed Arab Empire, strong with the strength of Arab nationalism, and animated with the dignity of Arab pride—uplifting, inflexible, preferring death to dishonour, ready to face and conquer the world? Was it not under them that Muslim rule extended to the farthest regions of the Earth, and Muslim power stood four square to all the winds that blew? Was it not under them that the finest collection of Arab poetry was made, and put in an enduring shape? Was it not their Government which held out to the world the noblest example of toleration, fair play, justice to those of other religions than Islam? Was it not they who laid the foundation of a world-embracing Muslim Polity? What ruler of the Middle Ages—Muslim or non-Muslim—can be compared to the stern Abdul Malik, or the God-fearing Omar Ibn Abdul Aziz? What statesman can be placed by the side of Ziyad or Hajjaj? The Omayyads stood for purity of race and nobility of descent. They resisted foreign influence with its debasing tendencies. They were the upholders of Arab Tradition, and theirs, in the true sense of the expression, was Arab Rule. The fleeting splendour of the Abbasids merely veiled for a time the seeds of incurable decline and decay. It is the history of this dynasty that we read in this learned book. Immense has been the service done by Wellhausen to the Omayyads; for they have never had their just due from the historians who flourished under the Abbasids. Political partisanship; fear of offending the ruling dynasty; prospect of gain; deliberate perversion and distortion of facts—all these have stood in the way of the luckless House of Omayya.

Wellhausen holds the scales even. He seeks and finds the truth. He avails himself of two schools: the school of Kufa and that of Medina. Nor does he lose sight of a third one which stands midway between the two—the school represented by Madaini. This school takes up altogether the Abbasid standpoint, and from it describes the fall of the Omayyads and the rise of the Abbasids.

Abu Mikhnaf, the oldest Arab prose writer, is the main source of Tabari for the old traditions of the times of the Omayyads. He belonged to the Azd of Kufa, and was of a distinguished lineage. We do not know the date of his birth, but at the time of the rising of Ibn Ashath (A. H. 82) he had apparently attained manhood. A friend of Mohamed b. Said Al-Kalbi—Abu Mikhnaf's writings and traditions have been handed down to

us by his friend's famous son, Al-Kalbi. Abu Mikhnaf lived to see the fall of the Caliphate of Damascus. His last statements in Tabari refer to the year 132 A. H.

Abu Mikhnaf has not ignored other traditionists, older than or contemporary with himself. We find him, for instance, making use of such authorities as Amir-al-Shahi; Rasibi; Mugalid b. Said; Mohamed b. Said Al-Kalbi. But these do not exhaust his sources. He makes independent enquiries; collects his facts; seeks first-hand information; and presents all with an abundance of detail and fulness of narrative. He is strikingly frank and arresting. The charm of his narrative is considerably heightened by the form which he adopts for it. It is all dialogue and staging. Deep is the debt which the student of Islamic history owes to him. His narrative—and this is another special feature of Abu Mikhnaf—teems with songs and verses in illustration of his point. His greatest service lies in collecting a host of variants of the same thing from reports of different origin, so that we can compare them, and judge what is sure or uncertain in them. The side-issues are kept in their proper places; while the main question is never lost sight of. In important points there are no serious contradictions. The work suggests choice and selection. Throughout, we observe a scheme. Notwithstanding all this—he is deficient in sustained chronology. He mentions few dates, and frequently nothing but the day of the week, without month or year. His events are not harmoniously woven together, but are stated without connection or coherence. There are some characteristics of Abu Mikhnaf, however, which we must not fail to mention. Unlike Arab historians of later times, Abu Mikhnaf does not begin from the beginning of Islam, or from the creation of the world. He starts with the conquests, and deals with the period which he knows best—from the Battle of Siffin onwards. Moreover, he confines himself to the place where he himself lived—Iraq, and its capital Kufa. Beyond these limits of time and place he is neither altogether safe nor particularly good. Iraq was the centre of opposition to the Imperial Government; and the themes, therefore, which he pursues with greatest relish and eagerness are the risings of the Kharijites and Shiites, and the rising of the Iraqis under Ibn Ashath. He is the custodian of the tradition of Kufa, and his sympathies are on the side of Iraq against Syria; for Ali against the Omayyads.

And yet, to Abu Mikhnaf's credit, we must add that we find, in his recitals, no trace of falsification of facts nor any indication of blind or unreasonable partiality. On one and one occasion only he lapses from

his high ideal, and suppresses what does not suit his purpose; namely, that Aqil at Siffin fought against his brother Ali. Thus Abu Mikhnaf is a useful, nay, an invaluable, guide for the history of the opposition parties of ancient Islam, and Wellhausen has made full and free use of him. Important as Abu Mikhnaf is, his light is but feeble and fitful for the period under consideration compared with that thrown on it by the school of Medina. It is not, therefore, upon the school of Kufa, but upon that of Medina, that Wellhausen places his main reliance. Of older date than the school of Kufa the authorities of that school nevertheless come in point of time much later than Abu Mikhnaf. They date from the days when literary scholarship began to migrate from Medina to Baghdad. Foremost in the rank of this band of historians, stand Ibn Ishaq, a freedman; Abu Ma'ashar, likewise a freedman; and Waqidi. They are not seekers of untrodden paths. It is not the first-hand information that they strive for or secure. They have their materials by them. They sift, edit, blend them together. They weave a continuous story out of disconnected, disjointed narratives. Ibn Ishaq must be set down as its founder. In him and his successors we have the *Annals*—then in fashion.

"Chronology," says Wellhausen, "presupposes scientific research and comparison. In these the Medina scholars were not found wanting, and produced results which stand examination remarkably well" " * * * we can trace the progress of the attempt to capture events in the net of time. In completeness of chronology Ibn Ishaq is surpassed by his successors. Abu Ma'ashar seems to have had a mind for nothing but dates, and even with Waqidi this interest obtrudes itself."

The importance of Medina can scarcely be exaggerated. It is inextricably interwoven with the life of the Prophet and the rise of Islam. It was the seat and centre of Islamic fervour and faith—the home and hearth of its imperishable memories. Among the cities of Islam it held an incomparable position—the refuge of the fugitive Prophet; the theatre of his religious and political activities; the dearly-beloved scene of his growing, ripening, fulfilling hopes; his last and eternal resting-place. Could any other city emulate, or outshine its splendour or its renown? The chief theme of this school was the *sira*, with the *maghazi*, i.e., the life of Mohamad and the foundation of his community through him, and the foundation of the kingdom through him and his Caliphs in the period of the conquest. And to these Ibn Ishaq seems to have mainly confined himself. So impregnable was the position of Medina, so potent its sway, that even during the Omayyad rule, with Damascus as the capital, Medina retained its impor-

tance, not only as the seat of the most important Arabian society, but also as the spiritual centre of Islam. Not until the rise of Baghdad and the fall of the Arab Empire did the Sun of Medina set.

The school of Medina—though neither in sympathy nor in co-operation with the secular rule of the Caliphs—did not ignore its existence. It was, however, far more concerned about Syria than about Iraq, or even Khorasan. Certain official statements are regularly repeated in Abu Ma'ashar and Waqidi. These are the accession and death of the rulers; the appointment and deposition of governors in the most important Provinces; the names of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, and the summer campaigns against the Romans. These statements form the framework of the Medina Annals. Details are rare, except in connection with important crises or important turning-points. Social, political, and economic conditions are excluded from consideration, and are never so much as even hinted at. We are left entirely in the dark as to the relations subsisting between the rulers and the subject races. Nor is any light thrown on those questions which would reveal the inner life and conditions of the times.

Among the Syrian Arabs, a tradition there undoubtedly was. We get glimpses of it in Beladhuri, and also in the Kalbite Awana, who lived in Kufa but through his tribe was connected with Syria. He is often quoted in Tabari as the reporter of Syrian matters, generally according to Ibn Kalbi. For the Syrian tradition, however, we must go to Christian sources—particularly to the *Continuation of Isidore of Seville*. There, the Omayyads appear in a far more favourable light than they do in the purely Arab authorities.

Varied are the sources from which Wellhausen has drawn his facts. But the historian of the Omayyad period suffers from a two-fold difficulty: paucity of materials and hostile bias of the historians. Weil, in his *Islamitische Völker*, has pointed out that, under the Abbasids, history did not attempt to speak the truth, but sought only to support the ruling dynasty at the expense of the fallen Omayyads. History, like Law, was then the thrall and page of despotism.

But neither suppression nor perversion of facts has altogether succeeded. Truth has fought its way, and now reigns triumphant. Justice, long deferred and denied, has at last been meted out to the Omayyads. And we see them, no longer through the eyes of biassed partisans, but through those of History, which inculcates, upholds, proclaims truth and justice. Literature supplements History, and in

the prose and poetry of the times we have materials, ample and abundant, for many generations of historians to explore and exploit. Von Kremer and Wellhausen have laid literature under contribution and have shown excellent results. The field is still virgin, and calls for the patient student's unwearied care and diligence.

Will the East surrender its inheritance to the West? Will it not respond to the call of honour and the voice of duty?

S. KHEDA BUKHSH

"A Kipling Anthology;" (Prose), Dominions Edition, Macmillan & Co., 1922.

This is a neat and handy book, with fine print and nice get-up, of short extracts from some of Kipling's well-known prose works judiciously selected representing particularly his power of vivid realistic description.¹ It must be said, however, that Kipling cannot be enjoyed or appreciated in such an anthology. Yet if we must have such a little volume of nice bits from a voluminous writer, not quite easily accessible to all persons, this particular edition may well have preference.

J. G. B.

"The Poor Man;" by Stella Benson (Macmillan's Empire Library, 6s. net):—

Miss Benson is a very clever writer full of wit, epigrammatic, racy in her style and quite charming in her bits of nature delineation appropriately introduced into the narrative portion of the story. There is just a little of "phrase-making" and straining at effect as, for instance, in Chapters II and III, especially in her observations on "posing" and "lying." Yankee slang also comes in here and there. In Chapter V we have too realistic a picture of the city of Calistoga with Miss Weber as a queer personage of strange manners and the writer significantly remarks about Miss Weber's diction that "the American of the Weber type chooses many of his words for their potential catch in the throat."

Edward—"Our Hero"—is *the poor man* or, better still, in the words of Tam (a more interesting character) "a poor thing"—one of "the poor things that can never be happy. Sorrow gravitates to people like him."

Miss Benson is rich in humour and she makes this hero's experiences as a teacher or as a salesman of *Milton for Boys* highly comic.

Some of the verses introduced as a commentary on the story or the characters are very beautiful and suggestive.

J. G. B.

¹ Cf. pp. 19-20, 35-36, 36-37, 57-59, 76-77 and 89-90 particularly.

"**The Enchanted April**;" (Macmillan's Empire Library No. 676):—

The governing idea of this beautiful fiction is Shelleyan—Lotty's impetuously becoming a saint through perfect happiness "that asks for nothing, that just accepts, just breathes, just is" and through unconventional freedom that does not require one to slowly struggle along a steep path to goodness. Shelleyan too is the suggestion of "lots of love" as the one thing needful to ameliorate the world. The author utilizes also the force of the "unconscious" in shaping life in opposition to the power of conventional morality or carefully cultivated orthodox religion. The too-much "**seeing**" and too much kissing, impetuous, Mrs. Wilkins (*alias* "Lotty") stands in sharp contrast to Mrs. Arbuthnot obsessed by the fear of the Task-master's eye ever upon her and who makes philanthropy a substitute for conjugal love and whose conscience becomes "supersensitive by years of pampering."

In the first four chapters we get under way towards landing the quartette of ladies—Mrs. Wilkins, Mrs. Arbuthnot (*alias* "Rose"), Mrs. Fisher and Lady Caroline (*alias* "Scrap")—at San Salvatore in Italy with the first of April immediately before them. A fifth—Kate Lumley—is simply held in reserve.

In this ideal Earthly Paradise of complete beauty and perfect happiness "all things are crowded into one month (April) which in England are spread penuriously over six"—or, if we are allowed to have *our say*, which in the work-a-day world scarcely meet together even in six-hundred! San Salvatore in April is the author's fairyland of unconventionality into which the London "conventionals" are driven for beauty and rest cure.

The subtle charm of Mrs. Wilkins's expansive but long pent-up soul at once begins to work wonders—for our author knows that the age of miracles is not past—only miracles to-day happen in the daily life of men and women.

The orthodox style of character development is here replaced by the "loosening and disintegration" in character effected by interplay of one upon another of principally four different types of womanhood thrown exclusively into each others' society "for the whole day for a whole month" in beautiful natural surroundings in the sunny South perfectly insulated from artificial interference.

Here is an experiment successfully carried out on the human mind and heart in nature's laboratory. The key-note is furnished by Chapter XVI where we learn that "scared away love, precious love except which nothing else matters in life, could come back, could be restored in the beauty, in the atmosphere of happiness Lotty and San Salvatore seemed

between them to spread around like some divine infection." As, again, in Shelley's ideal world, here too "Beauty made you love, and love made you beautiful" (p. 346).

Even Mrs. Fisher—conventional respectability incarnate in a widow—inspite of her cast-iron rigidity of routine softens and confesses to the "ridiculous feeling that she were presently going to burgeon." Mrs. Fisher with her distinguished "familiar" at her Prince of Wales Terrace residence such as Ruskin, Arnold, Tennyson and Browning reminds us of Mrs. James T. Field of Charles Street, Boston.

The aristocratic Lady Caroline, an angelic beauty of twenty-eight, sick of the inanities of high life and tired to death of men's love-making which in her disgust she calls "grabbing" born of man's habit of looking at beautiful women from the "predatory angle," is agreeably surprised at the behaviour of Mr. Arbutnot whose "grabbing" days are evidently done. She vainly tries "to protect herself from the eternities"—from "the sudden onrush of enormous feelings—of heart-cleaving longing" and seized by compunction, she feels "impulsive gratitude" to Mr. Briggs, the owner of San Salvatore, who, like Mr. Arbutnot (*alias* Fredrick Arundel), pays an unexpected visit on his way to Rome. Lady Caroline's gratitude ripens into love inspite of the comic solicitude of Mr. Wilkins bent upon paying the rôle of the solid and pertinacious London solicitor even at San Salvatore and eager to save this daughter of the great Droitwiches from encouraging Mr. Briggs too far.

The other two ladies—Mrs. Wilkins and Mrs. Arbutnot—who had been temporarily alienated from their husbands after a brief spell of happy love immediately after their wedding are also reunited with their husbands, thus proving that the age of miracles is not gone.

The style of the book is charmingly simple and a delicate humour runs through the whole of it. There is a delicious bit of it in the description of woman's freedom as enjoyed by Mrs. Wilkins when "once now for five whole years" she had the privilege of not sharing her bed with her husband and had the courage to audaciously pull at the blankets or touch the pillows to make them comfortable! Romantic situations are introduced in plenty and deep-seated tendencies in human nature are beautifully brought out by the writer's subtle method of character delineation.

J. G. B.

Theosophy and Christian Thought; by W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt. (James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London).

Dr. Urquhart has done real good service to both Christianity and to Theosophy by writing this fine book. So far this has been the fairest criticism of the beliefs and the practises of those who call themselves "Theosophists" made by an outsider. The author has tried to be as impartial as possible and according to his lights he certainly has succeeded remarkably well. Theosophists would certainly not like some of the remarks made against themselves, but it does one good to see himself with the eyes of another. Dr. Urquhart in that sense is a sincere friend and well-wisher of Theosophy. The pity, however, is that Dr. Urquhart has not read enough of the Theosophical literature, as in some cases his doubts would have been cleared if he had read other books. In the bibliography he gives at the end one is struck by the scantiness of the "Theosophical" literature therein referred to. One is surprised to see only two books under the name of Leadbeater (and one of them a wrong entry too). His "*Christian Creed*," a most important work from their standpoint of the work under review, has not even been mentioned. So also one feels the absence of G. R. S. Mead and of his books, of Williamson's *Great Law*, of Whyte's *Is Theosophy Anti-Christian?* and a dozen other well-known works. But of course one cannot expect Dr. Urquhart to have waded through the whole mass of Theosophical literature which refers to Christianity and to Christian belief. And of the material he has actually read he seems to have made good use, and he has tried conscientiously to be fair. As a Christian and as a clergyman he believes that the Christian Gospel is the highest revelation of God made to man; but seems to think that this point should be as plain to non-Christians as to himself. This is exactly where the Theosophist differs from him. A Theosophist shows deep veneration for the Christ as a Master of Wisdom and Compassion, as a Superman, but he thinks of the Christ as *one* of many, not the only one. This fundamental difference runs, though subconsciously, throughout the whole book. Dr. Urquhart, naturally, cannot comprehend why the Theosophist should regard the Christ and the Buddha and Krishna as equals. This fundamental difference it is not possible to eradicate.

Dr. Urquhart mentions several faults to be found among Theosophists but from that he *nearly* makes the sweeping generalisation that Theosophy *leads* to these faults. His keen intellect has clearly seen wherein fault takes root; but as surely this same intellect should have made it clear to him that the fault lies in the *Theosophist*, not in the doctrine preached to him. Theosophists often forget they are human beings and try to behave as if they were all but divine. Naturally they fall into excesses. Often a particular passage in some work (say of Mrs. Besant) fires all the devotion

in an individual and he becomes a blind bigoted follower of that particular teaching. But is that the fault of the teaching? Would it be right to trace the excesses of all individual Christians to the teachings of Jesus? Dr. Urquhart would have done well to have remembered that it is the *Theosophist* who goes wrong, not Theosophy. But when we have criticism from an outsider one must expect this sort of confusion to be made. Theosophists particularly have been subject to such criticism. One Theosophist is cranky, *ergo* the whole of the theosophical teaching is cranky. Dr. Urquhart is too good and too generous to say anything like this, but in places he has come perilously near saying so.

As a Theosophist, who has been brought up from childhood in a theosophical home, I feel deeply grateful to Dr. Urquhart for laying his finger on our weakest parts. I can certainly cite cases to illustrate almost every one of the weaknesses he has mentioned, but let us remember they are *individual* cases, not a general rule. Let us also remember that in most cases, even with the "cranky" ones, Theosophy has brought light and inner peace. I am sure Dr. Urquhart fully grants this statement. He has rendered distinct service to Theosophist, by telling them of their shortcomings; and he has done more than that, he has, like a true friend, told them exactly where these lie and has shown them the way to avoid them. For this he deserves their gratitude.

I. J. S. T.

The Scourge of Christ; by Paul Richard (Ganesh & Co.)

"God created man in his own image, and man returned the compliment."

It is this man-made God, full of human limitations, that man has set up for worship.

This is what is wrong with our religious men. This is why science says that God was a king deified.

But prophets have broken the man-made fence round the man-made idol termed "God."

Hence the prophet has been called insane, has been vilified, has been crucified.

And after the crucifixion an image of the prophet has been set up by the side of the man-made God and within the man-made fence these two idols are worshipped—as God and the Interpreter of God.

God gave eyes to man that he may look upward ; but how few do so,
 Break the man-made fence, break the man-made idols, look upward
 into the infinite and find the true God.
 Revert to the God in whose image you are created.

A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics : By Sunitikumar Chatterjee, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London). Obtainable from the Secretaries of the International Phonetic Association : Paul Passy, Liefra, p. Fontette, Aube, France ; Daniel Jones, University College, London, W.C.I. Price 3s, 1921.

The author himself has given an idea of the scope of this booklet of 25 pages thus : " The present sketch is an attempt to record as accurately as possible the speech-sounds of the Bengali language as spoken by the educated classes, with a view to help foreigners to acquire a correct pronunciation of these speech-sounds by visualizing them, as well as to provide additional material in the study of general phonetics."

The author, who is a past master of the subject he deals with, has very thoroughly examined every vowel and consonant sounds, euphonic changes due to stress and slurring of unstressed syllables in Bengali. The treatment is very instructive, not only to the foreigners but also to those whose mother language is Bengali, for many of us speak Bengali without paying proper attention to the phonetic peculiarities of the language. I trust that this will be a great help to the students of Bengali phonetics, as there are very few books on the subject.

CHARU BANDOPADHYAY

Money and Foreign Exchange after 1914 ; by Gustav Cassel (pp. 282, Constable & Co., Ltd).

The years which have elapsed since the declaration of the world war will rightly be regarded as constituting an eventful period to the students of monetary science. To one forgotten period of the financial history of England the recent currency history of Europe bears indeed a close and interesting analogy. Yet the very magnitude of the problems of to-day and the momentous character of the social and economic issues that depend

upon a proper solution of those problems give them an importance peculiarly their own. The suspension of the cash payments by the Bank of England that resulted from a war finance based on unlimited bank advances to the government produced consequences which at that time puzzled the government and businessmen of the day, and aggravated the misery of a population already suffering from the effects of a war with France. The same methods of reckless war finance adopted on a magnified scale all over Europe during the late war have to-day produced consequences a hundred times more mischievous. While the governments of Europe were indulging in a reckless policy of inflation they did not take into serious consideration the ruin and disaster that would inevitably follow in the wake of such a process. It is the old and familiar story of "summon the ghosts I can but send them away I cannot." But however much one may feel tempted to say to the Governments of Europe "It serves you right: you have made your bed and on it you must lie" there still remains in the minds of most people a passionate desire to help them out of the rut into which they have fallen. The book under review offers a few suggestions which will prove helpful to all European countries aiming at the stabilisation of their exchanges.

Prof. Cassel had already diagnosed the malady and suggested remedies in his two Memoranda, one of which he submitted before the International Financial Conference at Brussels. These two documents written for a narrow circle of experts secured for the learned professor a distinguished place amongst the world's economists of the day. By the publication of the volume before us in which he has elaborated his previous arguments he has laid under a deep debt of obligation not only the students of monetary science but also that increasingly wider circle of readers who feel attracted at the present day to the fascinating problems of currency, and exchange.

The outstanding feature of the currency situation of the present day may be described as an artificial creation of purchasing power in the erstwhile belligerent as well as in the neutral countries without any real increase of savings or any corresponding increase in the productive power of nations. It is true as the author suggests that effective warfare under really serious conditions is impossible without inflation. But no justification seems to have existed for the new inflation which took place during 1919 and which in a way went even further than that during the war. This process of watering the currency has led to the abandonment of the gold standard with the result that there no longer exists any fixed relation between the currencies of different countries. It has also brought in its

train a serious depreciation in the value of gold the full significance of which has often been ignored. Even the Cunliffe Committee and the Brussels Conference did not examine how far in view of this depreciation a reduction in the general price level would be necessary for the restoration of the gold standard.

Prof. Cassel blames the discount policy of the Central Banks for the post-war inflation. The Banks of England and of Norway, the Swedish Riksbank and even the U. S. A. Federal Reserve Banks did not come to realise the necessity of raising the discount rates until the mischief had been completed. "If ever the raising of the Bank rate was called for, it was certainly so in the spring of 1919, when under such conditions as then prevailed clear signs of a fresh expansion of credit began to appear" (p. 194).

He is equally severe against the policy of deflation which was pursued during 1920 by the U. S. A. a country whose currency was already on a par with gold. This deflation aggravated the difficulties of the stabilisation of the dollar exchange in Europe. The author urges the creation of what he describes as the "centre of stability" in the U. S. A. "As circumstances now are it is a matter of the highest international importance that the monetary unit of the U. S. A. should have a fixed value." The European countries should on their part aim at giving a stable internal value to their currency. This would mean the stabilisation of exchange rates between Europe and America. There is no doubt that some of the European countries whose currencies have suffered the greatest depreciation will have to lower the old parity. But much as we may deplore the abandonment of the old and familiar landmarks there is no help for it. In the works of the author used in another connection "we are confronted here with the unusually graphic example of the tragedy of mankind never being able to make good the evil they have committed."

JITENDRA PRASAD NIYOGI

"Peace" and the "Journey of life"—are two booklets by Babu Harimohan Banerjee, President of the Arya Mission Institution, containing instruction intended "primarily for the Christian World."

In the first the author draws attention to the fact that peace is more subjective than objective. That true peace is to be attained by moral discipline raising one's self above his senses which will lead to the conquest of the senses, and a calm resignation in the Almighty, rather than

by an eternal effort, an eternal struggle for the satisfaction of the hankerings of the senses.

In the other booklet which is a sequel to the first the author describes the human life as an eternal struggle raging between the senses of man and his real self. Man in course of his journey forgets his self and is influenced by his materialistic element and his senses lead him to destruction. His salvation lies in freeing his own self from the influence of matter and his faith in the Almighty who is ever ready to open the gate "whenever any one knocks at the gate."

Both the books are full of quotations from the Bible and show the author's clear grasp of the subject of his thesis. They show a good deal of original thought.

N. C. B.

STATE *VERSUS* COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS AND RAILWAY EXPENDITURE

This question is of vital importance to the economic and industrial development of trade, commerce and industries of the country, and State Railways are eventually meant to exist for the benefit of the country and not for its exploitation. The Government of India, the old lessee companies, the European merchants and a very small number of Indians from Bengal stood in favour of Company Management, whereas the bulk of Indian opinion asked for State Management, and the Assembly have done right in supporting the latter opinion. One of the Directors of the Railway affected, the Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, the Chairman of the Railway Gazette of London, were all very active in India, and Sir Campbell Rhodes of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce was their principal support in the Assembly to advocate the cause of Company Management. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary and a few of his friends, who are none of them business men, or had anything to do with the railways except during travelling, developed into great railway economists and entered into academic discussions and asked for Company Management, and it is particularly to be regretted that in making a comparison between Sir R. N. Mukherjee and the Hon'ble Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a writer from Bengal who had suddenly developed into "A Railway Man" said that it was the former alone who was wholly a businessman and could talk on railway matters and that the latter had more things of politics in him than commerce. For the information of such persons it may be mentioned that Mr. Purshottamdas, besides being the senior partner of a very important firm of 53 years' standing in Bombay who deal in cotton and cotton

ginning and pressing factories in India and East Africa, is the Chairman and Director of the Bombay Cotton Exchange, Vice-Chairman and Director of Bombay Cotton Trade Association, and has been twice President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau; moreover he is a Director of the Imperial Bank and of forty other leading commercial companies in Bombay which include railways, Iron and Steel and milling companies.

The Indian businessmen such as the men in the coal trade of Bengal and Behar or the Indian merchants and mill-owners of Bombay are competent bodies amongst Indians, who can talk authoritatively on railway management in India and their effects on trade, commerce, and industries, carried on by those who are indigenous people of the country. Both the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay substantiated cases of undue preference before the Railway Committee in favour of European interests in the past and the Railway Committee had to acknowledge in a footnote in the record of evidences that the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber sent voluminous papers concerning cases of undue preference in favour of Europeans, but unfortunately this correspondence was not made public. There was, a few years ago, a case, which was investigated by Sir T. R. Wynne, when President of the Railway Board, personally at Cawnpur on the strong representation of the Bombay Indian Mercantile community, and it had to be admitted by the Government that there were special allotments of wagons by the G. I. P. Railway to Ralli Brothers and this had to be cancelled as the results of the enquiry. The important sections of Indian commercial bodies such as the Indian Chamber of Bombay, the Indian Mining Federation, the Indian Chambers of Cawnpur, Madras, etc., can say what they know about Indian railways and they have all condemned company management. The writings of one of the very recent and hitherto unknown railway expert bear very close resemblance

to the views expressed, only a few weeks ago, by Col. Munshell of the Railway Gazette, London, who stated his view in a discussion with a well-known Indian who was on the Railways of India. It is perhaps a case of great minds thinking alike. Now to come to the points that are of vital importance to the country. In India, we have State ownership of railways, but the management of railways had hitherto been that of persons, who had a very small stake in the undertakings, and their interests were in most cases not identical with the interests of the owners. And another great disadvantage has been that even the State managed state railways were worked the same as Company worked state lines.

A few points have been raised by the new railway economists. One of them is that there should be private management of state railways, irrespective of ownership because private management is controlled—a principle almost unheard of, *i.e.*, management without ownership. Such management has been called controlled as contrasted to uncontrolled State management. It is very curious that while one set of men condemns Indian railway State management as disastrous because there would be too much control from the Assembly, there is another set who in advocating the cause of Company management say that State management is uncontrolled.

Those, who are saying that there are the possibilities of state railways being exploited to the detriment of the interests of the country, ought to look to the past history of German and Belgian railways, prior to the war, and they will find that even Mr. Lloyd George of England had to admit plainly those two countries were made industrially great mainly through the medium of their State railways and that this was proved by investigations made in Germany and in Belgium, on behalf of the British Houses of Parliament. And the German railways were great financial assets to that country's Government before the war, although the railways were worked

mainly in the interests of the economic, commercial and industrial development of that country, and as a protection against foreign goods competing with German goods. Of course, to-day things may be different in the matter of railway finance in Germany, for a country, which is so badly hit by war of its own creation and is bankrupt in all respects cannot be expected that to be solvent in its State railways, but this is certainly not the fault of the State management of the German railways. There have been invidious comparisons drawn between the present Company managed railways of India, without taking into account the real causes. The readers will find the real facts and causes fully detailed in pages 138 to 139, and pages 158 to 162 of the *Calcutta Review* of January, 1923, and in pages 61 to 70 of part I of Indian Railway Economic lectures printed and published by the University of Calcutta.

The real cause of the Western Railways of India (not excluding the G. I. P. Railway and B. B. & C. I. Railway Company lines) having to buy Welsh coal was mainly the failure of the coal carrying company worked railways to carry coal from Bengal. Moreover, it is well known that the sellers of coal accept a lower price when they get quick wagon supply and the coal gets through to destination quick, and these are principal factors which enabled the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway to get coal at a cheaper price, and these railways were on the spot and the coal merchants have to deal with them in their business every moment. All these factors must count. The working expenses of the G. I. P. Railway Company were very high and so were those of the N. W. State Railway for various special reasons. On the other hand, the results of the O. R. State Railway were exceptionally good during 1920-21.

The figures of cost of working of State railways and of the Company lines vary according to traffic and other conditions, and there is as much difference between two Company-managed railways as between two State-managed railways.

For instance, those, who are practical Indian railway men, know that the higher cost per train mileage on the E. B. State Railway is entirely due to the very light load of jute, which is its main traffic. A very large number of wagons and trains have to be run for the same weight of traffic in jute as compared with the number of wagons and trains required for identical weight of traffic when it is coal or grain; most of this jute is sent in drums (or unpressed and merely rolled like drums).

When people talk of cost of construction being less on Company lines of India they seem to exhibit utter ignorance as it is well known that the cost of railway construction in India had been exceptionally high simply owing to extravagance of the original companies. And this is very plainly stated in the Imperial Gazetteers of India (Indian Empire Series).

The charging of high fares by the railways, not excluding the E. I Railway Company, and the high cost of construction of Company lines, were the main causes why the State thought of construction of railways in India through direct state agencies. Pages 20 to 22 and pages 5 to 6 of Railway Board's Monograph of Indian Railway rates will shew that great pressure had to be brought on the Indian railways to reduce rates and fares.

The East Indian Railway was the railway that had to be compelled by the Government to reduce fares for third class passengers *cide* page 23 of the said monograph. And it was also this railway that had persistently objected to the entrance of the Bengal Nagpur Railway into the Bengal coalfields, and this was very clearly proved at a conference held between the Government officials and the Calcutta European merchants in Simla some 22 years ago. The report of this conference was published in a blue book called "the Entrance of the B. N. Railway into the Jheria coal field."

The good results of the E. I. Railway were not due so much to its managers, as to its extensive traffic and geographical

position, also pointed out by the Government in the Imperial Gazetteer (Indian Empire Series). The Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company's results should be seen by those who are very much against the North Western State Railway results. The G. I. P. Railway Company was worked for nearly 50 years at a loss to the Government, and the Government had also to suffer loss through the Madras and the B. B. & C. I. Railways during the managements of the original companies, and even to-day the G. I. P. Railway working expenses are very very high.

And those who have said that the fixing of minimum rates and fares is arbitrary would do well to read pages 261 to 272 of Railway Board's Monograph on Indian Railway Rates which will shew what would have been the loss in revenue in India had railways like the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway been allowed lower and preferential minimum rates and fares as was asked for. It was the E. I. Railway contract that was responsible for through sliding scales of rates not being given to the Indian public over two or more railways although it was admitted that such an action would be justifiable in public interests and would mean no loss to the Government, the owner of all railways, as the rates would be paying in the aggregate, *vide* page 36 of the Monograph on Indian Railway Rates.

Some have even gone so far as to point out that the B. & N. W. Railway Company's line as an ideal one. Such persons are recommended to travel on this line, and to find out from the East Indian Railway Company what are the causes of congestions at Mokameh Ghat. There are failures on the part of the B. & N. W. Railway in supplying wagons, inspite of the fact that the State, *viz.*, the Government of India, has kept a large number of wagons on the E. B. Railway metre gauge, which helps the B. & N. W. Railway Company's line and thus reduces their capital outlay on wagons. A very full investigation on this point would be useful and it is necessary

to find out whether the B. & N. W. Railway Company are not profiting at the expense of the State by not spending capital on further wagons, and whether or not the supply of wagons by the E. B. S. Railway practically amounts to subsidizing the B. & N. W. Railway Company ; an account may be taken as to how many the E. B. S. Railway metre gauge wagons were in use on the B. & N. W. Railway Company during the last four years.

Moreover there is another serious factor, which will show how the E. I. Railway Company and the B. N. Railway Company have in the past profited at the expense of other railways and all other parts of India : *vide* pages 85, 86, 87, & 88 of part II of Indian Railway Economics (Transport Series), published by the Calcutta University, extracts from which are given below :—

“ It will be seen that, excepting in the case of the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railway, more traffic was cleared by other railways before general pooling of wagons.”

“ Comparing the results of 1920-21 with those of 1916-17 the E. I. R. and B. N. R. between them carried an excess traffic of fifteen lacs of tons, and it is remarkable that each railway accounted for an equal quantity to make up fifteen lacs, *viz.*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of tons each. At first sight, one would be inclined to think that this increase was mostly accounted for by coal traffic, but this does not appear to be so. Whereas the total excess traffic of the E. I. R. in 1920-21 (compared with 1916-17) was $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of tons, coal only accounted for an increase of 1,73,000 tons (less than two lacs) and, in the case of the B. N. Railway out of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of tons the increase in coal was but 96,000 tons (or less than one lac).”

“ The figures show that while the railways like G. I. P., B. B. C. I., O. & R. or the N. W. Railway carried less traffic than before pooling the E. I. Railway and B. N. Railway carried much more general merchandise traffic, or in other words, restricted general merchandise traffic was carried on

railways, other than the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway, with a view to give assistance to the two latter railways in the matter of general merchandise traffic by such other railways sending their wagons to the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway. But this points to the fact that such wagons were not used for the purpose intended, *i.e.*, they were mostly used by the two latter lines much more for general merchandise traffic than for coal traffic. This being the position a very important question arises here. In the first place, it is to be asked whether all the railways have realised this position. Then the next issue is whether it is right that the traders and other people on railways other than the E. I. R. and the B. N. R., trading and interested in commodities other than coal, should be compelled to restrict their business largely in order that the similar traders and industries on the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railway should benefit by these two latter railways having freer supply of wagons *at the expense of traffic and business on other railways*, which have to spare their wagons for the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railways."

The railway expenditure in India has been extravagant:

(1) Firstly, due to original companies spending money extravagantly on construction.

(2) Secondly, due to payment of guaranteed rate of interest, which admittedly took away from the companies all the incentive to economise.

(3) Thirdly, owing to reckless competition carried on by companies between themselves as they knew that if there were losses they were protected by the guaranteed dividend by the Government, which the Indian tax-payers paid for many years. The Government of India had to interfere on many occasions to stop wasteful competition as admitted in Railway Boards Monograph on Indian Railway Rates.

(4) Fourthly, owing to payment of surplus profits to companies before sufficient money was provided out of revenue for heavy repairs, renewals, etc.

(5) Fifthly, owing to monopoly of higher appointments both in the superior and the upper subordinate grades by Europeans. State railways had at one time started Indianization. Lord Lawrence's Government asked for State Railways in order to give India cheaply made railways, for instance, the R. M. Railway reduced rates and fares and Indian and less costly management but Lord Ripon's Government and subsequent Governments upset this.

(6) State railway officers were originally paid lower salaries for equal and better qualification but as Company line men were paid higher salaries the State railways had to pay more. State railway officials in the junior grades were taken on Company lines and given comparatively higher salaries and made Agents, Chief Engineers from the ranks of State railway Executive Engineers. It must be regretted that Lord Inchcape Committee omitted this point, which was fully discussed on pages 142 to 144 of the Calcutta Review of January, 1923. On the other hand, Lord Inchcape Committee has recommended higher salaries for General Managers of Indian railways. But the members of the Assembly will do well to remember the following points in this connection :—

(a) The Indian railways do not deal with the same amount of concentrated traffic as the English railways or the American railways. Nowhere in India there are even $\frac{1}{5}$ th the number of trains dealt with at stations as for instance the trains at Liverpool Street, Waterloo, and Ruston.

(b) The Indian railway conditions are wholly different and the training of Indian officers had better be in India. In this connection it may be interesting to note that

“The railway engineers, the railway traffic officers, railway auditors need not be imported railway men at all. The best Traffic Managers of India had been men who never received any training on any railway but the Indian railways, such as Mr. Muirhead, Col. Huddleston, Sir William Dring, Mr. Rumboll and others, and all of them rose to the top of

their profession, *viz.*, to the posts of Agents. Similarly of the capable Engineers, educated and trained in India, there were men like Mr. Rala Ram, Mr. Hogan, and also many others more or equally capable, and, the Indian Finance Department Accounts officers can hold their own with any one trained in railway or other accounts outside India. Therefore, if the desire really is for the Indian railways to be run economically they should be really indianised, which can be done—there is no need to import men from England or to compare salaries of English railway men with the Indian railway men. Col. Huddleston remarked in writing a few years ago, that so far as traffic training was concerned there was absolutely no need to train men in England and Col. Huddleston ought to know what he says. He was the General Traffic Manager on the E. I. Railway for years and also acted as Agent of that line. It is also to be particularly noted that men, who made their name in railway transportation during the last great war, and were on the top jobs, were men like Sir Eric Geddes, Sir Phillip Nash, Sir V. Murray, Sir H. Freeland, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Sheridan, and others—all Indian railway men and most of them had their training in India. Therefore Indianisation in the higher grades and the fixing of salaries at Indian scales is most essential and the Assembly ought to take these facts seriously into consideration in voting on the Railway Budget and in considering Lord Inchcape's recommendations for high salaries for Indian Railway Managers.

(c) Japan is near America and Japan has its railways, but because Japan has accepted western methods of transportation it has not adopted the exorbitant scales of salaries paid to railway men in America and this fact must be truly and particularly observed in India, especially when it is admitted by the Lord Inchcape Committee that Indian railways cannot bear high railway expenses. European staff on Indian railways not only mean very high expenditure in

salaries but additional and much higher expenditure in providing costly and luxurious settlements for them. Places like Sealdah, Lilloah, Bamangachi, Asansol, Dhanbaid, Kharagpur, Adra, Chakradharpur, Madhupore, Dinapur, Allahabad, and very many other places would give ample evidence of what enormous sums had to be spent in providing quarters, institutes, etc., for Europeans. Even in the grades of upper subordinates there is monopoly of appointments by Europeans, such as in the grades of inspectors, and while Indians are deliberately kept out of these appointments it is advanced as an argument that suitable Indians are not found. For instance take the case of "the permanent-way inspectors on Indian Railways, especially on Company-managed State Railways. They are practically all non-Indians. For the salaries that these men are paid (without having any engineering qualifications to speak of) qualified Indian assistant engineers, who find it difficult to get employments, could be had. The salaries paid to the permanent-way inspectors, say on the East Indian Railway are said to be as follows :—

Number.		Salary.	
8 in the grade of Rs. 525 to 600 per mensem.			
61	„ „	325	500 „ „
19	„ „	160	300 „ „

There is not a single-Indian in these appointments.

They are not employed because these posts are reserved for Europeans and Eurasians. Qualification becomes disqualification for Indians. Indians, who have passed out as overseers or even as assistant engineers, from the Indian Engineering Colleges are debarred from getting these appointments because of their nationality."

In the Carriage and Wagon Department of some Railways for the same kind of work and training the

European and Anglo Indian			
Mechanics get	...	Rs. 160 to	400
Indian Mechanics get	...	" 50	" 205

European and Anglo-Indian

apprentices get ...	Rs.	45 to 75
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Indian apprentices get ...	„	8 „ 38
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The figures speak for themselves. Such instances could be multiplied.

It may be argued that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is very large. But this is merely an eye wash. Indians are very large in number because they form the masses in the cooly, menial, and the lower clerical grades, *i.e.*, appointments which the Europeans and East Indians will not take. It is very true that although even on State-managed State Railways the percentage of Indians to the number of Europeans as officers and upper Subordinates is small but yet there have been in the past Indian Deputy Traffic Managers and even one Indian Chief Engineer. There are some Executive Engineers and District Traffic Superintendents on State-managed Railways who are Indians, but none yet on Company-worked State Railways in these capacities. We know the case of Bengal Jute Mills owned by Companies of Indian domicile and with sixty per cent. of Indian capital where there are no Indians in responsible positions. The process of Indianisation can only come in with State management and with the strong and persistent attitude of the Assembly, and it is only right that Indians should take a larger share in the responsibility of the management of their railways. In the Establishment Rolls of some of the most important trunk railways the Indian station masters, Indian Ticket collectors are clearly shown on lesser salaries.

Lastly, in the matter of passenger rolling stock it is most essential that the railways instead of spending money in luxurious type of first and second class carriages, tourists' cars and restaurant cars, provide English food, should look to the comfort of third class passengers, which can only be done, in the first place, by providing more accommodation. It is,

therefore, essential that the Assembly should call upon the Government to render an account, showing what money has been spent during the last three years, and is going to be spent during the next two or three years, on the upper and lower classes of rolling stock separately as also of the money spent on Railway officers' saloons (such as those in use of the Agents and other high officials on Indian railways and on tourist and Restaurant cars). It is well known that the third class comprises by far the largest majorities of the Indian railway passenger traffic. Horace Bell in his book on railway policy in India remarked it would be profitable for the Indian railways to pay premiums to the upper class passengers and ask them to stay away, so that accommodation on trains could be more advantageously used for paying third class passengers. Even during 1920-21 the third class passengers traffic on the E. I. R., B. B. & C. I., B. N. R., G. I. P. railways accounted for more than 90% of the total passenger traffic.

The Assembly should at least ask the Railway Board to show what amounts are going to be spent during 1922-23 and 1923-24 on the East Indian, the G. I. P., B. B. and C. I., the B. N. and some other railways (and also spent during 1920-21, 1921-22) for renewing :—

- (a) coaching bogies (first and second and tourist and Restaurant cars)
- (b) coaching bogies (intermediate)
- (c) coaching bogies (third)
- (d) covered wagons and open wagons
- (e) Engines

and how much of the amounts under each head are to be and were debited to "Revenue" and how much to capital and on what basis. These figures must be available from railways.

Finally, it is very interesting to note that so great a railway authority of the world as Sir Henry Thornton, K.B.E.

late General Manager, Great Eastern Railway Company of England and the present Chairman of the Canadian National Railways, in expressing his opinion on the recent grouping of English railways, just before his ship sailed for Canada, said that if the grouping of railways in England failed the only alternative would be to have recourse to complete nationalisation of English railways.

S. C. GHOSE

Ourselves

ORIENTAL RESEARCH

At the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 7th February, 1923, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered an interesting Presidential Address which we reproduce here. We trust that the Members of the Post-Graduate Department will not be slow to take the hint conveyed in the last but one paragraph of the Address.

"It has been my privilege to address the Society at its Annual gathering, so often during the last seventeen years, that my silence on the present occasion would not have been liable to be misinterpreted as disrespect to our distinguished members. I felt, however, that if the term of office of the President were brought to a close without an address, however brief, it might create an unwelcome precedent. I shall consequently ask your indulgence while I refer to one or two subjects of interest to all well-wishers of the Society and supporters of its activities.

It is a matter of congratulation that notwithstanding the stress of economic conditions, our material prosperity has remained unabated during the last twelve months. There is no visible diminution in the number of our members, nor has there been a fall in the quantity, and, let me add without hesitation, the quality of the communications accepted by us for publication. To our keen disappointment, however, our building scheme has been held up, by reason of financial difficulties, just at the stage when we hoped that they had been successfully overcome, and it is now fairly clear that the matter requires to be explored further. In connection with this project for the erection of a handsome

building on this site, a gentleman, who may well claim to be a man of culture but who has not yet joined the Society, has seriously put to me the question, whether the Society which has now existed for 140 years and has occupied these premises erected more than a century ago, is likely to last during the normal lifetime of a new habitation. I assured him, with my usual optimism, that the work of the Society would never come to an end, for had not our illustrious Founder, with the boldness which characterised all his conceptions, defined the bounds of our investigation to be the geographical limits of Asia and included within the scope of our enquiries whatever is performed by man or produced by Nature. It is, I venture to think, not generally realised, even by well-educated people, that problems of scholarship, both literary and scientific, which still await solution, are so numerous and so fascinating that a Society like this can never languish. It is of the problems in one of these fields alone that I shall venture to address you this evening—I mean the achievement of scholars of different nationalities in the domain of Indology.

The greatest work in this department, which is also the greatest event of the year just closed, is the publication of the first volume of the long projected and keenly expected Cambridge History of India, the first of a series of six, setting forth the history of ancient India from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century of the Christian Era. A glance at this work suggests many ideas for our reflection. In 1839, when Mount Stuart Elphinstone first attempted a comprehensive History of India, he remarked: "No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander, and no connected relation of the national transactions until after the Mahomedan conquest." The first part of this statement is still true, if it is strictly taken to mean that no date of an historical event anterior to the invasion of Alexander can be determined with absolute precision. But the second part of his observation has lost all

point in the light of the wealth of materials now available for the reconstruction of the ancient history of this country; and even in respect of the pre-Alexandrian period, "connected relation" is possible and has been established in the case of at least the social and religious history of India.

But what is this wealth of materials accessible to us, you will perhaps ask, which have made the reconstruction of our past history possible? Briefly, they are the literary compositions and the archaeological monuments. So far as the first of these sources goes, there can be no doubt that we have made much headway in the publication of the literary compositions of ancient India. Thanks chiefly to the industry and devotion of European scholars, almost the whole of Vedic literature is now before us for study and utilisation for historical purposes. All the important works of Pali Buddhism are now accessible to us for the same purpose, principally through the unflagging and disinterested efforts of the late Professor Rhys Davids, who has just passed away, to the extreme grief of scholars in all countries. In regard to later periods, the publications brought out in such series, as the *Bibliotheca Indica* of our society, the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit series, the *Kavyamala*, the Vizianagram series, the Benares Sanskrit series, the Chaukhamba series, the Trivandrum Sanskrit series, the Harvard Oriental series and the like have placed before us much material which can be easily utilised in the exploration of the ancient history of India. I do not for a moment intend to imply that no further work remains to be done in the matter of such publication; all that I intend to emphasise is that much progress has been achieved in this direction. Such is not, however, the case with the collection and study of archaeological monuments, which, as I have already told you, is another important source of our past history. These fall into four broad divisions, (1) Epigraphy, (2) Numismatics, (3) Iconography and (4) Art and Architecture. Notable advance has doubtless been made in

the study of these sources during the last half a century, as I attempted to show in my Address to the Second Oriental Conference held last year in this city under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. But it must be conceded that much still remains to be accomplished in this direction. Even in the sphere of Epigraphy, which may create the impression that the field has been thoroughly exploited, if we look into the Government Epigraphist's list of inscriptions discovered in the Madras Presidency alone, we are constrained to admit that numbers of them still await to be deciphered and made accessible for the purposes of history. The same remark may be applied with even greater emphasis to each of the other branches of Indian Archaeology.

The materials which have been critically handled by different scholars and archaeologists are now within the reach of the historian. He has but to digest and collate them, to requisition them into the service of History. It is an elementary truism that the life of a nation is faithfully portrayed in the monuments of its literature ; here, as elsewhere among all civilised people, it is indisputable that our literary compositions illuminate many a dark and obscure corner in our past history, and their importance can scarcely be over-rated specially for our earliest period. The history of the pre-Asokan times in all its aspects still rests practically on literary evidence. It is true that the bulk of this literary source is preponderantly religious. But we have such secular works as the Puranas and the Epics which have helped to preserve the historic tradition. The results obtained by a scrutiny of this tradition, specially when compared and contrasted with those reached by a study of Vedic literature, throw unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of that period. The fruit of such a critical inquiry is now before us in the shape of a book entitled " Ancient Indian Historical Tradition " brought out by Mr. F. E. Pargiter whose name occupies an honoured place in the long roll of Presidents of this Society.

The idea of such a work had been conceived by him thirty years ago, when he was engaged on the translation of the Markandeya Purana, undertaken by him for this society. It is also extremely gratifying to note that a work of exactly the same nature was submitted in 1921 by Mr. Sitanath Pradhan, Lecturer on Physics in the Murarichand College, Sylhet, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, although he himself was presumably a votary not of philosophy, but of science. The thesis has been pronounced by experts to be of much excellence and has been accepted by the University for immediate publication. A comparison of the divergent results obtained by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Pradhan cannot but prove useful for the reconstruction of the political history of the pre-Mauryan period. It cannot thus be questioned that the Vedic and Post-Vedic literature, inclusive of the Pali Buddhist Canon, contain valuable materials for the investigation of the social, economic and religious history of that period; this, indeed, is now admitted on all hands and calls for no detailed comments. Such then is the value of the literary source, specially for the pre-Mauryan period, where archæological monuments cannot come to our aid, though no doubt, when the latter become accessible, our knowledge attains further precision and becomes better connected. But even these records, though they have been judiciously handled by archæologists, stand in need of examination also by the artist and the historian before they can be made to yield the ancient history of India. Take for instance the field of numismatics. So many different coins of different periods have been found, classified and catalogued by expert numismatists that many might labour under the impression that whatever was possible had been achieved. But the moment the records are studied and handled from the historian's point of view, they yield many interesting results. I need make only a passing reference to the ancient history of coinage, such as we have seen already narrated in the lectures delivered in 1921 by the Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta

University. Take, again, the ancient art and architecture of India. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* and Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture* are still looked upon as the standard works on the subjects. The authors of these publications, however, never professed to give exhaustive descriptions of all the types of Indian Art and Architecture; these treasures are indeed inexhaustible, and new specimens are brought to light year after year, thanks to the energy of members of the great archaeological survey, as also to the enthusiasm of private citizens. It is not for this reason that these pioneer works were considered to be the standard authorities, but rather because they were taken to have expounded the grounds and principles of Indian Art and Architecture. We are indebted, however, to the striking efforts made by Mr. Havell, that we are now able to approach the subject from an entirely new angle of vision; the consequence is that the works of Fergusson and Vincent Smith are criticised as dominated by the erroneous idea that the Art and Architecture of Ancient India qua art has very little to teach the world. It is refreshing to find that the workers of this generation have now commenced studying the problems of Indian Art and Architecture from this new point of view, which is not that of the archaeologist, but of the artist. It was only the other day that Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered two courses of lectures before the Calcutta University, setting forth some of the results reached by her in this field. Mr. Manomohan Ganguli, author of *Orissa and its Remains*, is also delivering a series of lectures, under the auspices of the University, on the architecture of ancient India from this view-point; while Mr. Jaminikanta Sen in his brilliant work *Art-o-Ahitagni* has expounded an attractive theory. No impartial critic can, for a moment, lay down that this new method of treatment is wholly correct—I am not pledged to accept either the old or the new; indeed, to my mind, both the old and the new contain elements of truth, and unless

the partisans of both thresh out the subject thoroughly, we cannot hope to reach the unalloyed truth.

It will thus be admitted that the labours of scholars working in various fields have brought to light a vast mass of material since the time when Elphinstone first attempted to write a history of India, as will be apparent from even a cursory glance at the pages of the first volume of the Cambridge History. We must not overlook, however, that the magnitude of the task is so great that a work of this character could have been rendered feasible, only by the co-operation of a band of scholars who are researchers and experts in the different branches of Indology. It is only by this co-operative method that it is possible to compose a work which can be treated as an authority on the history of ancient India. If we wish to realise how progress has been made by immense strides in quite recent years, we need only recall the history of ancient India by Vincent Smith, which was rightly acclaimed on its first appearance as a distinct step forward, though scholars were not slow to recognise its obvious imperfections and inevitable limitations. It was, however, readily acknowledged as a helpful advance over what had preceded it, and was in fact entitled to unreserved credit as the first systematic attempt to compress a bewildering mass of materials of the most diverse character into a fairly well-connected narration.

I have hitherto referred specifically only to such materials, literary and archæological, as have been discovered within the geographical limits of India. But it is manifest that one cannot ignore the wealth of materials which abound in what was in ancient times rightly regarded as a greater India. It would be folly to overlook the remains of Indian Civilisation in the world around India and the ineffaceable traces of her vitalising intercourse in ancient times with her neighbours, such as, Persia, Central Asia, China, Tibet and Indo-China. No student of Ancient Indian History and Culture can ignore, for instance, the materials brought to light by

that intrepid explorer Sir Aurel Stein, whose latest work *Ser India* has added notably to his many triumphs as a pathfinder in trackless regions where Indian Culture flourished in ages gone by. This manifestly adds to the immensity of the work which lies before the investigator of this generation. In this connection, we cannot afford to ignore the fundamental position that the history of a nation is not merely a chronicle of its political events, but comprehends equally every important development in the domain of religious, social and economic life. It is no reproach to the *Cambridge History* that from this standpoint it has not realised our highest conception of historical work. One of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century was the application of scientific methods to historical studies, so that History may be regarded as teaching a continuous sequence, an inflexible order, an eternal law of progress. This indeed is expressly recognised by the projectors of the *Cambridge History*. "It is precisely to the last quarter of the eighteenth century," they say, "that we may trace the growth of the modern scientific spirit of investigation, which may be defined as a recognition of the fact that no object and no idea stands alone by itself as an isolated phenomenon. All objects and all ideas form links in a series, and therefore it follows that nowhere, whether in the realm of nature or in the sphere of human activity, can the present be understood without reference to the past." In the evolution of the race, there are no sudden starts, no absolute beginnings. History is thus like a continuous flow of the Ganges, out of the dark and mysterious heights of hoary antiquity which emerging flows unceasingly into eternity. The time, however, has not yet arrived for undertaking a history of ancient Indian History and Culture from the standpoint of the philosophical student of History. Notwithstanding the labours of generations of assiduous scholars in many lands, we are still on the threshold. We are still engaged in discovering, sifting, appraising, evaluating and classifying our material. If at

this stage, generalisations were boldly hazarded on the basis of incomplete and imperfect data, our theories might be upset by an unexpected discovery. We cannot consequently blame the contributors to the Cambridge History, many of them famous as profound investigators, merely because they have resisted the temptation to draw an idealistic picture of ancient India and her civilisation. We may feel disappointed that the Cambridge History, inspite of its many excellences, does not reach the ideal of a History of ancient India, which will portray the picture of each period as evolved out of the sum total of circumstances and activities characterising the preceding age. Such an ideal cannot be realised in a work, which, for the very reason that it is an epoch-making Encyclopaedia, composed by an army of experts, fails to furnish a continuous, an uninterrupted flow of historical stream. The synthesis of different chapters and different sections, which makes one period imperceptibly glide into another, can be accomplished by one master mind, like Grote or Mommsen, and not by a congeries of scholars. The day when India can have a Grote or a Mommsen to write her history, which far transcends that of Greece or Rome not only in the extent of area but also of age, may yet be far distant. Meanwhile, let us hope that some scholar will undertake to write a history which though not exhaustive, is yet a history in the modern scientific sense of the term ; and further let us hope that a teacher connected with an Indian University, shall we say the Calcutta University, may enable us to realise our cherished dream.

I trust I may be allowed to bring this address to a close with an offer of congratulation to the members of the Society for the happy choice they have made in the election of our new President. It would be inappropriate on my part to extol the eminence of Dr. Annandale in the branch of knowledge which he has made specially his own, but even a layman may be permitted to express the confident opinion that he will yield to none among his predecessors as a

fearless and devoted guardian of the truest interests of the Society."

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

We are glad to announce that the University of Calcutta is now in a position to start excavations with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society on the first proximo. The site selected for this purpose is at Paharpur, three miles from the Railway station Jamalganj, in the Rajshahi District. Kumar Saratkumar Ray, M.A., to whose patriotism and generosity the Society owes its beautiful building of the archaic style has very liberally promised the University an annual sum of Rs. 2,500 for a period of five years. This sum for the current year has been supplemented by a further grant of Rs. 2,000; Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, can never be sufficiently thanked for successfully prevailing upon the Government of India to sanction this amount in spite of financial stringency. It cannot for a moment be doubted that this was a wise and foresighted move on the part of the Director-General. The excavations at Paharpur could not have been undertaken, to begin with at any rate, with a sum of Rs. 2,500, Sir John Marshall successfully recommending a further grant of equal amount, has rendered possible an excavation which could not otherwise have been commenced. If Government and private individuals can thus co-operate, much can be accomplished even under the present financial conditions when neither by themselves can undertake it with any success. The Director-General of Archaeology, again by assigning this excavation work to the University has by no means sacrificed the real interests of Archaeology, for this work is to be carried out by no less a person than Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor, whose excavations in Central India, Rajputana and Sind, are too well-known to

require any mention. Dr. Bhandarkar has been accompanied by three capable members of the Post-Graduate Department, Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar and Mr. Hemchandra Ray. Not the least interesting feature of the Paharpur excavation is the co-operation of Babu Akshoykumar Maitra, Director of the Varendra Research Society, whose unflinching and disinterested services to the cause of the Archaeology of Bengal can scarcely be over-rated. It was at his suggestion that the present site of Paharpur was selected. What looks like a tower on this site will most probably turn out to be a Buddhist Stupa, and surrounding it will be found to be the remains of a Buddhist Monastery. It is premature yet to prognosticate with any degree of probability, because no archaeological excavation is without its element of luck. The excavations at Paharpur will however be most eagerly watched, because in fact this will be the first excavation that will be scientifically carried out in Bengal.

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AGE RESTRICTION

The following extract from the *Englishman*, dated 23rd February, 1923, will be read with interest by members of the Senate who have agitated in vain for the reduction of the age limit from 16 years to 15 years during the last eight years :

“The Punjab University has decided to abolish the age-limit for the matriculation examination. Infant prodigies will now be able to become undergraduates when other infants are still in their cradles. They will then agitate for the abolition of the limit which still prevents their becoming B.A.’s before they reach their teens.”

Luckily, the University of the Punjab is not faced with three private bills!

* * * *

RAJA PEARYMOHAN MOOKERJEE

The death of Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, full of years and honours, removes from the list of honorary Fellows one of

the oldest and the most distinguished fellows of this University. Born in 1840, he devoted his life to the wellbeing of his fellow countrymen. The first M.A. in Science of this University, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1879 and once more in 1906, a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council so far back as 1884, the Raja "won titles and degrees but he never forgot his duty to his country, and in his loyalty to government he always bore in mind that the best form of loyalty was the service to his own country." In his speech at the memorial meeting at the Dalhousie institute, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu pointed out that "his great and distinguishing feature was the simplicity and modesty of life—the modesty which would be surprising in these days when every pedlar has a sandwich board on his shoulder—the modesty which would not permit him to undertake work for which he did not feel himself fitted—the modesty which would not allow him to do away with the picturesque paraphernalia of the Band and the Bodyguard of His Excellency, the modesty which would not permit him to lay his hands on that hallowed structure of the University of Calcutta." Deep words of wisdom and truth!

* * * *

UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION

Rumour was rife for sometime past that the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal had set its heart on this reform of the Calcutta University. True to the affectionate regard in which some of the *alumni* of the University have held their *alma mater* two members of the Bengal Legislative Council—Messrs. Surendranath Mallick, M.L.C., and Jatindra Mohan Basu—have brought forward two bills for the purpose of widening the constitution of the University and for providing for an improvement of the financial administration of the University. Both the bills have obtained the sanction of the Government of Bengal and both have been introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council with due pomp and ceremony.

We understand our friend Mr. Rishindranath Sircar whose stirring August speech we remember so well, has not been lagging behind and has also framed a bill for the reform of an unreformed University. That bill, we are told, has not yet received blessing from above. The anxious solicitude evinced by three private members—all Calcutta lawyers and all having a surplusage of virgin mind to quote Sir Asutosh Chaudhury—has been fully shared and appreciated by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education who will also, it is understood, introduce a Government measure for the reform of the Calcutta University. Whether it is wise or even expedient to rush into the Legislative Council with reform bills when the Sadler Commission feared to tread is a matter on which opinions may possibly differ, but the question of questions is whether it would be possible for the Legislature, unless it has been converted into a registering automaton, to devote sufficient time for mature deliberation and anxious consideration to such epoch-making measures as the two University bills practically on the eve of its dissolution. Unless the Hon'ble Minister or the Hon'ble Members feel and are convinced that the electorate is with them in this matter, it would be straightforward and wise of them if they consult the wishes of their electorate in the next general election and then bring forward their measures for acceptance by the Legislature.

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TWO PRIVATE BILLS.

We reproduce the full text of the two bills of Messrs. Mullick and Basu :

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY BILL, 1923.

A BILL.

*further to amend the Calcutta University Act, 1857, and
the Indian Universities Act, 1904.*

Preamble.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Calcutta University Act, 1857, and the Indian Universities Act, 1904,

so far as the Calcutta University is concerned with a view to obtain a wider constitution for that University and to provide for an improvement in the financial administration of that University ;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor-General has been obtained under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act :

It is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short Title.

1. This Act may be called the Calcutta University Act, 1923.

Amendment of Section 8 of Act II of 1857.

2. In section 8 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, after the word "Chancellor" in the two places where it occurs, the words "Rector who shall be the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education for the time being" shall be inserted.

Amendment of Section 15 of Act II of 1857.

3. In section 15 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, for the words "such fees" the words "all fees paid to the University and all income of the University subject to any trust" shall be substituted.

Insertion of New Section 15A.

4. After section 15 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, the following shall be inserted, namely :—

"15A. (1) There shall be appointed a Statutory Board of Accounts consisting of nine members, of whom three shall be nominated by the Local Government, three shall be elected by the University and three shall be elected by the Bengal Legislative Council.

(2) The functions of the said Board shall be—

- (a) to appoint with the approval of the Local Government a treasurer to the University as well as his staff. The said treasurer shall be in charge of all monies belonging to the University and shall have the power to draw money on behalf of the University from Banks by means of cheques ;
- (b) to see that no money is paid which is not provided for in the budget ;
- (c) to compare once in every three months the actuals of the receipts and disbursements with those respectively provided for in the budget on that

- behalf and to report the result of such comparisons to the Local Government and the Senate ;
- (d) to prepare the draft budget at least three months before the beginning of the sessions in each year ; and
- (e) to exercise such other powers and duties as may be given to the Board by the Regulations framed under the Acts in force."

Amendment of Section 4 of Act VIII of 1904.

5. (1) In sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, after the brackets, letter and words "(a) the Chancellor," the brackets, letter and words "(b) in the case of the University of Calcutta, the Rector" shall be inserted.

(2) In sub-section (1) of the same section after clause (c) the following shall be inserted namely :—

"or in the case of the University of Calcutta, the Ordinary Fellows—

(i) elected by the registered graduates at least thirty in number in such proportion for representing the various professions as may be determined by the Regulations framed under the Act,

(ii) elected by the members of the Bengal Legislative Council, not necessarily from among themselves, at least twelve in number,

(iii) elected by the teachers and professors of affiliated colleges, at least twenty-five in number,

(iv) elected by the teachers and professors of colleges maintained by the University, at least ten in number, and

(v) nominated by the Government at least thirty-three in number of whom at least eleven are to be Muhammadans.

Such elections are to be held according to the Regulations that may be hereafter framed in that behalf under the Acts for the time being in force :

Provided that so far as the first election after this Act comes into force, is concerned, the same shall be held under rules to be framed by the Government for holding the said election which the Local Government is hereby authorised to frame.

Provided also that the Government, however, shall have the power to raise the total number of Ordinary Fellows to one hundred and fifty as the maximum but in doing the same

they shall maintain the proportion stated above as far as the same may be practicable."

Insertion of New Section 4A.

6. After section 4 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following shall be inserted, namely :—

"4A. The Ordinary Fellows of the University of Calcutta shall vacate their seats within six months of the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, unless they are again elected or nominated under the said Act."

Vacation of seats by
existing Fellows.

Amendment of Section 6.

7. In sub-section (1) of section 7 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the words "of Calcutta" shall be omitted.

Amendment of Section 25.

8. After section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following be added, namely :—

"(3) The Government may after consulting the Senate modify the existing regulations or make new regulations consistent with the provisions of the Act of Incorporation as amended by the previous Acts and with this Act, to provide for all matters relating to the University of Calcutta other than those that are purely academic."

Insertion of New Section 26A.

9. After section 26 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following shall be inserted, namely :—

"26A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 26 in the case of University of Calcutta, Revised Regulations. within three months after the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, or within such further period as the Government may fix in this behalf,—

(a) the Senate as constituted under that Act shall cause a revised body of regulations to be prepared and submitted for the sanction of the Local Government ;

(b) this Government may sanction the proposed body of regulations or, if any additions to, or alterations in, the draft submitted appear to them to be necessary, the Government, after consulting the Senate, may sanction the

proposed body of regulations with such additions and alterations as appear to the Government to be necessary.

- (2) Where a draft body of regulations is not submitted by the Senate within the period of three months after the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, or within such further period as may be fixed under sub-section (1), the Government may, within three months after the expiry of such period or of such further period, make regulations which shall have the same force as if they had been prepared and sanctioned under sub-section (1)."

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

It appears from the Report of the Accountant-General (vide page 173 of Appendix No. 30 to the Report of the Government Grant Committee appointed by the Senate) that the deficit of the Calcutta University amounted to Rs. 38,000 in 1918-19, Rs. 1,77,000 in 1919-20 and Rs. 2,08,000 in 1920-21. The Report further says at page 171: "It may be noted here that the credit balance of Rs. 76,654 in favour of the post-graduate teaching fund, is the result of book adjustments whereby funds have been transferred from the fee fund to the post-graduate teaching fee fund, when there was no balance available from the fee fund. Ordinarily the fee fund should not show a debit balance, as transfers from that fund to other funds can only be permitted to the extent of the surplus available. The book adjustments that have been made in the accounts have the effect of giving an erroneous impression of the financial position of the two funds." This discloses a state of things regarding the administration of the University finances which can very well be characterized as lamentable. Then again, at any rate for the last few years, the University though a public body, totally disregarded the extremely salutary practice of preparing the annual Budget. The said Report of the Accountant-General says (at page 180) "In the case of all public bodies, such as Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta Port Trust, Calcutta Improvement Trust, it is the invariable standing practice to prepare a complete estimate of all classes of receipts and expenditure on different accounts and get it duly sanctioned by proper authority before the year, to which it appertains, commences. The authorities entrusted with the expenditure know fully well

beforehand what grants are placed at their disposal, and regulate their expenditure accordingly. They also closely watch the receipts and advise their superiors to take early action if there is a falling off in them. The Calcutta University on the other hand allows the expenditure to go on for months against no grant sanctioned by the Senate, and does not prepare an estimate till the year sufficiently advances. Estimate for 1919-20 was passed by the Senate on 29th November, 1919, 1920-21 on 4th December, 1920, and 1921-22 on 4th March, 1922. Thus the expenditure up to those dates was incurred without any sanctioned grant." These and various other serious defects in the administration of the financial affairs of the University appear in the said Report of the Accountant-General. One of the objects of the Bill is to improve the financial administration of the Calcutta University.

The other object of this Bill is to introduce more of the elective element in the constitution of the Senate with due and proper regard to academic interests.

Some of the other amendments proposed in this Bill are more or less consequential.

Provision has been made to empower the Local Government to frame rules according to which only the first elections after this Act comes into force, have yet to be held.

SURENDRANATH MALLICK,

Member-in-charge.

C. TINDALL,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
and

Secretary to the Bengal Legislative Council.

CALCUTTA :

The 9th January, 1923.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA AMENDMENT BILL, 1923.

A

BILL

to amend the law relating to the University of Calcutta.

Whereas the University of Calcutta was established and incorporated by Act II of 1875 ;

And whereas by Act VIII of 1904 certain alterations were made in the constitution of the said University ;

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to the University of Calcutta;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor General has been obtained under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act;

It is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short Title and Commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called the University of Calcutta Amendment Act, 1923; and

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Government of Bengal may fix in this behalf by notification in the Calcutta Gazette.

Act to be part of other Acts relating to the Calcutta University.

2. This Act shall be deemed to be part of the Acts by which the University of Calcutta was established and incorporated or by which the constitution thereof was altered.

Amendment of Section 4 of Act VIII of 1904.

3. (1) In sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Universities Act, 1904, after the words "the Chancellor" the brackets, letter and words "(b) The Rector (the Minister of Education for the time being *ex-officio* Rector)" shall be inserted.

(2) For clause (e) of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the same Act the following shall be substituted, namely :—

(e) "the Ordinary Fellows—

- (i) elected by registered graduates,
- (ii) elected by professors, lecturers and teachers of affiliated colleges,
- (iii) elected by Principals of Colleges affiliated for conferment of degrees,
- (iv) elected by University professors, lecturers and teachers,
- (v) elected by the governing bodies of colleges,
- (vi) elected by the Bengal Legislative Council,
- (vii) nominated by the Government of Bengal,
- (viii) nominated by Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and
- (ix) nominated by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

Amendment of Section 6 of Act VIII of 1904.

4. For section (1) of section 6 of the same Act, the following shall be substituted, namely—

"(1) In case of the University of Calcutta the number of Ordinary Fellows shall not be less than one hundred and

thirty nor exceed one hundred and fifty, and of such number :—

- (a) eighteen (of whom at least six shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the registered graduates other than graduates in law, medicine and engineering,
- (b) twelve (of whom at least four shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by registered graduates in law,
- (c) ten (of whom two at least shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by registered graduates in medicine,
- (d) four shall be elected by registered graduates in engineering,
- (e) twenty-five (of whom at least four shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the professors, teachers and lecturers of affiliated colleges,
- (f) six shall be elected by the Principals of Colleges affiliated for teaching up to the degree standards from among themselves,
- (g) five (of whom one at least shall be a Muhammadan) shall be elected from the governing bodies of affiliated colleges,
- (h) ten (of whom two at least shall be Muhammadans) by the University Professors, lecturers and teachers,
- (i) ten (of whom at least three shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the members of the Bengal Legislative Council,
- (j) two shall be nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and
- (k) two shall be nominated by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce."

Amendment of Section 7 of Act VIII of 1904.

5. In section 7 of the same Act—

- (i) In sub-section (2) for that portion of the sub-section commencing with the words and brackets "(b) has graduated" to the end of that sub-section the following shall be substituted, namely:—
- (b) "has graduated in any faculty not less than seven years before registration," and shall, subject to the payment of an initial fee of two rupees, be entitled to have his name entered in the register.

(ii) for sub-section (3) the following shall be substituted, namely :—

“(3) the name of any graduate entered on the register shall, subject to the payment of an annual fee of two rupees, be retained thereon : and in case of default shall be removed therefrom but shall at any time be re-entered upon payment of all arrears :

Provided that a graduate whose name has already been entered on the register may at any time compound for all subsequent payments of the annual fee by paying fifty rupees.”

(iii) The following shall be added at the end of sub-section (4), namely :—

“and no person shall be qualified to vote for or be elected from more than one of the bodies mentioned in sub-section (1) of section 6.”

Repeal of Sections 8 and 9 of Act VIII of 1904.

6. Sections 8 and 9 of the same Act are hereby repealed.

Insertion of New Section 30 in Act VIII of 1904.

7. After section 29 of the same Act, the following shall be inserted, namely—

“30 All regulations of the University of Calcutta now in force shall cease to be operative on the 31st day of March, 1924 ; the Senate shall
New Regulations. frame new regulations before the 31st day of December, 1923 ; in default of the Senate so framing the regulations the same shall be framed by the Government of Bengal.”

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a Resolution in 1921 for rendering the constitution of the University of Calcutta more popular and for introducing a large elective element in the governing body. This Bill is intended to give effect to the desire embodied in the above Resolution.

JATINDRANATH BASU,

Member-in-charge.

CALCUTTA :

The 12th January, 1923.

C. TINDALL,

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal
and*

*Secretary to the Bengal Legislative
Council.*

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THE SENATE AND THE BILLS

A committee of the Senate was appointed on the 10th February, 1923, last to consider the two bills and they presented an unanimous report on the 14th February, 1923; apparently the whole of the time and work of the members of the University have been absorbed in the useful occupation of writing reports in self-defence against the excessive zeal of our reformers: we make no apologies whatever, in publishing the report in full, as an appendix to this issue.

The report of the committee came up for consideration by the Senate on February, 1923, and the proceedings of the Senate may be read with interest by our readers.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri placed for consideration the Report of the University Legislation Committee on the two bills by Mr. Mallik and Mr. Bose.

He said that in his opinion they must congratulate themselves as they found people outside the Senate taking interest in University matters and who seemed to be impelled with the desire to strengthen and widen the basis of the University and to see that their finances improved. Mr. S. N. Mallik's bill was being introduced with the object of widening the constitution of the University and providing for an improvement in the financial administration of the University. This implied to his mind that there was some provision in the bill for improving the finances of the University, for there could be no financial administration without finance. But it was disappointing to find that there was nothing in the bill with regard to it. It was however a matter of congratulation that two gentlemen, skilled as practitioners in their profession, should have found time to apply their surplus mind to broader interests of the country. The Senators might not have agreed with the view the framers of the bills had put forward. But there was no doubt that they had felt actuated by the desire to do good to the University. In one

of the earlier clauses a provision was made for the resurrection of the Rector. The Rector died a natural death in 1921 and in both these bills they found that there was an idea that this Rector should be exhumed and put on a pedestal. An ornamental position was to be occupied by him and there were dangers in a situation of that character. They had got a Chancellor who was also a Governor occupying a somewhat dubious and doubtful position. The Minister of Education who was *ex-officio* fellow was to be made Rector. He might be placed in the same doubtful and difficult position and in that position he might find it difficult to keep stable equilibrium. No case had been made out for resuscitating the Rector. So far as the nomination of fellows was concerned, the Chancellor, ever since the creation of the University had had the power of nominating the fellows. The bills sought to place that power with the Governor and with the Government of Bengal. It meant the Minister of Education. Because education was a transferred subject and Government meant practically, in matters of education, the Minister of Education. The Sadler Commission pointed out "it is the principal duty of the Chancellor to act as an impartial judge between the various interests and communities which must be represented in the University and to ensure that none of them has any reasonable ground of complaint." The Committee pointed out that there was obvious danger if they gave that power to the Minister of Education, because the Minister if anything was a political personage, he might be influenced by party or political considerations and to make over the power of nomination to him was perhaps not desirable. That was what the Committee had pointed out in the Report. Then there was the suggestion in the bill that the existing fellows should practically be expelled with the appointment of the New Senate. Lord Curzon who made drastic changes in the constitution of the University, did not think it necessary to legislate in the way that was sought to be done. The bill left

out honorary fellows. They must all be prepared to go. He did not know how they thought about it. He did not think, how any recommendation of that character could be made. The bill completely rejected the recommendations of the Sadler Commission as to the most suitable constitution for the University. It was patent to them that the bill contemplated an enlargement of the Senate by the introduction of what was known the democratic principle which would include in it communal representation to a very large extent. Mr. Mallik in his bill had absolutely disregarded the recommendations of the Sadler Commission but he ought to be congratulated on his applying his surplus virgin mind to the question. The recommendations of the Sadler Commission with regard to the appointment of a Court and an Academic Council, should have received some sort of recognition. Mr. Ma lik's bill also suggested the formation of a statutory Board of Accounts and this was a dangerous innovation. It was also inexplicable why the New Senate was not to be trusted and would be placed under its control. Though the bill was framed with the object of reforming the University as set forth in it, it had a distinctly political turn which should be avoided in educational matters. Two-thirds of members, as provided in the bill, were to be appointed by the Local Government and the Legislative Council. It was a dangerous innovation. The Senate could not be trusted to appoint the Treasurer. The Treasurer was to be appointed by the Local Government and he would be under the direction of the Government. The Sadler Commission recommended a Committee of Appointment. He feared that the bill as framed with the object of reforming the University savoured of politics. So far as politics was concerned, he did not know where they were going. A large number of people in the Legislative Council did not approve of the Reforms. People outside took a different view. He need not say anything very much about Mr. Bose's bill. It was less ambitious in character. But Mr. Bose was of opinion that there should be communal representation.

The speaker did not believe in communal representation. He did not like that the Senate should be composed of persons who might not be qualified to discuss educational matters. The Sadler Commission recommended the Court, which would be an academic body. But the bill recommended that the Senate should be composed of certain number of Mahomedans, Hindus, Christians, representing, not different aspects of education but probably religious bias. It was dangerous. Sir Asutosh then requested the Senate to accept the Report which has already been circulated.

Mr. M. N. Ray seconded the resolution.

Mr. K. K. Chanda said that in 1915, Sir Surendra, then Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the transfer of control over the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal. At that time the representatives of Assam in the Council opposed the motion on the ground that Assam was subject to the Calcutta University. So long as the Governor-General was the Chancellor, the Government and people of Assam could approach him easily and place their grievances before him which they could not very well do if the Provincial Government of another Province was in charge of the University. Assam was at present under the Calcutta University and what was the position of Assam in this matter? The bill had no reference to it.

Sir A. Chaudhuri: Absolutely none.

Mr. Chanda continuing said that the framers of the bill forgot that Assam was under the Calcutta University at all. How did Assam stand with regard to election or nomination? He did not wish to say anything about communal representation. There was nothing in the bills about territorial administration. There was no chance of anyone of Assam getting elected. He endorsed everything that Sir A. Chaudhuri had said with reference to nomination. If the bill was passed into Law Assam had no chance of getting nomination in the

University. The bills illustrated the maxim "Charity begins at home." It was inevitable. As Assam was also under the Calcutta University why should it not be granted that privilege? What position would Government take up with regard to the matter? They were going to make the Minister of Education the Rector. Supposing they from Assam claimed a similar right that their Minister also should be made Rector. Could they resist it? The Governor of Assam, who was the most important personage, was nowhere. He might tell them that it was not in the power of the Bengal Legislative Council to legislate in the way as contemplated. In 1920 when Lord Chelmsford visited Surma Valley there was an agitation with regard to Bengal. A manifesto was issued which was signed largely by the people of Surma Valley including the present Minister of Education, the present President and the Deputy President of Assam Legislative Council requesting that Surma Valley might not be cut off from the Calcutta University. A Government communique was issued repudiating the suggestion that Assam would be cut off from the Calcutta University. Government of Bengal and the Bengal Legislative Council had not the power to cut off Assam from the Calcutta University. With these words Mr. Chanda supported the resolution.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chuni Lal Bose said that before the motion was put to the Senate he had to make a suggestion for the consideration of the meeting. Before he did so he should say that he did not subscribe to the observation that fell from the learned mover of the resolution, so far as the activities of men belonging to the profession of law outside the University taking interests in the affairs of the University were concerned. Did he mean that they should subscribe to his novel theory that any man who belonged to the profession of law had no interest in any matter except matters within the four walls of that profession?

Sir A. Chaudhuri :—I have not said that. That is exactly what I did not say.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose then proposed an amendment that the last sentence of the Report be deleted. It is as follows :—“ It is a curious feature of these schemes for the reform of the University that they have found expression in the same or similar objectionable proposuls ; we need not speculate as to whether these attempts at emendation are due to accidental coincidence or are traceable to a common archetype.”

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—You cannot move an amendment as you have not given notice.

Dr. Bose said that the Committee had indulged in certain reflections which might be just or might not be just, but he submitted that such things should not find place in the report of an academic body like the Senate of the Calcutta University. He submitted for the consideration of the Senate that the inclusion of the sentence would not add anything to the value of the Report. On the other hand he thought that the incorporation of the passage in the Report would, to a great extent, lower the dignity of the Report. So he moved that the last sentence might be deleted.

Mr. J. R. Banerjea :—It is the last sentence that upholds rather than lowers the dignity.

Dr. Bose : --Do you think so ?

Mr. Banerjea in supporting the motion said that a certain poet, who was universally regarded as the representative of his age, said—we are wiser than our sires. In both of the bills there was a distinct departure from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. He believed that the tendency of the times was distinctly in the direction as indicated by the Poet. First of all, the framers of the bills ought to have experience in the matter of education. They had experience in particular spheres and it did not follow that they were

competent to deal with another sphere. The Sadler Commission, which was appointed by Government, went minutely into every detail in connection with the affairs of the University and tried to place the University on a broader basis by certain clear-cut distinctions between the academic council and the University Court. Were they to think that the Sadler Commission in their attempt to reconstruct the University simply suggested a scheme which was altogether impracticable or absurd? Were they to take it that the framers of the bills understood those things better? Perhaps they thought that they understood better. But he did not think that they would carry the people with them. So far as the last sentence of the Report was concerned one of the speakers said that it was not consistent with the dignity of an academic body. But the speaker was of opinion that if anything was consistent it was the sentence that was referred to. The word "archetype" had its legitimate place there.

Dr. Bose:—That is the most objectionable word.

Continuing Mr. Banerjea said that he found it objectionable because he lost sight of the fact that underlay it. The speaker simply said this that he need not speculate as to the possible source of it. It might be due to the accidental coincidence or to a common archetype but as theorists they were bound to speculate. If they read between the lines of the two bills they would find a common archetype. It might be an accidental coincidence. Then there was another thing which was very significant. He had often thought of the psychology of matters and it was a remarkable psychological problem. What was behind the bills? One thing was clear and he hoped to get the support of the Rai Bahadur. He spoke from experience and he spoke with absolute confidence. It was simply this. The Calcutta University was a Government Institution. The Rai Bahadur would admit that it was a Semi-Government Institution. What was the psychology? There were two private bills. If it is a Government

Institution, should not Government reconstruct it? Why should there be private bills? The same man, the Minister of Education, he would be omnipotent. On one occasion they found him as the Rector, in another part of the bill they found him as the Local Government. In another part he appeared as Minister of Education. He simply appeared in different suits of clothes. The speaker was associated with Mr. S. N. Mallik in connection with the National Liberal League. He claimed Mr. Mallik as belonging to the same political party. The bills which had been framed with a halo of democratic sanctity about them were to destroy the autonomy of the University. They would shut out men qualified to deal with academical matters. What had been done to give in the scheme proper proportion of representation? Surely nothing. If proper proportion of election obtained it would mean in the Senate men who would be European to a very large extent. He had very great respect for the views of European educationists. The University was no longer an examining body. It was doing Post-Graduate Teaching work. They could have no University where a sharp distinction was not observed between the University Court and the Academic Council. Financial control according to the bills would be in the hands of the Government. The Report of the Committee should be adopted, first, because it tried to preserve the autonomy of the University, secondly, because it tried to establish for the University the right to deal with academical matters; thirdly, because it showed that the bills aimed at concentrating all power in the hands of one man, the Minister of Education, who was to be the Rector as well as the Local Government. Let them not be swayed by political considerations. The views of people like Sir Michael Sadler in educational matters were entitled to great respect, and the recommendations of the Sadler Commission which came from men of his type ought to have precedence

over the views of people who had spent their lives as lawyers.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— The Rai Bahadur asks for leave to move the amendment that the last sentence of the Report be deleted.

Leave was refused.

Dr. Bose :— May I ask for an explanation from the Committee as to what the meaning of "common archetype" is. What does it refer to?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— You are not entitled to ask for an explanation. During my experience of 35 years I have never heard of a member of the Senate putting a question to the Chairman of a Committee to explain what the report means.

Principal G. C. Bose :— I want to elicit from the Rai Bahadur certain points which he has not made clear.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— There is no question of clearing anything. If the members of the Senate began to cross-examine each other, there would be no end to the debate.

Principal G. C. Bose :— Members of the Senate have received copies of the two private bills and "confidentially" I believe they have got copies of the Government Bills also.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— Nobody knows what we have got "confidentially."

Principal G. C. Bose :— I wish the visitors and the Press men were not here.

The Registrar :— They are here.

Principal Bose :— On one occasion they were asked by the Senate to clear out.

Dr. Hiralal Halder said that it was difficult to discuss these bills seriously. Their object was not to reconstruct the Calcutta University, nor to increase its efficiency but to make it over board hand and foot to the Government of Bengal which meant the Minister of Education. A body formed on the lines of

the bills would be not a University but a monstrosity. There ought to be no place for a degraded body like this in God's world. The country was entitled to know why the recommendations of the Sadler Commission should be set aside. Why not pass a bill like this:—"Whereas it is expedient to destroy the influence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the University of Calcutta, it is hereby enacted that the said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee shall forever be disqualified from being a Fellow of the Calcutta University and that in his movements in Calcutta he shall not be allowed to go northwards beyond Bow Bazar Street."

Dr. Halдар observed that it would admirably serve the purpose of the framers of the Bills.

The original motion was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The "Ditcher", in the issue of the *Capital* of March 1st. refers to the concluding passage of the Report of the Committee as "a Parthian dart as keen as a lancet", and follows up the remark with a characteristic paragraph in these inimitable terms :

"The two reformers referred to in this delightful paragraph are Mr. S. N. Mallik and Mr. J. N. Basu, both of whom would make the Minister for Education Rector of Calcutta University with power to control the Senate according to his heart's desire, which may take the form of putting his pigmy knife into the calf of a giant Vice-Chancellor of transcendent worth.

Constance : Thou wear a lion's hide ! doff it for shame,

And hang a calf's-skin on those recreat limbs.

Austria : O ! that a man should speak those words to me.

Bastard : And hang a calf's-skin on those limbs.

Austria : Thou darest not say so, villain for thy life.

Bastard : And hang a calf's-skin on those limbs.

King John: We like not this: thou dost forget thyself.

"The bearings of this observation lays in the application on it." "Archetype"! O carry me home! Surely not an "immaterial pre-existing exemplar of a natural form" Surely, surely not. As the Minister of Education has stumped up 2½ lakhs for Calcutta University *sans* conditions, his valiant paladins may just as well throw their weapons of offence out of the window."

The "*Telegraph*" has a paragraph in the same vein:

"In our school-boy days, when a naughty lad used an equivoke in order to escape un-understood while cutting a joke, to the query of the form-master as to what the meaning of the expression was, the retort of the student was—why not consult the dictionary? Matters went perilously near this point at the Senate meeting of the Calcutta University on Saturday last when Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose wanted the meaning of the phrase "Common archetype" as used in the report of the Committee formed to discuss the Bills of Messrs S. N. Mullick and J. N. Bose. To this, the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor said, "During my experience of 35 years I have never heard a member of the Senate asking for explanation as to what a certain report of a Committee means." Another situation almost akin to this arose when the Rai Bahadur interpreted certain sentences in the speech of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. Sir Asutosh observed smiling. "That is exactly what I never said." This literary scrimmage ushers in a novel feature and supplies quite a mouthful to the journalistic glutton whose mouth is a-gape watering in the very anticipation of a dainty dish."

* * * *

THE HISTORIC GRANT OF TWO AND A HALF LAKHS

The grant of two and a half lakhs by the Local Government to the University will no doubt become historic. Our

readers who are familiar will the earlier history of the transaction will peruse with interest the final correspondence which we set out below.

D.O. No. 274

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION, BENGAL.

Calcutta, the 9th February, 1923.

Dear Sir Ashutosh,

With reference to our talk of yesterday Mr. Mitter asks me to say that if you will agree in writing to accept generally the recommendations put forward by the Accountant-General in connexion with the University accounts, he will authorise the immediate payment to the University of the Rs. 2½ lakhs provided in this year's budget.

2. Mr. Mitter thinks that the question of conditions will disappear largely when a general settlement has been reached in the matter of the recommendations of the Accountant-General. Mr. Mitter has already included a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in the Departmental Budget which will be presented to the Legislative Council on the 19th of February next. He hopes that it will be possible for you to discuss the question at an early date with the Accountant-General and come to a satisfactory conclusion as to how the said recommendations should be carried into effect. It is important that these conclusions should be settled within the next 3 weeks so that when the proposed University grant of Rs. 3 lakhs is debated in Council Mr. Mitter will be able to say that the financial question has been settled to the mutual satisfaction of both the parties.

3. The Accountant-General is willing to help the University in the preparation of an Office Manual and in other ways. He looks to you to co-operate and Mr. Mitter is quite sure that you will.

4. The Accountant-General is of opinion that the preparation of an Office Manual and the re-organisation of the Accounts Department will not involve any substantial increase in expenditure. That, however, is a matter which Mr. Mitter is prepared to leave to be settled by you and the Accountant-General. If, however, you and the Accountant-General agree that reorganisation of the Accounts Department or the preparation of an Office Manual will involve any additional expenditure, it must be understood that such expenditure will have to be met from the grant of Rs. 3 lakhs as it is not possible under the Budget Rules as also because of financial stringency to provide for any additional sum for this purpose.

5. Mr. Mitter now hopes the University will write formally at once for the payment of the grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs.

Yours sincerely,
W. W. HORNEILL.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukharji, Kt., M.A.,
D.L.

SENATE HOUSE,
CALCUTTA.

The 9th February, 1923.
10th

DEAR MR. HORNEILL,

I have placed your D. O. No. 274, before the Syndicate and the Syndicate have authorised me to inform you that they are ready to remodel the University accounts, generally on the lines suggested by the Accountant General, in so far as this can be done within the funds that are or may be at their disposal. Every facility will be given to the Accountant-General or to the officers who may be specially deputed for this purpose to attain this end. It may be pointed out however that steps have already been taken to give effect to some of these recommendations as indicated in the report of the Government Grant Committee, which was forwarded to the Government in the first week of December last.

The Syndicate cannot and do not deal with the remarks made by the Accountant-General in his letter to the Government dated the 3rd January, 1923, as it is now under the consideration of the Senate.

Yours sincerely,
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION, BENGAL.
Calcutta, the 15th February 1923.

D. O. No. 302.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

I have shown to Mr. Mitter your D.O. letter to me of the 10th instant.

2. Mr. Mitter now hopes that, as suggested in paragraph 5 of my D.O. to you No. 274, dated the 9th instant, the Registrar will be instructed to write formally on behalf of the

University and ask that the grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs may be paid. Mr. Mitter must have a formal letter from the University before he can move the Finance Department to sanction the payment of the grant. The earlier the letter can come the better, for the financial year is drawing to its close.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

W. W. HORNELL.

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, Kt.,
High Court, Calcutta.

No. Mts. 5704.

FROM

J. C. GHOSH, Esq., M.A.,
Registrar, University of Calcutta,

TO

THE SECRETARY,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
Government of Bengal,
Senate House, the 16th February, 1923.

SIR,

I am directed the Syndicate to address you on the question of financial assistance by the Government to the University, with reference to the previous correspondence on the subject and the recent demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction. The substance of the previous correspondence may be conveniently recalled here

On the 11th February, 1922, under the direction of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate a letter was addressed by me to the Government asking for financial assistance. It was then pointed out that the estimated total deficit on the 30th June, 1922, would amount to Rs. 5,32,480, and it was added that "*the Syndicate in these circumstances request that a grant may be made out of the public revenues to enable them to meet this deficit.*" (This letter is printed on page 4 of the report of the Government Grant Committee).

On the strength of the above letter, the Hon'ble the Education Minister made a demand for Rs. 2,50,000 in the July session of the Council to enable the University to meet the deficit. The grant was voted by the Legislative Council on or about the 11th July, 1922. Thereupon your letter dated the 23rd August, 1922, was addressed to me in reply to my letter of the 14th February, 1922. This letter (printed on

page 1 of the report of the Government Grant Committee) intimated that a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 had been voted by the Council but added that the grant would not be handed over until certain conditions were fulfilled. Your letter was referred to the Senate for consideration. The Senate appointed a Committee to deal with the questions raised. The report of the Committee was adopted by the Senate on the 2nd December, 1922. The decision of the Senate was communicated to you in my letter, dated the 5th December, 1922 (copy annexed). A perusal of the letter will show that the Senate expressed their inability to comply with all the conditions and pointed out that action had already been taken by the Senate which rendered the imposition of some of the conditions at any rate superfluous. Since then there has been the demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction, which has made the views of the University clearer. *The position thus is that the application made by the University in my letter dated the 14th February, 1922, for financial assistance to enable it to meet its deficit still remains undisposed of.* The demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction seems to show that the Government is now prepared to make over to the University the sum of rupees two and a half lacs which was voted by the Legislative Council on or about the 11th July, 1922, pursuant to the demand by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education on the basis of the application of the University dated the 14th February, 1922. In these circumstances, the Syndicate think that there is nothing further for them to do, and it is now for the Government to take the necessary steps on the basis of the application of the University dated the 14th February, 1922, which, as stated above, has not yet been disposed of by the Government.

I have &c.,

J. C. GHOSH,

Registrar.

Enclosures :—

(1) D. O. letter from Mr. Hornell to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, dated 9th February, 1923.

(2) D. O. letter from the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor to Mr. Hornell, dated ^{9th}/_{10th} February, 1923.

(3) D. O. letter from Mr. Hornell to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, dated 15th February, 1923.

(4) Letter from the Registrar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 5th December, 1922.

Misc. No. 4002.

FROM

J. C. GHOSH, Esq., M.A.,
Registrar, Calcutta University.

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
BENGAL,

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

Senate House, the 5th December, 1922.

SIR,

I am directed by the Senate to refer to your letter No. 1769 Edn., dated the 23rd August, 1922, regarding the grant of financial assistance by the Government of Bengal to this University. The letter together with the report of the Accountant General of Bengal mentioned therein was placed before the Senate on the 9th September, 1922. The Senate, appointed a Committee of nine members to consider the matter, and this was communicated to you in my letter No. Misc. 2101, dated 12th September, 1922. The Committee submitted a unanimous report on the 11th November, 1922. The report was considered by the Senate on the 2nd December, 1922 and was adopted *unanimously*. Two copies of the report are forwarded herewith. It is not necessary to repeat here the conclusions and the reasons therefor which are fully set out in the report. The report points out that the acceptance of the conditions proposed in your letter is not merely undesirable but also impracticable. This, however, as explained in the report, must be taken along with the fact that the Senate had already, on the 16th September, 1922, adopted rules for Budget Estimates which were communicated to you in this Office letter No. Misc. 2470, dated the 21st September, 1922, and are reprinted in full on page 72-74 of the report. Attention is also invited to the fact that the Budget Estimates for the current session (1922-23) were passed by the Senate on the 16th September, that is, a month earlier than the date (15th October) suggested in your letter. Copies of the Budget Estimates have already been forwarded to you.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

J. C. GHOSH,

Registrar.

No: 661 Edn.
Government of Bengal.
Education Department.
Education Branch.

From

J. N. ROY, Esqr., O. B. E.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

To

The REGISTRAR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, C. I. E.,
Minister in charge.

Calcutta, the 24th February, 1923.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with your letter No: Misc. 5704, dated the 16th February, 1923, and its enclosures on the subject of financial assistance to the Calcutta University and to say that the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) sanction the payment to the Calcutta University of a grant of Rupees 2 lakhs and a half (Rs. 2,50,000) voted by the Council in the last July session. The Accountant General, Bengal, has been requested to place the amount at the disposal of the University as soon as possible.

I have etc.,
J. N. ROY,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

* * * *

SIR BIPINKRISHNA BOSE

Sir Bipinkrishna Bose is a distinguished graduate of this University; he was a notable figure in the Imperial Legislative Council during the stormy times of the University legislation of 1904; since then he has been Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The following letter speaks for itself and shows that if he has brains he has a heart as well.

FROM

SIR B. K. BOSE,
NAGPUR.

TO

THE REGISTRAR,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Nagpur, the 9th December, 1922.

SIR,

With reference to the appeal for subscriptions to meet the present financial situation of the University, I beg to state

that I intend transferring to the University six per cent. Income Tax free War Bonds of the face value of eight thousand rupees subject to the following conditions :—

(1) That the aforesaid Bonds shall constitute a permanent Trust Fund of the University.

(2) That the interest accruing on them on 31st March, 1923, on 1st October, 1923 and 31st March, 1924, shall be appropriated by the University to meet the present deficit in its Funds and

(3) That thereafter the interest accruing on the Bonds shall be utilised in giving a scholarship of Rs. 40 per month or Rs. 480 per annum to a Post-Graduate student in Science of the University College of Science and tenable so long as he studies in that institution, subject to such conditions as the University may from time to time lay down.

(4) That when the Bonds shall be paid up by Government, the money realised shall be invested in Government Promissory Notes and in no other security and the interest on them shall be utilised as set forth in condition No. (3).

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know in due course whether the University authorities will accept the Bonds on the above conditions and if so in whose favour should they be endorsed so as to constitute them a permanent non-transferable trust fund.

On receipt of your reply together with a copy of the resolution of the Senate accepting the Bonds on the conditions set forth above, I shall send them to you duly endorsed.

Yours faithfully,

BIPINKRISHNA BOSE.

The Senate has thankfully accepted the gift and the Syndicate has framed the following rules for the award of the scholarship founded by Sir Bipinkrishna Bose.

1. That a scholarship of Rs. 40 a month, tenable for one year, be established and be named "Sir Bipinkrishna Bose Scholarship."

2. That the scholarship be annually awarded for proficiency in only one of the following subjects in the order stated :

I Anthropology.

II Experimental Psychology.

III Botany.

IV Zoology.

V Physiology.

VI Geology.

VII Physics.

VIII Chemistry.

The scholarship shall be awarded to the successful candidate who distinguishes himself most at the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours Examination in the subject for the year.

3. That the first award shall be made on the result of the examinations in 1924, and the subject of the scholarship for that year will be Anthropology; the subject for each succeeding year shall be taken from the above list in the order.

4. The scholar shall prosecute his studies for the M.A., or M.Sc. degree at the University College of Science and the scholarship shall be tenable subject to the production of periodical certificates of satisfactory progress in study under the Professors concerned.

As there are many scientific subjects and as it is extremely difficult to institute a fair comparison between the merits of different candidates who have taken up different subjects, the Syndicate have wisely decided to award the scholarship each year in a specified subject, the different subjects to be provided for by rotation in successive years. The order of rotation has evidently been fixed by giving precedence to subjects which do not ordinarily attract our students.

KRISTODAS PAL.

Rai Bahadur Kristodas Pal was in his time one of the foremost members of the Senate of this University and his services are still remembered after the lapse of nearly forty years. His son Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Pal whose premature death all Calcutta recently mourned had intended to make a gift to the University to perpetuate his memory. This wish he did not live to carry out and his sons Mr. Gopinath Pal and Mr. Sitanath Pal have offered to the University a sum of ten thousand rupees. We reproduce here the letter addressed by them to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.

108, BARANOSI GHOSH STREET,
Calcutta, 16th February, 1923.

To

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,

University of Calcutta.

SIR,

Our revered father the late Rai Radhacharan Pal, Bahadur, had during his life-time expressed a desire that we should pay Rs. 10,000 out of his estate to the Calcutta University to be invested so that out of the proceeds of such investment a gold

medal and a money prize might be awarded periodically to the author of the best essay on the life, times and work of our grand-father the late Rai Kristo Dass Pal, Bahadur, one of the former Fellows of the University. If the sum is invested in 6 per cent. securities, the annual income of the Fund would be Rs. 600 a year. The award might be made every alternate year and might consist of a gold medal worth Rs. 300 and a money prize of Rs. 900. The essay of the successful candidate should be printed and published in such manner as the University might think fit. We hope a special die might be prepared for the medal with the face of the late Rai Kristo Dass Pal, Bahadur, engraved on one side and with the University arms on the other. It would not be convenient for us for some time to come to make over the said sum but we propose to place at the disposal of the University Rs. 1,200 so that steps may be taken to make an award.

Yours faithfully,

GOPINATH PAL.

SITANATH PAL.

MR. CHANDRANATH KUNDU.

Our readers will be delighted to read the following letter from Mr. Chandranath Kundu who has decided to institute a gold medal for the encouragement of the study of Indian Vernaculars.

To

THE HON'BLE THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND SYNDICATE.

(Through the Registrar, Calcutta University.)

SIRS,

I have the honour to state that I desire to place at the disposal of the University the sum of rupees two thousand and shall be obliged by your kindly accepting the amount on the following conditions:—

(1) that out of the interest of the said money, which is to be invested in 3½ p. c. interest Government papers, a gold medal be awarded annually at the Convocation to the successful candidate at the M.A. Examination in "Indian Vernaculars" who will secure the highest number of marks in all the subjects combined connected with the said examination:

(2) that on one side of the medal be inscribed "*Chandranath-Sreenath Koondoo medal.*"

On receipt of your reply, intimating acceptance of the endowment, the money will forthwith be sent to you.

5, NANDALAL BOSE'S LANE,
BAGBAZAR P. O., CALCUTTA,
The 21st February, 1923.

I have &c.,
CHANDRANATH KOOND00.

* * * *

DR. ASWINIKUMAR CHAUDHURI.

Dr. Aswinikumar Chaudhuri, the worthy son of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, has placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rupees Two Thousand for the institution of a scholarship in memory of his mother, the late Lady Chaudhuri. The terms of the endowment are as follows :

(1) That the aforesaid scholarship shall be called the "Prativa Devi Scholarship."

(2) That it shall be tenable for one year by the Hindu lady student who, shall stand highest in the first class in the Intermediate Examination in Science, and join an affiliated Medical College with a view to qualifying for the degree of M.B. of the University of Calcutta.

(3) That where the choice lies between students of equal merit, preference will be given to one who at any time has been a student of the Bethune College or School.

(4) That if in any year no student is eligible according to the conditions hereinbefore mentioned, the scholarship may be awarded to a former scholar for the purpose of enabling her to continue her medical studies, at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate. If the scholarship is not so awarded then the interest on the aforesaid Bonds shall be accumulated and invested in the purchase of Government Securities of a like nature, added to the corpus of the fund, and devoted to the same purpose.

(5) That when the time for redemption of the aforesaid Bonds arises, the amount of the fund shall be invested in Government Bonds or Promissory Notes, Municipal or Port Commissioner's Debentures, or other approved securities yielding the same or a higher rate of interest.

(6) That the aforesaid endowment and the names of scholars shall be published in the Calendar of the University.

* * * *

DR. BIDHUBHUSHAN RAY

Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray, M.Sc., University Lecturer in the Department of Physics offered himself as a candidate for the

Degree of Doctor of Science and submitted the undermentioned theses :

I. *Main Thesis.*

"The scattering of light by liquid droplets and the theory of Coronas, Glories, and Iridescent Clouds."

II. *Supplementary Theses.*

(1) "On the Colour and polarisation of the light scattered by sulphur suspension."

(2) "On the transmission colours of sulphur suspension (jointly with Prof. C. V. Raman, D.Sc.)"

(3) "The free and forced convection from heated Cylinders in air."

(4) "On the optical analogue of the whispering gallery effect."

The Board of Examiners consisted of Dr. G. C. Simpson, D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of Meteorological Office, London, Professor E. H. Barton, D.Sc., F.R.S., University College, Nottingham and Dr. J. W. Nicholson, D.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows :

We have examined the theses submitted by Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray, M.Sc., and consider that the work described in these is of sufficient merit to warrant the conferment upon Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray of the Doctorate. The main thesis entitled "The scattering of light by liquid droplets and the theory of coronas, glories and Iridescent clouds" deals with an interesting branch of meteorological optics and the results obtained by Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray are new and valuable.

G. C. SIMPSON.
J. W. NICHOLSON.
E. H. BARTON.

1st November, 1922.

There cannot be a more conclusive testimony to the quality of work accomplished in the University College of Science which is an eye-sore to so many of our patriotic countrymen. Our warmest congratulations to Dr. Ray.

* * * *

DR. NRIPENDRANATH SEN.

Mr. Nripendranath Sen, M.Sc., one of the youngest members of the Post-Graduate Department in Applied

Mathematics, offered himself as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Science and submitted the following theses :-

- (1) On the steady Motion of a viscous fluid due to the rotation of two spheroids about their common axis of Revolution.
- (2) On the motion of two spheroids in an infinite liquid.
- (3) Higher Order Tides in Canals of Variable Section.
- (4) On some problems of Tidal Oscillations.
- (5) On Liquid Motion inside certain Rotating Curvilinear Rectangles and certain Analytical Theorems connected with that problem.
- (6) On Vortex Rings of Finite Section.

The Board of Examiners consisted of Dr. G. T. Walker, C.S.I., M.A., Sc.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., Director-General of Observatories, Dr. C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Hardinge Professor of Mathematics and Dr. D. N. Mallik, Sc.D., F.R.S.E. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows :

“ We have the honour to report that we have considered the theses submitted for the degree of Doctor of Science by Mr. Nripendranath Sen, M.Sc., and are of opinion that he is fully qualified for the degree.

GILBERT T. WALKER.

C. E. CULLIS.

D. N. MALLIK.”

Our congratulations to Dr. Sen who, we have no doubt, has a brilliant future before him.

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTS.

It has become fashionable to decry the Premchand Roychand students of this generation. Undaunted by ridicule the Boards of Examiners have elected as many as seven to be Premchand students for the year 1922.

Literary subjects.

Binodbihari Datta, M.A.—Town Planning in Ancient India.

Nanigopal Majumdar, M.A.—History of Indian Alphabets.

Jadunath Sinha, M.A.—Indian Psychology of Perception.

Scientific Subjects.

Dr. Brajendranath Chakrabarti, D.Sc.—Colour of tempered steel.

Dr. Nripendranath Sen, D.Sc.—Problems of Hydrodynamics.

Mr. Praphullachandra Guha, M.Sc.—Constitution of Dithionazole of Martin Freund.

Mr. Gurudas Bhar, M.Sc.—Properties of Cubics.

We believe that some of the other candidates had submitted quite creditable pieces of research work and are likely to succeed on a subsequent occasion. These are signs of intellectual ferment which all but the blind can see.

* * * * *

REGISTRATION FEE.

We placed before our readers sometime ago the report of the Committee of the Senate on the subject of the increase of the fee for registration of students. We set out below the reply received from the Government of Bengal :

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, No. 628 Edn., dated the 22nd February, 1923.

“In continuation of this Department letter No. 2316 Edn., dated the 24th November, 1922, on the subject of the increase of the fee for registration of students I am directed to say that in view of the impending legislation on the reorganization of the Calcutta University the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) consider that the time is not opportune for a reconsideration of their previous decision as communicated in this Department letter No. 2625 Edn., dated the 19th December, 1921.”

One cannot but feel that the Government had missed a great opportunity ; it is never too late to set matters right and to correct an error which has been committed is a sure sign not of weakness but of strength.

DR. NALINIMOHAN BASU.

Mr. Nalinimohan Basu, M.Sc., who was formerly a member of the Post-Graduate Department in Applied Mathematics and is now a Reader in the University of Dacca, recently offered himself as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Science and submitted the following theses :

1. On the Diffraction of Light by Cylinders of Large Radius.
2. On Liquid Motion inside Rotating Arcs of Three and Four Confocal Parabolas.
3. On Some Laws of Central Force.
4. On the determination of a Rough Surface on which a moving particle may describe a prescribed path.
5. On a New Type of Rough Surface the Motion of a Heavy Particle on which is determinable by Quadratures.
6. On the motion of a perfectly elastic particle inside a given plane area under no external forces.

The Board of Examiners consisted of the Hon'ble Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc. Dr. C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Hardinge Professor of Mathematics and Dr. D. N. Mullik, Sc. D., F.R.S.E. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows :

"We beg to report that we have examined the papers submitted by Nalinimohan Basu, M.Sc. and are of opinion that he is fully qualified for the degree of D.Sc.

D. N. MALLIK.

C. E. CULLIS.

R. P. PARANJPYE."

We trust we shall not be misunderstood when we remark that every one of the original contributions submitted for the Doctorate was published while Mr. Basu was still a member of the staff of this unreformed University. We congratulate Dr. Basu for his new distinction which will help him to maintain the reputation of his *alma mater* in a new seat of learning.

REPORT
OF A
COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY THE SENATE
ON

The 10th February, 1923

To consider two University Bills
By Mr. Mallik and Mr. Basu

**[Adopted *nem con* by the Senate on the
24th February, 1923.]**



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1923

REPORT

1. We, the members of the Committee appointed by the Senate on the 10th February, 1923, to examine the provisions of the two University Bills framed by Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, M.L.C., and Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, M.L.C., which have been forwarded to the University by the Government of Bengal for opinion, beg to submit our report.

PART I

THE MALLIK BILL

2. The purpose of the Bill framed by Mr. Mallik, as set forth in the preamble, is the double one of (1) widening the constitution of the University and (2) providing for an improvement in the financial administration of the University. An examination of its provisions shows, however, that neither of these purposes will be carried out to any appreciable extent; indeed, the Bill will have an effect of a narrowing rather than of a widening character and will result in the concentration of considerable power in the hands of one person, *viz.*, the Minister of Education. Besides, in regard to all its provisions, financial or otherwise, the Bill seems to us to involve a complete departure from the spirit and letter of the Sadler Commission Report. It will be recalled that the fundamental feature of the recommendations made by the Commission was that they would secure for the University a constitution which would make it a self-governing institution in all matters financial and academic and would leave the decision of academic questions mainly to persons following the profession of education.

3. Clauses 2 and 5(1) of the Bill provide for the revival of the office of Rector which is henceforth to be filled by the Minister

of Education in Bengal. Bengal, however, is not the only province which has a Minister of Education, and it cannot be overlooked that no such position has been assigned to the Education Minister in any other province in respect of its University. The history of the position of Rector in this University under the Indian Universities Act, 1904, is outlined in the report of the Commission,¹ and need not be repeated here. The chief reason was that as the Government of India and the Chancellor had to be absent from the seat of the University for many months during the year, it was considered desirable to confer the status of Rector on the head of the provincial Government, so that he might remain in touch with the work of the University. When by Act VII of 1921, which came into operation on the 27th March, 1921, the Governor of Bengal became Chancellor in place of the Governor-General, the provisions of the Indian Universities Act relating to a Rector for the Calcutta University were repealed. We are not aware what has happened since the 27th March, 1921, which necessitates the revival of the post of Rector: no explanation is to be found in the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill. It must also be noticed that this University exercises jurisdiction not only over Bengal but also over Assam, and that, like Bengal, Assam has a Minister of Education who, like the Minister of Education in Bengal, is an *ex-officio* Fellow. Why the Education Minister of one province should be made Rector and not the other, it is difficult to understand. We further find that His Excellency the Governor of Assam is the senior-most *ex-officio* Fellow. If the post of Rector were at all to be revived, why the claims of the Governor of Assam should be ignored, it is not easy to appreciate. In no other University has it been considered necessary or desirable to interpose a Minister or Member in charge of Education between the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. In this connection, it may be mentioned that in the University of Delhi, which has a non-resident Vice-Chancellor, provision has been made for the appointment of a Rector *under* the Vice-Chancellor, to carry on his duties and to serve as a pro-Vice-Chancellor or Principal in a Teaching University. It is further noticeable that no attempt is made in the Bill to indicate the functions, powers and duties of the Education Minister as Rector. These are weighty objections

¹ Report, Vol III, pp. 199-200.

to the proposal for revival of the Rectorship and the appointment of the Education Minister thereto.

4. We pass on to another provision of the Bill which shows what its main consequences will be. Under the existing constitution, that is, under the Act of Incorporation, 1857, and the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the Fellows, other than those that are elected, are nominated by the Chancellor of the

Nomination of Fellows by Local Government and not by Chancellor.

University (who is Governor of Bengal). Clause 5(2) of the Bill proposes to take away this power from the Chancellor and to vest it in the Local Government, which would mean, in practice, the Minister of Education. There is no parallel for this in any of the other Indian Universities; and no ground for this departure from what has been the established rule for two-thirds of a century is even suggested in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. The question was considered by the Sadler Commission, and they recommended¹ that the nomination of Fellows should be made by the Chancellor, while the Local Government should nominate only a limited number of their own officers as their representatives. The Commissioners rightly pointed out that "it is the principal duty of the Chancellor to act as an impartial judge between the various interests and communities which must be represented in the University, and to ensure that none of them has reasonable ground of complaint." We are of opinion that there is no reason why the Chancellor should be deprived of his power to nominate Fellows. On the other hand, we feel convinced that the new system proposed involves an obvious danger, as the Minister may be influenced in the appointment of Fellows by party or political considerations. Under the present system, when a vacancy on the Senate has to be filled up, the duty is cast, in the first instance, upon the Vice-Chancellor to advise the Chancellor, who thereupon makes such enquiry and consults such persons as he deems necessary before he makes the appointment. We believe that when education was in charge of a Member of the Executive Council, the Member was as a rule consulted, and since education has been a transferred subject, the Minister has been similarly consulted. The ultimate authority, in our opinion, should, in the main, be vested in the Chancellor and he should be left free to obtain such advice as he considers necessary in each instance.

¹ Report, Vol. V, pp. 221-22, 225-226.

5. We shall refer hereafter to the provisions of the Bill which will have the effect of increasing the control of the Local Government over the finances of the University, and which are, in our opinion, of a thoroughly retrograde character. We shall content ourselves with merely stating at this stage that as control by the Local Government means in practice control by the Minister, those provisions must necessarily result in vesting the Minister of Education with absolute authority to control the University finances.

6. Before we pass on to the next point, we should like to invite attention to Clause 6 of the Bill which states that the present Ordinary Fellows of the University will vacate their seats within six months of the commencement of the new Act and will cease to have any connection with the University. It is interesting to recall that when Lord Curzon's Act of 1904 came into operation and the new Senate was constituted, it was distinctly laid down that such of the former Fellows as had no seats on the new Senate would, under Section 13 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, always continue to remain in touch with the University in the capacity of Honorary Fellows. The Sadler Commission also, we find, recommended, that all members of the Senate and all Honorary Fellows of the University, at the date of the commencement of the Act, should be life members of the Court. The Bill, however, does not deem it desirable that the present members of the Senate should continue to have any association with the reformed University, except of course such of them as may happen to become members of the new Senate. This provision seems to cast a slur upon the present Ordinary Fellows of the University which they have by no means deserved.

7. We have already indicated that the Bill completely rejects the recommendations of the Sadler Commission as to the most suitable constitution for the University. It is patent to us that the Bill contemplates an enlargement of the Senate by the introduction of what is called the democratic principle, the Senate so amplified to exercise, as at present, both academic and administrative functions. We are of opinion that the reconstitution of the Senate on this basis will be detrimental to the development of the University as an educational institution. Under section 8 of the Act of Incorporation, 1857, and section 4 of the Indian

Financial control by
Local Government.

Expulsion of the
existing Fellows.

Plan for reconstitu-
tion of Senate funda-
mentally wrong.

Universities Act, 1904, the Senate, as the Body Corporate consisting of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Fellows, whether ex-officio or ordinary (elected and nominated), is charged with the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns and property of the University. The preamble to the Act of Incorporation and section 3 of the Indian Universities Act, read together, show that the University is required not only to conduct examinations but also to make provision for the instruction of students and to secure the promotion of study and research. There is thus no escape from the position that the Senate of the University, under the law as it stands – and the law in this respect has been left untouched by the Bill – must discharge academic functions as well as administrative duties incident thereto. In our opinion, if the duties of the Senate continue in future to be what they are at the present moment, namely, of a dual character, a democratic principle should not be adopted in constituting that body; that principle, however, may well be applied in the reconstruction of the University on a different plan. We realise fully that for the orderly and progressive development of the University, as a powerful factor in the life of the nation, it is essential that the University should be brought into intimate touch with public opinion to a much larger extent than is contemplated by or has been found practicable under the existing constitution. How this can be best achieved is a problem of some complexity which was fully explored by the Sadler Commission. We have not been able to discover why the recommendations of the Commission on this fundamental point should have been ignored by the framer of the Bill; the Statement of Objects and Reasons at any rate is of no assistance here.

8. We may usefully recall at this stage that the Commission recommended that the University should be reconstituted on the pattern of the modern British Universities and should possess what they termed a Court and an Academic Council. The fundamental distinction between the functions of these two bodies is indicated in two passages of the Report which may be quoted here :

“It is, in our judgment, essential that the Court of the University should be so constituted as to represent every important element in the public opinion of the area specially served by the University, and every kind of expert judgment whose criticisms on the University policy would be of value.

Court.

A body designed to serve such a purpose should be constituted in a

different way from the existing Senate. It should, in our judgment, consist in part of *ex-officio* members, and in part, of elected members, the nominated element being reduced to subordinate proportions." (Report, Vol. IV, p. 384).

"The most important of the changes which we suggest in the structure of the University is the creation of a supreme Academic Body, whose duty it will be to direct and review all the academic work of the University, to be responsible for the standards of attainment represented by its degree, and to initiate proposals for academic reforms and advances. We propose to give to this body the name of the Academic Council, in order to indicate that it is, for many purposes, a parallel or co-ordinate body with the Executive Council. No such body has ever existed in any Indian University of the older type. The nearest approach to such a body is provided by the recently established Academic Councils (one in Arts and one in Science) for the conduct of the post-graduate work of Calcutta University..... What is needed is a single supreme and representative academic body which can deal with all the academic business of the University, undergraduate and post-graduate alike. Such a body must not be too large; otherwise it will become unworkable and its discussions will be lengthy and unpractical..... On the other hand, the supreme academic body cannot be small, because it must include representatives of all the chief subjects of study in the University, technical and professional as well as literary and scientific; because it must include, further, representatives of the colleges, at any rate of those which form constituent elements in the Teaching University of Calcutta; and finally, because it ought to include the most distinguished teachers whose services the University enjoys. Unless it includes all these elements, its judgment will not carry the weight which it ought to carry." (Report, Vol. IV, pp. 395-395.)

9. It is plain that this vital distinction has not at all been realised by the framer of the Bill. But, even apart from this, it is of fundamental importance to recognize that the Senate, as proposed to be reconstituted, is a far less representative body than the Court as outlined by the Commissioners. This will become manifest, if a comparison is instituted between the Senate as proposed to be amplified and the Court as described by the Commissioners.¹ What is of still graver import is that the framer of the Bill has not realised that the functions of the Court would be those of watchfulness and criticism and of keeping the University in touch with the movements of public opinion on educational questions. Besides these functions, the Court would have legislative as well as financial powers of far-reaching importance.¹ The Commissioners distinguish between four different types or grades of University

Legislative and
financial functions of
the Court.

¹ Report, Vol. IV, pp. 384-390

legislation, namely, the Act, Statutes, Ordinances, and Regulations.² They carefully define the nature of each of these grades of legislation, how and under what circumstances they are to be undertaken and carried out. The Commissioners finally emphasise that their proposals are intended to remedy "one of the greatest defects of the existing system." The Bill not only does not seek to remedy this defect, but actually contains provisions which will make the situation worse still.

10. Under the Bill, all Regulations, whatever their subject matter, must come up before the Senate, as enlarged, and must ultimately be submitted to the Local Government, that is, the Minister of Education, for sanction. The gravity of the situation could not have been realised by the framer of the Bill when he drew up clause 9, which imposes upon the new Senate—a larger and more diversified body than the present Senate—a duty to frame within a period of three months an entirely new body of Regulations for the sanction of the Local Government. This clause further reserves power to the Local Government to add to or alter the first body of Regulations which may be submitted by the new Senate - this is a noticeable departure from the provision of section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, which also, as we shall presently see, is proposed to be modified. The clause finally threatens that if the Senate is not able to prepare the new body of Regulations within the prescribed time, the Local Government will undertake to discharge this duty. It is difficult to imagine what other provision could have been devised, if the intention of the framer had been to bring matters to a deadlock.

11. Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, provides as follows :

"The Senate, with the sanction of the Government, may from time to time make regulations consistent with the Act of Incorporation as amended by this Act and with this Act to provide for matters relating to the University."

This reproduces the substance of section 8 of the Act of Incorporation, 1857. Consequently, ever since the establishment of the University the position has been that the Senate alone is vested with authority to make regulations, subject to the sanction of the Government. The Government can veto

^{Interference with existing regulations.}

a regulation submitted by the Senate, but the Government cannot take the initiative. Besides this, when a regulation is submitted by the Senate to the Government for sanction, the Government cannot modify it ; the Government either rejects or confirms it. Clause 8 of the Bill proposes to confer a new authority on the Government in the following terms :

"The Government may after consulting the Senate modify the existing regulations or make new regulations consistent with the provisions of the Act of Incorporation as amended by the previous Acts and with this Act, to provide for all matters relating to the University of Calcutta other than those that are purely academic."

We have searched in vain through the Statement of Objects and Reasons for a justification of this dangerous innovation.

12. It is manifest that the framer of the Bill has been driven to formulate most reactionary proposals for increased Government control over University finance, because of his failure to appreciate one of the most important functions of the Court, as proposed by the Commission. To many it will be a matter for astonishment that proposals of the character contained in clauses 3 and 4 of the Bill, which will result in increased Government control over the finances of the University, should have emanated from a member of the Legislative Council, acting under the Reformed constitution which is claimed to be the symbol of self-government as a legacy of the world-struggle for freedom and democracy. We shall not dwell in detail on this aspect of the matter.

Section 15 of the Act of Incorporation, 1857, is in the following terms :

"The said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows shall have power to charge such reasonable fees for the Degrees to be conferred by them, and upon admission into the said University, and for continuance therein, as they, with the approbation of the Local Government of Bengal, shall from time to time see fit to impose. Such fees shall be carried to one General Fee Fund for the payment of expenses of the said University, under the direction and regulations of the Local Government of Bengal to whom the accounts of income and expenditure of the said University shall once in every year be submitted for such examination and audit as the said Local Government of Bengal may direct."

As was pointed out by the two Committees of the Senate appointed on the 13th March and 25th March, 1922, this provision, which has been in operation since the establishment of the University, authorises the Government to issue "directions and regulations" only in respect of the three classes

of fees mentioned. The reason for this limitation is familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of the legislation which culminated in the Act of Incorporation. By clause 3 of the Bill, it is proposed to extend the authority of the Government by the substitution of "all fees paid to the University and all income of the University subject to any Trust" for the words "such fees" in the second sentence of the section. The obvious intention is to secure Government control not only over all kinds of fees paid to the University but also over the income of Trust Funds of every description. We have searched again in vain through the Statement of Objects and Reasons for justification of a retrograde proposal of this character. We shall leave it to others to decide whether a provision of this nature may be even euphemistically called a provision for an improvement in the financial administration of the University. After this, the provision for the institution of a statutory Board of Accounts will not take any body by surprise. We observe that even the reconstituted and democratised Senate is not to be trusted to elect more than one-third of the Members of the Board, the remaining two-thirds to be appointed in equal halves by the Local Government and the Legislative Council. It is further noticeable that the Senate cannot be trusted even to nominate the Treasurer, who is to be appointed by the Board with the approval of the Local Government. Again, the Senate, though the Body Corporate of the University and though reformed on democratic lines, will have no hand in the preparation of the Budget, which is apparently left in the hands of the Board where the representatives of the Senate will be in a minority. The significance of all these provisions will become obvious when we remember that the Local Government means in practice the Minister of Education.

13. A striking contrast is presented when we examine the provisions for financial control developed by the Sadler Commission in their report. They were strongly opposed to financial control being vested in an individual, however exalted his status, or in a small group of men, however respectable.

Financial control by Court.

They recommended the creation of a truly representative University Court, where financial matters might be discussed and adjudicated upon in the full light of publicity. They urged the establishment of a Committee of Reference (to be carefully chosen as a representative body from amongst the members of the Court) which would act in consultation with the

Executive Council and would enable the Court to deal with financial matters in the best interests of the University. The scheme was worked out in great detail by the Commissioners in their Report,¹ and its effect was summarised as follows: "The Court would exercise a real influence and ultimate control over the policy of the University by the exercise of a real supervision, through the Committee of Reference, over the expenditure of the University. At the same time, the responsibility of the more active governing bodies would not be undermined." No one personally acquainted with the administration of a great University can deny that increased control over finances must ultimately mean increased control over academic activities, and we have little doubt that the provisions for increased Government control over the finances of the University will have this dangerous effect.

14. We shall not examine in further detail the provisions of the Bill framed ostensibly with a view to obtain a wider constitution for the University, because we are convinced that the Bill has been framed on entirely wrong lines and that before a suitable Bill can be drawn up, the angle of vision of those, who are anxious to reform the University, must be completely changed. The object of the Bill, as is made abundantly clear by its provisions, is not educational but political; its effect will be to secure the supremacy of the Minister of Education in University affairs. This, we affirm without hesitation, is a radically wrong ideal. The University should be as isolated as possible from the tide of party politics. The Governor may be expected to be above politics, but a Minister is not; and he will, as popular government gradually develops, become more and more the mouthpiece of one of the parties in The State. The purpose of any new legislation should, in our opinion, be, not to transfer to the Local Government the authority now vested in the Senate, but to devise a constitution, which will bring the University into intimate touch with the community on the one hand and the Government on the other, at the same time preserving, if not enlarging, its autonomy. This, we are convinced, should be our ideal, specially as it is impossible to predict the exact form of Government which will be ultimately evolved out of the present constitution, and it would be most unfortunate from the point of view of development of academic work if the University should at this

stage be entangled in the meshes of a new constitution which has not yet established a tradition. The danger, we think, can be best avoided by a serious endeavour to frame a constitution for the University on the lines of the recommendations made by the Sadler Commission, liberalised wherever practicable, rather than narrowed down in every possible direction. We would urge our legislators to take for their guidance the following passage from the Report of the Commission¹ :

"If the University of Calcutta is to be enabled to undertake all these functions with any prospect of success, it must be equipped with a system of government more carefully devised for the purpose than that which it now possesses; a system which will combine a proper representation of public opinion and of all the interests concerned in the healthy development of the educational system, with the maintenance of a proper degree of influence and authority for the best expert opinion; while at the same time the supervisory authority of Government, and its deep concern in the matters with which the University has to deal, must be properly provided for, without imposing upon Government minute and detailed responsibilities which its officers cannot be reasonably expected to fulfil..... Responsibility can only be made real when it is associated with power; and therefore the powers of the various constituent elements in the system must be more real—that is to say, the autonomy not merely of the University as a whole, or of its supreme body, but of its distinctive parts, must be increased. Delegation, and a clear definition and demarcation of functions, are necessary if the complex and varied work which we have described is to be well done."

15. Before we leave this Bill, we feel constrained to draw attention to the Statement of Objects and Reasons. That statement, as we have already pointed out, makes no mention at all of what appears to us to be some of the most objectionable innovations embodied in the Bill. On the other hand, it makes lengthy extracts from a report of the Accountant-General which was considered by the Government Grant Committee. The framer of the Bill had before him a copy of the report of the Committee² and has yet deliberately ignored the facts stated therein. Further comment on this aspect of the matter would be superfluous.

Objects and Reasons misleading.

¹ Report, Vol. IV, pp. 375-376.

² See statement of Objects and Reasons.

PART II.

THE BASU BILL.

16. The purpose of the Bill framed by Mr. Basu is to render the constitution of the University more popular and to introduce a large elective element in the Governing Body, with a view to give effect to the desire embodied in a resolution, which was moved by him in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 4th July, 1921 and was adopted by the Council in a modified form. This Bill does not contain any provisions directly calculated to increase the control of the Government over the finances of the University. Clause 3 of the Bill, however, contemplates the revival of the Rectorship and the appointment of the Minister of Education thereto. The Bill further deprives the Chancellor of authority to nominate Fellows and vests the power in the Local Government, which means in practice the Minister of Education. The Bill finally provides for the abolition of all existing regulations on a prescribed date, as also the preparation of a new body of regulations by the new Senate and in default by the Government of Bengal. No reference is made to these features in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. It is not easy to understand how provisions of this character can help to make the constitution of the University more popular than at present; the objections which may be urged against them have already been stated in Part I of our report and need not be reiterated.

17. Apart from this, it is in our opinion a fatal mistake to attempt to reconstitute the University with one supreme Governing Body which is to satisfy the requirements of the democratic principle and is also to discharge the academic functions of a great teaching and examining University. A comparison of the constitution of the Senate with that proposed for the Court and for the Academic Council by the Sadler Commission, will convince even a superficial critic that the new Senate is far less representative than the Court, while it is far too large and miscellaneous for the efficient discharge of academic duties. There can be little doubt that a suitable constitution for the University cannot be secured by an amendment of the Indian Universities Act and that what is needed

is an entirely new Act on the plan outlined by the Sadler Commission. This has been realised by the framers of the new legislative measures adopted for the reconstruction of the Universities of Madras and Allahabad, both governed, at one time, like Calcutta, by the Indian Universities Act; in each of these cases, an entirely new Act framed in accordance with the report of the Sadler Commission has been found necessary.

18. We observe that in the Bill framed by Mr. Basu, communal representation finds a much wider recognition than in the Bill framed by Mr. Mallik. The question, as is clear from an examination of the evidence adduced before the Sadler Commission, has given rise to much diversity of opinion. We are in general agreement with the view ultimately adopted by the Commission, namely, that while communal representation may be recognised to a limited extent in the constitution of administrative bodies, it has no legitimate place in the constitution of purely academic bodies.

19. It is worthy of note that the question of representation of Assam has been ignored in both the Bills, although the University exercises jurisdiction over Assam as well as Bengal. We feel that in any attempt to reconstitute the University, the claim of Assam to be suitably represented on the new Governing Bodies will have to be frankly faced and generously recognised.

20. One final observation. It may be regarded as a matter of satisfaction that two of the graduates of this University, whose activities have been hitherto confined principally to a sphere other than that of educational work, should not only have interested themselves in the welfare of their Alma Mater, but should also have availed themselves of their position as Members of the Legislative Council to initiate proposals for reform. It should not be overlooked, however, that they have undertaken a task so beset with difficulties as to have rendered it necessary for the Government of India to appoint a Commission with a view to formulate a constructive policy. The Commission held a protracted enquiry in various parts of India, and on the basis of evidence, carefully collected, analysed and reviewed, framed a scheme, which has been adopted for the reconstruction of other Indian Universities. It is, we think, not unreasonable to urge that the recommendations of the Commission should not, as regards Calcutta, be summarily discarded in favour of fragmentary legislation.

which is not only of very doubtful value, but may in the end seriously prejudice the cause of educational development. It is a curious feature of these schemes for the reform of the University that they have found expression in the same or similar objectionable proposals; we need not speculate as to whether these attempts at emendation are due to accidental coincidence, or are traceable to a common archetype.

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE
 NILRATAN SIRCAR
 HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA
 GIRISCHANDRA BOSE
 ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI
 PAUL BRÜHL
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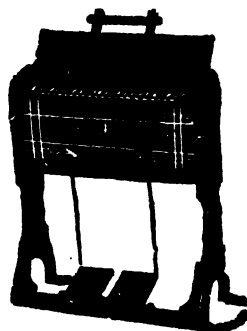
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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ISLAMIC CULTURE¹

Mr. Bottomley and Gentlemen :

It has given me great pleasure to preside at to-day's function. It is a function in which the members of my community in Calcutta are greatly interested and they attach to it special significance. I am sure you would all like me first of all to express our cordial appreciation of the splendid programme of recitations and acting which has been so well carried out. I am neither a poet nor a critic but I have no hesitation in saying that some of the verses to which we have listened shew that the Madrasa does not lack fine poetic talent and I tender our cordial thanks to the authors as well as the students of both the Arabic and the Anglo-Persian Departments who have given us such a delightful treat this afternoon. It is my pleasant duty to offer hearty congratulations to those who have won distinctions and prizes to-day, for these are proofs not only of hard and conscientious work on their part and on the part of the teachers but of the general efficiency of this historic institution.

I am glad to find that the report of the year just ended is so satisfactory from every point of view, the number of the students, their health and behaviour, and the results of the

¹ Address delivered by Sir Abdur Rahim at the Calcutta Madrassah on the 12th of March, 1923.

examinations. I cordially congratulate the Principal, the Head Maulvi and the Head Master and all the other professors and teachers of this institution on the year's good work. I join with you Mr. Bottomley in expressing our deep sense of the loss which the community sustained by the passing away from our midst of two of its most respected leaders, Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda and Nawab Sirajul Islam, Khan Bahadur, both of whom, as you say, always evinced great interest in the Madrasa. I was fortunate in enjoying their friendship and I know they were men of great worth. The community is distinctly the poorer by their deaths.

At one time the non-co-operation movement threatened even this Madrasa but that storm I am glad to note passed away without leaving behind any effects on the institution. I feel sure that the Madrasa-i-Allia which is so well enthroned in the esteem and affections of the Musalmans of Bengal will also survive attacks delivered from other quarters. You have referred to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee regarding the Calcutta and the other Madrasas and Muhammadan education generally and which, as you say, have not found favour with the community. I am not, as you can well understand, in a position to express on this occasion my opinion on these recommendations. They are a thorny subject. But we all know that the community would not only not like the Government to divest itself of the responsibility for these institutions but that it is their earnest desire that the Government should do all that it can to widen the scope of their work by adding to their equipment and resources.

I am specially pleased to note that much attention is devoted to Urdu in the Anglo-Persian department. I can conceive of no worse calamity befalling the cause of Islamic culture in Bengal than the disappearance of Urdu from our schools. For, Urdu is the language of Islam in India. Without it the Musalmans of Bengal will have little chance of knowing much if anything about their religion, their history and their

traditions. Moreover they would be isolated from the rest of their coreligionists and from the movement of Islamic thought in India. I do not say that Bengali is to be altogether displaced in the curriculum of education for Moslem students but Urdu must at least be treated as a necessary second language. This may be an additional burden to the students but I do not think the burden will be found to be too onerous for there are very few Moslem students who have not some acquaintance with the spoken and written Urdu. And if you have as teachers of Urdu able masters of the language like Maulvi Syed Mhammad Yunus Saheb, the students of the Calcutta Madrasa will not in respect of proficiency in Urdu lag far behind their coreligionists of other parts of India.

The Calcutta *Madrasa's Anglo-Persian* branch is one of the few schools in Bengal where the young Moslem students have the advantage of breathing in any measure an atmosphere of their own culture and of profiting by the influence and guidance of teachers who are in sympathy with, and understand Islamic ideals. If the education of our boys is not to mean for ever, a mechanical passing of certain examinations and if any attempt is to be made to develop their character and widen their outlook, then it is of paramount importance that this department of the Madrasa should be strengthened and expanded. Indeed, we cannot stop there. The community long ago perceived the need for a College where the modern side of higher cultural education should in the case of Muhammadan youths be supplemented by an adequate course of Islamic studies. The Dacca University, it is hoped, will soon supply this want in Eastern Bengal but it can be provided in Calcutta only by an Arts College especially equipped for this distinctive purpose. And that is what the Calcutta University Commission recommended in their memorable report. The site that has been acquired by the Government for a Muhammadan College is, however, still lying vacant, a sadly eloquent testimony to the condition of things Muhammadan in

Bengal. I wonder when we shall see that College. Even Madras with its 6 p.c. of Muhammadan population has forged ahead of us in this respect for it is now more than three years since the Madras Government started a Muhammadan College.

As for the Arabic side it is, perhaps, difficult for outsiders to realise the great part which this and the other Madrasas in Bengal maintained by the Government play in the life of the community. Nor do they fully appreciate their political value in bringing the Government into touch with those sentiments and ideas which move the general body of the people. In fact, Warren Hastings whether he himself understood the intrinsic worth of Arabic and Sanskrit learning or not, undoubtedly acted as a far-sighted statesman in founding the Madrasa-i-Alia and the Sanskrit College. The people of the country barring a few theoretical politicians of the day appreciate few acts of the Government better than maintenance by it of institutions which foster their own literature, arts and sciences hallowed as they are by their history, traditions and religious sentiments.

An institution like this is never very prominent in the eye of the general public, its graduates are not called B.A.'s and M.A.'s and are seldom to be met with, if at all, in the public services of the country or in the professions. Nevertheless the graduates who go forth from the Madrasas every year to various towns and villages are every day influencing the lives of the people though silently and unobtrusively. That influence on the whole is beneficent but our Maulvis with a somewhat clearer definition of their duties could undoubtedly be employed still more effectively in maintaining among the people a high level of moral and social discipline, in cementing the bonds of society, in inspiring invincible courage and indomitable perseverance in fighting the battle of life and in bringing comfort and consolation to the poor the distressed and the afflicted.

The Musalmans now-a-days have no established church in Bengal or anywhere else in India and have no state-paid

service of clergymen or priests. In the days when they ruled in Bengal almost each town had its state-maintained seminaries of learning and almost every well-to-do Muhammadan Mansabdar Aimmadar, Jaigirdar, Zemindar and official maintained a Madrasa or a Maktab in which instruction in Islamic Divinity, Theology, Jurisprudence, Arabic and Persian literatures, Medicine, Mathematics, History and Philosophy was imparted. Those institutions gradually declined as the government of the country passed from their hands and the last traces of them were swept away when Persian was abolished from the courts and the Government offices. And with Persian, as is well known, the Muhammadan judicial, executive, revenue, and ministerial officers, the men and the children of men with whose help the East India Company had been able to organise the civil administration of the country, disappeared from the public services. In most towns and villages all the memory that is left of those days is to be found in so many heaps of ruins of old Madrasas and Mansions and the descendants of the once rulers and administrators of Bengal are reduced to helpless, hopeless, poverty without the means to give their sons a decent education without outside help.

To come back to my point, I am afraid that though the sentiments of all of us are fervently enlisted in the cause of Islamic education, few of us fully realise the great scope which the Madrasas can be made to afford in this connection. If you will see that they are better equipped with the great resources of Arabic and Persian learning, arts and sciences with a well filled library and with professors of eminent distinction in each branch of Islamic knowledge, Tafsir, Hadith, Usul, Fiqh, History, literature and philosophy, no matter where they come from, men like the late Shamsul Ulama Maulvi Wilayat Husain, Maulvi Tafiullah and Maulvi Abdul Majid if you attract earnest and capable students and see that they all imbibe the true inspiration of Islam and that each of them masters at least one branch of Islamic learning, you will then find that the

graduates of the Madrasa will in a few years infuse a new life and an irresistible energy into the community. It is also necessary that our Madrasa graduates should have a fair working knowledge of the English language in order to enable them to have an insight into the thought and movements of those nations who are the exponents of modern civilisation and to communicate to them their own ideas—for who will deny that the English and the other European nations have much to teach us ?

On the other hand, Islam, I fully believe, has still a valuable mission for the world. But your graduates can never successfully fulfil that mission without a sufficient command of some European language, specially English. I believe the Madrasa Committee in their report have recognised this need. This will undoubtedly mean an addition to the task of our students on the Arabic side but surely if they have any real love for Islam and a zeal for the advancement of Islamic thought, they will rise equal to this further demand on their energy. Such additional equipment will indeed enable them to reap a rich harvest of rewards quite beyond their reach in the present circumstances. The lives of the innumerable Imams, Faqihs, Ulama and Hukama of Islam who scattered all over the world to learn and to teach should surely supply sufficient inspiration and strength to the Moslem students in Bengal. It was no poetic exaggeration of Carlyle when he said of Islam :

“ Is it not as if a spark had fallen, one spark, on a world of what seemed black unnoticeable sand ; but lo, the sand proves explosive powder, blazes heaven-high from Delhi to Grenada ! ”

That divine spark, believe me, is not yet extinct, it exists in the very being of Islam. Nor is the virtue of Islam obsolete and out of date in the twentieth century. On the other hand Islam is not yet fully realised. The simple truth of Islam has not to be sought in abstruse speculations of

mystic philosophy nor is it wrapped up in the language of skilled rhetoric of diplomacy nor does it stand in need of vague and elusive poetic imageries with the magic play of light and shade calculated to conceal emptiness. It is writ large on its cardinal doctrines, its principal institutions and the entire history of its peoples. Anyone can read it who is capable of the least reflection and has a mind reasonably free from prejudice. Once you grasp it, there would be no further need for that fashionable search after the synthesis of the East and the West of which one hears so much now-a-days.

The cardinal teaching of Islam is 'fawhid' which means acknowledgment of the supremacy of one all-powerful beneficent Creator and Ruler of the Universe and of all life. Islam does not claim this doctrine as a discovery of its own or as something original : indeed the Moslem theologian-jurists base it on the universal promptings of human conscience. This is the pillar of our Iman or Faith. Islam, however, emphasises this doctrine as perhaps no other religion does, and tries to make of it a living force and an everyday spiritual mentor, by means of a few simple injunctions. Its principal injunction is Namaz, or the daily prayers which require us to present ourselves in all humility before our Creator, the stern judge of right and wrong, five times every day even though for a few moments and to pray for strength from him for the discharge of the manifold duties of our daily social life.

This is the essence of the whole teaching of the Koran and hence the important characteristic of Islam is its universality. It is the religion of Dawat and Tabligh. It invites every human being to its ample fold, be he white, black or brown in colour, of Semitic, Aryan, Turanian or Negroid stock thus recognising the capability of all to live a spiritual, strong and well-ordered life. I need hardly point out at the present day that it is a wholly false notion that the religion and laws of Islam enjoin conversion by force. Force is permitted only against aggressors while the Islamic law permits the

non-Moslems living in a Moslem state (zimmi) to participate in all the rights of citizenship, nay, to live in accordance with their own customs and usages and the ideals of their different religion and civilisations. In fact, it is a cardinal doctrine of Islam that mankind—and be it noted not merely Moslems or men of any particular creed, race and colour—are the highest of God's creation and that all are equally entitled to make the best use possible of the universe and whatever it contains by the exercise of those faculties, which God has given them. There are no high or low castes and no untouchables in Islam.

Islam not merely by the spirit of its teachings but by its laws and injunctions aims at human brotherhood and true democracy by according as far as possible, to each individual and people equal opportunities in life and equal rights of citizenship and not by taking away from the talented and the industrious to give to the stupid and the idle. Islam's first legal maxim is that every one is entitled to what he earns for himself and must suffer for his own shortcomings. There is no Bolshevism in Islam. Private right and private property are not only fully recognised but are absolutely inviolable. Islam encourages as no other system does the growth and development of all peoples and classes of peoples to their fullest stature. No conflict is possible in Islam between capital and labour; both are equally free, without any discrimination on ground of colour, race or creed. This is the corner stone of Islam's economic laws and the facts of history amply testify to the soundness of their policy. But while recognising the essential freedom of all peoples and classes, of labour and capital, Islam is unbendingly stern in the repression of social injustice and disorders. Here again no distinction is made between the colours, castes or creeds of the citizens.

These features of the Islamic system permeate the whole history of Moslem peoples and it was these that made them for centuries the upholders of civilisation and the worldwide

exponents of those liberal arts and sciences which since their decline have ceaselessly continued their wonderful development though no longer under Moslem guidance. Till almost the beginning of the 19th century they were the most powerful of all the peoples and the extensive pages of Islamic history are so crowded with men of great character, remarkable genius and noble achievements that highly instructive and inspiring volumes could be written on the heroes of Islam. In the vast field of Arabic sciences I can claim some acquaintance with one subject, *viz.*, Jurisprudence which is an important subject of study at this Madrasa. I venture to assert that the work accomplished by the Moslem jurists in this respect is most admirable, judging both by its volume and its excellence. The historical works of the Arabs for accuracy of detail, liveliness of narrative and candour of criticism have few, if any rivals. Their dictionaries, encyclopedias, biographies and grammars can well be described as perfect from the point of view of scientific arrangement, accuracy and comprehensiveness. They vastly advanced the sciences of chemistry, mathematics and astronomy. The contributions of the Arabs and the Persians and other Islamic peoples to poetry and other imaginative literatures are no less notable and conspicuous.

Their love of learning and of the arts of civilisation partook of the catholicity and an earnestness of the spirit of their religion. The Islamic rulers ransacked every corner of the globe in search of books and writings and of men who had anything to teach, for philosophers, scientists, artists and craftsmen and showered on them wealth and honours. It was thus that they spread and developed the products of human genius, talent and labour in all their manifold forms of expression. During the centuries when Islamic civilisation was in the ascendant, the numerous Universities, Colleges, Schools and wonderful Libraries that were dispersed throughout the Islamic countries and thronged with students eager to

learn at the feet of professors and teachers distinguished for their contributions to human knowledge stimulated and spread an intellectual activity over vast portions of Asia, Europe and Africa which would stand comparison with that of the present-day Europe. The intellectual output of the Moslems was so great that in each of the larger libraries the catalogues alone comprised several volumes. The Muhammadan Law recognised no copyright, no patents and no trade marks. There never was any ban on religious and literary discussions so long as they did not give rise to turbulence: Islam's fold was found wide enough to embrace even numerous religious sects and no less than 72 of them are recorded in history. Their achievements in those forms of art to which they devoted their talents have not yet been excelled and their sense of beauty and harmony has left behind its imperishable expression in architecture. Nor can I omit especial mention of the work of Moslem calligraphists: its exquisite beauty is an unending source of delight to all lovers of art. Another lesson to be borne in mind is that the Muslims always freely acknowledged their indebtedness to those who taught them anything: they learnt Mathematics from the Hindus and named the science Hindisa, they have enshrined the names of the great philosophers, scientists and artists of ancient Greece in the hearts of millions of Moslems throughout the world. Even the Mahomedan street boys of Bengal know the names of Plato and Aristotle. For this noble trait in their national character, Moslems are indeed charged with want of originality.

There is a great truth in the saying that there is nothing new under the sun. The evolution of human capability has proceeded from step to step. The Saracens, the Persians and the Moghuls revived and greatly developed almost all the sciences of their days, opened up new vistas of thought and inaugurated fresh methods of enquiry and expression. Then they impressed all the fields of intellectual activity with the stamp of their own distinctive genius. It is a melancholy

reflection that the services which the Moslems thus rendered to the cause of humanity and civilisation are so scantily acknowledged. But for them it is indeed doubtful whether Christian Europe would have ever had its renaissance. This is what Lecky says : " Not till the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the Universities, *not till Muhammadan science* and classical forethought and industrial independence broke the sceptre of the church did the intellectual revival of Europe begin." That Muhammadan science, be it noted, was fostered under the sway of Islamic church.

India, indeed, is deeply indebted to her quondam Moslem rulers not only for the most beautiful creation of human genius, the Taj and the other architectural wonders that are to be found almost all over the country, but also for her numerous useful and artistic products which now adorn many cultured homes of Europe and America : the carpets, the brocades, the shawls, muslins, embroidery and lace work and the gold and silver work, carved wood and ivory work, to mention only a few. Not the least valuable gift of Moghul genius to India, is the Urdu language which, if a certain class of politicians did not stand in the way, would have every chance of being the *lingua franca* of India. Is not a common language the first need of a people aspiring to nationhood ? The exquisite and invaluable products of Moslem genius are by no means confined to India but are scattered all over the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. But beware ! all sorts of men, even some belonging to little peoples unknown to history or fame, are busily engaged in robbing you of your ancestor's noble achievements. It is your most sacred duty to safeguard their great names for they are inseparably associated with the good name of Islam itself. There is no attack more dangerous than that of a false propaganda and no thief more wily and insidious than he who steals people's reputation.

One observation irresistibly occurs to me in this connection that the new cult of the ' Churka' and the ' Khaddar,' the symbol

of the non-co-operation movement implying as it does, aloofness from the world and an abandonment of all earnest effort to utilise the resources of nature for the ever-growing needs of an expanding humanity is repugnant to the entire spirit of Islam and the history of Islamic civilisation. In fact, I refuse to believe that any Moslem however fervently and even sincerely he may in the blinding heat of political strife and passion advocate such a formula, can ever regard it as consistent with the ideals of Islamic civilisation. It can never kindle genuine enthusiasm in Moslem breasts. What distinguishes Islam above all, is its unparalleled power of absorption and assimilation and to this characteristic of the Islamic system the doctrine of isolation from the main currents of world's activity is wholly antagonistic. There is no rahbaniat or Sanyasism in Islam. *Students of the Madrasa*, I must beseech you with all the earnestness I command, not to let yourselves be carried away by the political shibboleths of the day : no people have become great by means of mere political theories and wrangles. You will best help the general and political welfare of the country as well as of your community, if you will only earnestly strive to revive the highest traditions of Islam in Bengal. Hold fast to the high purpose of Islam, to Islamic faith and outlook on life, to the memory of our holy Prophet Mohammad (God's peace will be on him) and of Islam's great men and their noble achievements ; foster within your breasts Islamic courage and determination, Islamic zeal for learning and progress, and spread far and wide the Islamic spirit of brotherhood : you will then be able to say with the poet :

بخت خراب الوده ما بیدار خراعد شد مگر
ز آنکه زد بر دیده آب از روی رخشان شما

ABDUR RAHIM

THE NEED OF A POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE IN INDIA

CHAPTER I.—THE NEED OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whilst dealing with the various recommendations of the Commissioners, in his dissenting note suffixed to the Industrial Commission Report says—

“But after all that may be done in this direction, the large needs of the education of the youth of a country which is equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia, cannot be met in this manner. Those needs, and the vast possibilities of development which lie before us, demand that at least one first class Imperial technological or Polytechnic Institute should be established in India without any further delay.”

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya differs from the other members only in the matter of time. The majority recommend, besides provincial industrial and technical institutions, the establishment of two imperial colleges of the very highest grade. They do not unfortunately specify any time limit. They simply observe “...but, we think it will be necessary ultimately, if not in the immediate future, to provide India with educational institutions of a more advanced character, which no single province could support or fill with students, yet each province will need to a greater or less extent.” Four years have already elapsed since the publication of this report!

COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS OVER SERVICES

Indeed among the list of the Questionnaire of the Industrial Commission there are several that relate to the formation, establishment or development of technical and scientific institutions and one wonders why the Commissioners did not, commensurate with the matter contained in the

five bulky volumes of evidence, fully discuss the question of Industrial and Technical education. The Commissioners laid a special stress on the formation of Industrial services and thought these should provide the nucleus for Industrial advancement and that it should be left to the services to determine the future action to be taken regarding the various steps for bringing about the industrial amelioration of India. It is true, the formation of services may be a necessary preliminary to act as a bureau of information yet their existence without technical research and laboratories is like the presence of a scientist without a laboratory, a mechanic without a workshop or the attempt of an individual to read at night without a lamp. People are still in doubt as to whether the money that is being spent by Government cannot be more profitably employed in the establishment of technical institutions as compared to the formation of industrial services, whether imperial or local. Only the other day in his prefatory note, on the development of indigenous cutlery industry, placed before the second Conference of Directors of Industries, Mr. F. R. R. Rudman observed that £188,882 worth of cutlery was imported into India in spite of the fact that steel could be obtained from the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and the bone, ivory, etc., required for the handles were also locally obtainable. Mr. Rudman further remarked, "The local knives, however, lack finish and, though serviceable in themselves, it is not unlikely that they will be ousted by the more attractive imported knives, unless something is done to assist the industry." The note was discussed by the Directors of Industries and several suggestions were made. One suggestion was to get a European firm settled in India, the other was for obtaining information regarding the cost of an up-to-date plant and the third related to the importation of a Master Cutler. In the end however it was resolved that, "if any Director of Industries or a member of his staff went to England on leave in the next hot weather, he might investigate the conditions obtaining in

England and make recommendations regarding the best course to adopt."

It is not known whether any such person, as mentioned above, ever went to England or enquired into the possibilities of the cutlery industry, but this illustration would suffice to show how helpless the Directors are in such affairs. On the other hand if there were a sufficiently advanced Polytechnic Institute it will not be difficult for it to suggest some means of giving a high finish to the present cutlery and thereby help the Indian manufacturers in competing with the foreign cutlery firms.

When one looks at the five bulky volumes of the evidence produced before the Industrial Commission one cannot help noticing the vast amount of information that is contained therein. Numerous fields of development or research have been pointed out by the witnesses most of whom happen to be experts in their own line. All that information in the evidence seems to have been regarded as waste-stuff or as being out of date. Fresh surveyors have been appointed and they are busy ascertaining the possibilities of the development of industries. What will be the next step is still a problem. In the United Provinces, for instance, Mr. A. C. Chatterji, in his interesting and well-informed "Notes on the Industries of the United Provinces" prepared under the direction of the Local Government in 1908 has offered several suggestions for developing the dyeing industries of the Province as also for initiating the manufacture of other imported articles which could be prepared from the raw products available in the Province itself. The voluminous evidence of the U. P. men before the Industrial Commission of 1916-17 contains a huge amount of information from those people who are specialists in their own line. Now the U. P. Government instead of utilising the already existing material and initiating research and demonstrating to the inhabitants the possibilities of running any particular and innate industry on business lines has

again appointed surveyors to ascertain the conditions of industries in the Province. One may as well enquire, did not Mr. Chatterji's notes contain sufficient information and have not the witnesses before the Industrial Commission supplied material enough to keep at least two or three research institutions busy for several years to come? Was then there a necessity to appoint another half a score of surveyors much less qualified than either Mr. Chatterji or the witnesses appearing before the Industrial Commission? It is a question of opinion, but I feel that even if these surveyors succeed in collecting more useful information than Mr. Chatterji it will all remain on paper unless means are devised for giving practical shape to the various suggestions made by them and this is not possible unless there are institutes capable of carrying on research and demonstrating the manufacture of articles on business lines. To take a concrete case, this province imports a very large amount of strawboard. So far as I know the waste tanning stuff which is found in abundance at Cawnpore and to a certain extent at Agra can be utilised in the manufacture of strawboard. The Director of Industries too, in his last annual report, has referred to the possibilities of the development of strawboard industry in this province. I do not know the name of the material from which, according to the Director of Industries, the pulp has to be prepared, but any way the raw material for the manufacture of strawboard is found in the province and all that is needed is a certain amount of investigation followed by a demonstration of its manufacture on an economic basis. This is only one instance and that in which a high finish is not needed. There are hundreds of other things which are imported from foreign countries and which can be prepared in this Province. Only they are waiting exploration and research and for this we require scientists and technical institutions and not simply surveyors.

So far as the development of commerce is concerned the surveyors may collect up-to-date data for trade with the

other Provinces or with foreign countries, but trade is not the same thing as industry. India does not need the import of foreign articles or the export of raw products. All that is wanted is that the raw products instead of being sent abroad and brought back in an altered form may be utilised here. Let, therefore, there be any number of institutions carrying on research and exhibiting the possibilities of India's expectations being fulfilled. The need of such institutions may be admitted but the want of money is supposed to be the chief obstacle in the way of their establishment. It is but true and I, along with others, have every sympathy for the hard lot of the persons in charge of industry yet I cannot help remarking that the way in which, in some cases, they spend their money hardly deserves approval. I shall refrain from expressing my own opinion but I should like to bring to the notice of the readers the note that appeared in the "Capital" dated the 1st June, 1922:—

"United Provinces --

Industries are a transferred subject and the few who are fortunate enough to claim friends in the Council or the Ministry will not fail to take advantage of this outstanding fact. Gifts and favours are inevitable in any system of Government, but when they transgress the bounds of propriety they call for some comment. Here is a case in point. A certain Lala Sahib found that he had friends in the present Government who would not mind doing him a good turn in the name of industries. He knew, as a Bania knows how, the possibilities of this idea. He went ahead cleverly, floated a new Company which aimed at combining the manufacture of sugar and the milling of flour under the same roof, in the favoured town of Lucknow. In spite of a good deal of booming the response from the public seems to have been feeble and we found our good friend asking Government for a loan of 10 lakhs. The matter came up before the Board of Industries which found itself unable to support the loan. The industries concerned were neither pioneer nor deserving of special treatment at the hands of Government. The President of the Board did his best for the Lala. He waxed eloquent on the great importance of flour milling to the economic development of the province and is reported to have been greatly distressed

ever since he found flour milled in Amballa selling in Benares. The Board of Industries, however, did not budge from its decisions and so as the common fellow not conversant with the inner working of things understood it, the matter was finished. Our enterprising friend the Lala knew better and was not going to be brow-beaten by the decision of such ornamental bodies as the Board of Industries. If rumour is to be credited this temporary set-back flung him to the mercy of Banks and others and he found himself in a rather tight corner. At this stage the miracle was worked. We live in the age of miracles, and so nothing much need be said as to the amazing part of it.

On the last day of the session of the Legislative Council a motion strongly supported by Government came up, and the loan was put through in the twinkling of an eye as it were—it did not take three weeks for the money to be placed at the disposal of the Lala. One could only wish that the Government were equally quick about other matters. Dame rumour has further has it that the money did not fill the Lala's pockets, it went straight to his creditors who were giving him sleepless nights, and so it served as a very good palliative for insomnia. It is not known what security the Lala has offered to Government and whether the loan has been sufficient to wipe off all his former liabilities and thus give Government the first lien on his property. Also what rate of interest has been charged? The Government has not a penny to spare for much needed expenditure and yet we find such lavish generosity shown. The whole affair smacks badly of indiscreet favouritism and the Government owe it to themselves to offer an explanation to the public.

In the great scheme of wonderful things done by the reformed Government the tax-payers have ceased to count except as the sleepers on the main line count to the Punjab Mail."

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the facts mentioned therein and all I can say is that if the loan of 10 lakhs was given in the way narrated it would be better that the powers of the Industrial Board or Ministry should be materially altered so that such available money may be utilized in a more useful way or at any rate there should be no such waste of public funds.

I do not, by all that I have written, mean to convey that the recommendations of the Industrial Commission should not

be carried out or that all Industrial Services ought to be abolished. My idea is that if there are any industrial services whether in a province or for the whole of India they must be in a position to render adequate services proportionate to the money spent thereupon and in consonance with the demands of the public and the needs of India. Sir Thomas Holland as President of the Third Conference of Directors of Industries, whilst emphasising the need of Scientists, remarked—

“There was never going to be any industrial development in India without Scientific development. They were playing with assistant Directors and Circle officers when the real work of industrial development consisted in laying a Scientific and Technical foundation. Scientists would study the raw materials and out of the raw materials their industries would grow.”

It will probably be urged that under the Reforms the function of technical education devolves upon Provincial Governments and that the various local Governments are trying to establish technical institutions in their respective spheres. Some of the Provincial Governments no doubt deserve to be congratulated on the success they have by now achieved in this direction, but this does not displace the need for the establishment of Central institutes of a higher order. For some provinces it is a physical impossibility to start any technical institution worth the name. Mr. Barua, the Director of Industries in Assam, on the occasion of the second Conference of Directors said—

“...that in view of the size and resources of his province it was not possible for them to start many technical industrial schools, but they were following the policy of sending promising youths to schools in other provinces. There was however difficulty in securing admission of such youths in the schools in other provinces. Local Governments naturally desired to give preference to boys from their own province, and as a rule accommodation in industrial and technical schools was limited.”

The revenues of the larger provinces too are but limited and they cannot be expected to do what India as a whole may

not be able to accomplish immediately or even for sometime to come. It was urged by the Conference of Directors of Industries held in November, 1920 at Cawnpore that the Government of India should consider the employment of experts and the starting of demonstration and pioneer factories for industries which may be of interest to certain of the local Governments, but of no interest to all institutions of the sort that only the Government of India and some of the provinces could unite in supporting. In this connection it may be pointed out that the Government of India have under consideration the constitution of an All-India Industrial Service, but its formation without technical institutions causes the apprehension lest its functions may not be simply those of a Commercial Intelligence Department, simply supplying trade information or at the most suggesting lines of development without actually demonstrating their practical utility. In the words of Sir Thomas Holland "India like all tropical countries, naturally produces an excess of raw materials, and so long as her activities are governed only by a purely commercial status, there will be a natural tendency to perpetuate in her external trade the simple exchange of raw materials for manufactured articles." It is absolutely necessary in the light of the above statement that if an All-India Service is to be constituted its members should be scientists capable of carrying on research and converting the raw products into the manufactured articles which are at present imported from foreign countries.

Again mere appointments of scientists will not do unless they are provided with research laboratories. Only the other day when the United Provinces Government was trying to obtain an expert for the glass industry Mr. Swinchatt observed that the mere employment of an expert would not be of full avail unless he was provided with a demonstration-factory fitted with up-to-date plant and appliances. To me it seems that the same applies to an expert mechanic, visitor, designer, chemist, electrical adviser or other person. Unless such persons

are provided with laboratory, factory and workshop equipments it is not likely that they shall ever be able to give India the full advantage of their attainments.

What is wanted therefore is that there should be central institutes and demonstrations and pioneer factories, maintained on a high scale by the Government of India, the provinces, the native states and the public all combined. Many of the provinces already possess boot or leather experts, weaving institutes, etc., but anything by way of specialization or research is not possible with the limited resources of the provinces. Sir Thomas Holland at one time stated that in the matter of advice on scientific subjects it was necessary to centralize as much as possible, in order to get the benefit of specialists who could only be maintained in a central service.

TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS /vs. FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS.

To bring about India's Industrial regeneration the award of foreign scholarships for Industrial and Scientific training has been suggested as an alternative to the establishment of Central Institutes. Several such scholarships already exist and on the 23rd of February 1922 Mr. Samarth moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly to the effect that the Government of India should set aside a sum of not less than six lakhs of rupees every year to provide for the education and training abroad of Indian and Anglo-Indian youths in some of the technical subjects named therein. After an interesting and animated discussion the resolution was carried but a perusal of the proceedings convinces me at least of the fact that in spite of the resolution having been carried there was greater force in the arguments of those who preferred the establishment of technical institutions to the provision for foreign scholarships. Mr. Innes rightly observed "If there is going to be Rs. 6 lakhs a year available in the Central Government for technical education, I am perfectly sure that

we could do far better by devoting these Rs. 6 lakhs a year not for providing scholarships to Indians to be sent abroad but by providing means of technical education in this country itself. Instead of spending our money on training individual men and leaving it at that, our policy should be to put our money into an institution which creates in the country itself the machinery for turning out a succession of these technically trained men. I am perfectly convinced that this is the right policy."

Mr. A. C. Chatterji stated—"The sending of our youth to foreign countries for training can, at the best, be only a makeshift. No established industry in any country can prosper, if it has to depend either for its supervisory or higher labour, or for the masses of the artisans which it employs, on men imported from abroad or on men trained abroad."

Even the arguments of the mover, of the resolution mentioned, support the establishment of institutions first and the institution of scholarships afterwards. Mr. Samarth quoted the following from a book called 'The educational system of Japan' which was a report made by the late Mr. Sharp, who was Director of Public Instruction in Bombay and who was deputed by Government to Japan in order to study the educational system of that country:—

"When a new school of importance is to be established, the Japanese with their usual forethought select their staff in advance and send some of them abroad for a final training while the school is being built and organised. Then as the classes become available the men are gradually brought back; for it is an essential part of the system that the men should teach on their return and that for twice the period of their studentship; in this way it is made necessary for them to attend to their work during their absence, the country makes sure of getting some return for the expenditure, and the men themselves are secure of a living immediately on their return and for a period during which they can look about for a permanent berth, if they so please. During their absence they are under the orders of the nearest Japanese legation."

It clearly indicates that in Japan they decide to establish a school first and it is then that they send their students abroad. In the present case = a provision in India for foreign scholarships, it is not clear as to what the students will do when they come back from England or other foreign countries. Mr. Samarth had included in the list of subjects for which scholarships ought to be awarded 'Cottage Industries' and in connection therewith observed—"As a matter of fact, the economic aspect of the problem is this, that the agricultural population for a certain number of months is idle, has nothing to do after the crops have been gathered; much of their time is spent without any useful work. Now cottage industries is a subject which has to be carefully studied and introduced into this country." The idea is of course grand and if the cottage industries problem could be sufficiently tackled the economic position of India would greatly improve; but, as Mr. Chatterji pointed out our cottage industries are different from the cottage industries of the other countries. The conditions in India are not the same as in other countries. A student may acquire knowledge in the cottage industries of other countries but unless on his return to India he has got a place where he can carry on experiments and apply his knowledge to ascertaining the development of indigenous industries and demonstrating them to the agriculturists his education may be of no avail to India.

With regard to other industries it may be said that the climatic conditions of India and England differ and an England-trained man may not in some cases, without carrying on further investigation, be able to manufacture an article which he has seen easily prepared in England. According to the last report of the Director of Industries for U. P., glue is made by a simple process in the three months of the cold weather in the Harness and Saddlery Factory in Cawnpore but that for the 9 months owing to a high temperature glue cannot be prepared. Here some sort of refrigerating

process is necessary. As further stated in the report, the Industrial Chemist in the U. P. has taken up the work and I believe his experiments will very likely solve the problem of securing a low temperature. My only object in referring to the above illustration is to show how necessary it is that experiments and research, in order to be effective, and to suit the weather and climate of India, should be carried on in this country.

My discussion should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that foreign scholarships should be done away with. I have simply been dealing with the comparative importance of technical institutes over foreign scholarships. Indeed a very large number of foreign scholarships shall have to be attached to the Central Technical Institutes if ever they are established, but here they shall be utilised as occasion arises. By studying in a Central Institute the students can be subjected to a preliminary test and training and only the best need be sent abroad for a still higher or special study or to learn what can be profitably studied only in foreign countries. Further, on their return they can find a place where by the aid of knowledge acquired in other countries they can discover means of converting the Indian raw products under Indian conditions into manufactured articles. On the other hand, in the absence of technical institutes, the aimless award of foreign scholarships may help a few Indians to obtain employment either under Government or with private firms but it is not likely to bring about an advantage or benefit proportionate to the amount of money spent thereupon. On the occasion of the third Conference of Directors of Industries it was observed :—

“The Indian technical scholars, on their return from foreign study, as a rule have no further connection with Government since there are very few technical schools and colleges in which they can find employment. Of the first 35 scholars, for example, only 8 obtained employment under the British Government, most of the remainder finding work with private firms on salaries varying from Rs. 150 to 300 per mensem.”

Even if Japan's policy is pursued it is our duty to establish institutions and pioneer factories and then think of sending students abroad. That policy was referred to by Mr. Chatterji in the debate on Mr. Samarth's resolution and was also contained in a Note placed by Mr. J. A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, before the third Industrial Conference; and is as follows:—

“The Government of Japan started by setting up model factories and technical colleges and schools in which a considerable number of foreign managers and teachers were employed. After these institutions were in working order, Japanese students were sent abroad, very largely in order that they might replace on their return the foreign instructors and supply teachers for new technical schools. In one year 1908-09, for example, we find that out of 23 students who were sent abroad to study technical subjects nearly all took up work in technical schools on their return. Indeed, the Japanese technical scholars have to sign an agreement that they will serve Government on their return for twice the length of time for which they have remained abroad.”

(To be continued)

HITKARI SINGH SETH

ISLAMIC CULTURE AND ISLAMIC HOPES

Sir Abdur Rahim's speech at the Calcutta Madrassah is a piece of serious thinking. The entire Muslim situation is surveyed with characteristic breadth of vision and depth of sympathy. Sir Abdur Rahim is a true lover of his religion and culture, and an ardent supporter of the Islamic cause. Wide, as is the range of his Islamic studies; in juristic literature in *particular* he has achieved notable results.

As befitted the occasion, Sir Abdur Rahim dwelt upon the importance of the Calcutta Madrassah as an educational institution, and echoed the sentiment of the entire Mohamedan community when he said that the Mohamedans will defend and protect that institution at all costs and at all hazards. This determination to maintain their culture, and to stand by their cause is a happy sign of the times, and augurs well for the future of the Mohamedan community. Only fixed purpose and firm will can save the Muslims from complete political disaster. Muslims realize this, and their spokesman has expressed himself in no uncertain voice. Menaced as we are, on all sides, with ominous threats—our salvation lies in unity and concentrated effort. This truth requires no elaborate argument to proclaim, establish, reinforce. The merest glance around us will satisfy and convince. It is time, then, to take seriously to Mohamedan culture; steadfastly to enlarge the frontier of Muslim learning. Sir Abdur Rahim has enthusiastically defended Urdu Literature. In this we entirely agree, and to it we offer our heartiest support. In India Urdu is the language of Islamic culture. To ignore or shelve it is to ignore and shelve Islamic culture here. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—that keen-sighted statesman—very correctly appreciated the

importance of a genuine, popular Urdu Literature, and it was to this end that in 1870 he established the Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq (The social Reformer) "the professed object of which was to display most effectively the resources of the Urdu language as a means of expressing modern ideas."¹ And Urdu has a literature of which no one need be ashamed. The permanent elements of good literature—width of thought, flawless beauty, and exquisite dignity of expression, an unfettered outlook, a catholic sympathy, a deep insight into man and his character—all these are to be found in Urdu literature, and in sufficient richness, alike in prose and in poetry. Urdu literature can have no better sponsors than Sir Syed Ahmed and Sir Abdur Rahim. We trust that the prophecy of *Dagh* about the future of Urdu Literature—a prophecy robed in all the richness of poetical fancy—will, in years to come, be an accomplished fact.

But if imperative is the study of Urdu literature—no less imperative is it for us to hearken to and obey the advice which Sir Abdur Rahim gives regarding the non-co-operation movement: "One observation irresistibly occurs to me in this connection: that the new cult of *charkha* and *khaddar*, the symbols of the non-co-operation movement, implying as it does, aloofness from the world and abandonment of all earnest effort to utilise the resources of nature for the ever-growing needs of an expanding humanity, is repugnant to the entire spirit of Islam and the history of Islamic Civilization." Correct and sound are Sir Abdur Rahim's reading and interpretation.

Wondrous were and are the powers of absorption and assimilation in Islam. Islam did not stand disdainful and contemptuous of the world around it. It did not, like the Greeks, split up humanity, into Greeks and Barbarians. Nor did it, like the Hindus and the Jews, erect impassable barriers between themselves and those that were not of their faith.

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, p. 208.

Universal was its message—ever welcome its arms, to those that sought its light or craved for admission to its fold. Such being Islam's trend ; such, Islam's policy—isolation, aloofness, disdain, contempt—these, indeed, could find no place in her ordering of things. It shed and it received light—freely, ungrudgingly. In the flush of victory, in the plenitude of power, it never shrank or hesitated from accepting, adopting, incorporating into its own system, those systems of law, of philosophy, of politics, which it found flourishing and which suited and served its purpose. This is the most eloquent witness of Islam's generous, liberal ways. The greatness of Islamic civilization is mainly due to its powers of absorption and assimilation. Islam made free, full use of existing civilizations. In the Byzantine empire, in Persia, in Egypt—wherever the Islamic banner was unfurled—Islam did not efface, sweep away, old indigenous civilisation, but rather sought to retain it, to instil into it fresh life and energy. Christians were never banned, nor was Christian theology ever proscribed. Discussions between Muslims and Christians were frequent during the first and second centuries of the Muslim era. These discussions doubtless stimulated the growth of Muslim theology. Not only in the sphere of theology but also in the domain of law they bore fruit. Says Von Kremer “in a twofold manner, indeed, did the Arabs acquire knowledge of those foreign ideas which we discover and detect in Muslim Law : either by daily intercourse with subject nations, whence discussions on questions of spiritual and temporal laws could not have been altogether absent ; or through the medium of Rabbinical literature.”¹ Dr. Goldziher thinks that the first impulse towards the creation of a Mohamedan system of law was given by contact with two great spheres of civilization—the Romanic and the Persian—the former in Syria and the latter in Mesopotamia. He holds that even if we had no other positive data

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 447.

to go by, the very name given to jurisprudence in Islam from the beginning attests the influence of Roman Law. No less profound was the influence of the philosophic writings of the schools of Plato and Aristotle when they became accessible to the Arabs through the medium of Arabic translation. "There was a time," says Mr. Edwyn Bevan, "when Aristotle, returning to the world, would have found his name honoured, and his thought better understood, in Baghdad and Samarkand than in Athens and Rome." And Sir Thomas Arnold in no way exaggerated the truth when he said: "In the three great departments of Systematic Theology, Law and Philosophy, the Muslims in the Arab Empire entered into the inheritance of Christian civilization."

Exclusive, isolated, shut off from the intellectual currents of the world, Islam and Muslims have never been, and never will be. Sir Abdur Rahim, therefore, has the support, and indeed clear support, of Islamic history, when he says that the spirit of non-co-operation is entirely repugnant to the Spirit of Islam.

The same spirit of assimilation and absorption which marked the early history of Islam is clearly discernible in the Muslims of to-day. Islam is not a hide-bound system, hostile to progress, impervious to change. We have before our very eyes the process of absorption and assimilation going on, on a very extensive scale. European learning is eagerly sought and mastered; European political institutions are carefully studied and set up; the European commercial system is diligently learnt and followed. The non-co-operation movement has meant a set-back to Muslims in India. It has drawn Muslims into perilous paths, and has diverted them from activities more useful and work more beneficent lying before them in the domain of the arts and sciences, in the spheres of law and politics. *Wiser counsel, we trust, will now prevail, and, with wiser counsel, a new era of rightly-directed activity will, we doubt not, dawn.*

To pass to the main theme. Custodians of learning and civilization, Muslims stood out, throughout the middle ages, as beacons and pioneers of culture. Sir Abdur Rahim has recounted with pride and emphasis the glory of Islamic civilization, and has bidden us look to our own brethren in faith for lofty examples of all that is good and great in the world. In this pronouncement Sir Abdur Rahim is not indulging in any mere flourish of rhetoric or flight of imagination, but is stating sober truth. He is making not an idle boast, but a well-authenticated claim.

Was it not from the Muslims that Europe derived much of its knowledge of medicine, mathematics and the natural sciences? Was it not the Crusades and the contact of East and West that stirred the intellectual life of Europe? Was it not the Muslim civilization of Spain which made undying gifts to it. Did not Christian scholars sit daily at the feet of Mohamedan teachers? Was not their Empire, so to speak, a vast seminary of learning, resplendent with colleges, universities and libraries?

Islamic history is a source of inspiration. Islamic achievements an incentive to achievements as great, if not greater. Pause there has been in the history of Islam, but only a temporary pause. No adverse fortune has ever shaken the strength, no reverses of fate have ever broken the spirit, of Islam. Is not this a fact—an outstanding fact—to steel our courage, to cheer our path?

For the history of Islamic civilisation I would refer the reader to Viardot, Sedillot, Bebel, Dierks, and last but not least, Von Kremer and Goldziher. In their pages Islamic Civilization has received its just reward and due appreciation. A few instances will be in point.

Two names at once suggest themselves when we think of Muslim physicians: Abu Bakr Ar-Razi and Avicenna. Ar-Razi was the physician of the Caliph Al-muqtadir and was well-known in Europe till the 16th century. His treatise

on small-pox and measles was published in London in 1848 with a carefully prepared translation and instructive notes, by Dr. Greenhill.

Avicenna—a name honoured throughout the world—is a unique figure in the history of culture. He set a deep mark on Eastern and Western thought alike. Some idea of his influence may be formed from the fact that Scaliger considered the study of Avicenna an indispensable preliminary to the study of medicine.

Among Muslim scientists three names stand out prominently: Hasan Ibn Husain, Abul Wafa and Ibn Yunus. Hasan was the first to introduce the geometry of position which was eventually perfected by Carnot and other French geometers. Abul Wafa, the contemporary of Hasan, anticipated by centuries the discovery which is usually attributed to Tycho Brahe. Sedillot contends and proves that, long before Tycho Brahe, Abul Wafa detected the third inequality of the moon which depends on the angular distance of the sun from the moon. The third of this brilliant group, Ibn Yunus, was director of the observatory at Cairo, and author of the great Hakamite Tables which were edited by Caussin.¹

Nor must we forget what Professor Dietrich has said in his *Naturanschauung der Araber* (p. 145): "forebodings of even the Newtonian laws of gravitation are found among the Arabs." Not only in science, but in art and literature too, they have left an imperishable legacy. In Dr. Wüstenfeld's *Academien der Araber* we have a history of the Mohamedan Universities, with an account of the professors who lived and lectured there. It is an inspiring work, for it shows the range of studies pursued, and the rich intellectual harvest gathered within those hallowed precincts of learning. Women, too, were not behind-hand in founding *Madrasahs*, and Dr. Wüstenfeld (pp. 51, 65) refers to the *Academia Adhrawayyah*

¹ Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, p. 282.

which was founded by the daughter of Nur-ud-daulah, niece of Saladin, and speaks of two academies founded at Damascus by Settush-sham. In every sphere of intellectual activity they have won credit and renown. In Ibn Khaldun¹ we have history written almost in modern style and on modern principles. His 'Prolegomena' is indeed a most valuable work of its kind. It is impossible to convey any idea of this work in a few words. Suffice it to say that his definition of history, its object and its scope, his handling of the external conditions which act and react upon national life, his observations on the civilization of the Arabs, in fine his whole treatment, curiously anticipates the dawn of the modern conception of History as a science.

All that Ibn Khaldun has said² about the influence of food and climate upon civilization, says Von Kremer, has been worked out from the modern point of view by Buckle in

¹ Dr. Frähn in his introduction to *Ibn Fozlan's und Anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen Alterer zeit* (St. Petersburg, 1823) has given us an admirable and exhaustive summary of the historical and geographical works of the Arabs (pp. X *et seq.*). The oldest historical and geographical works of the Arabs date from the first half of the VIIIth century of the Christian era. He ascribes the marvellous growth of history among the Arab, to the intense craving which the rulers felt for contemporary and subsequent fame. Not merely general Islamic history, says he, but history, with less limited scope, grew up in abundance. Every dynasty, every province, every important town found its special annalist, and not infrequently more than one (p. xxvi). The growth of geography Dr. Frähn traces to two causes. First, he says, the translation of Ptolemy's geography into Arabic gave a basis to the Arabs to work upon—a basis which they fully utilised. Next to this the desire of conquest necessitated knowledge of the people and the country they intended to conquer. Not only did they welcome travellers and obtain all available information of foreign travels from them (p. xxiv. note) but they also employed male and female spies to secure information of foreign countries and peoples. In the *Risalat-ul-Intisar* (fol. 136) we read: "The Abbasid Caliphs had their spies both male and female. Thus one Abdullah, known as Said Ghuzi, served for twenty years as a spy in the land of the Greeks. Harun-al-Rasid questioned him about the wonderful things he had seen and obtained information from him (p. xxv). "It need not surprise us then, says Dr. Frähn, if the Arabs once possessed the most extensive knowledge of the earth and the peoples therein. They had a store of historical, ethnological and geographical knowledge such as no other nation then possessed (p. xxvii). I may note here that the earliest and the most authentic information about the origin of the Russians comes from Muslim sources—Ibn Fozlan heading the list.

For further information on Arab historians, see Wüstenfeld's unexcelled Monograph on the Arab historians

² Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 178.

his *History of Civilization*. What the British publicist has proved Arab thinker divines. Between them, however, there is a gap of five hundred years. One wrote in the metropolis of the modern world on the Thames; the other in North Africa, in an old castle (Kalat Ibn Salamah) the ruins of which are still to be seen in the province of Oran (Algeria), on the left bank of the Mina.

In Art, Literature and Science the Caliphate of Cordova rivalled, if it did not outshine, the glory of Baghdad. The most striking feature in the civilization of Muslim Spain is the high culture of woman. Walladah, the daughter of Mustakfi, was considered the Arabian Sappho. Ayasha, the daughter of Prince Ahmed of Cordova, was distinguished by her rare genius. Her orations were frequently read in the Cordovan royal academy and gained the greatest applause. She died in the year 400 of the Hijra. She left behind numerous monuments of her genius in her literary productions and a very extensive and well-selected Library. Labana, also a native of Cordova, excelled not only in poetry but in philosophy too. She held an office not often enjoyed by women; namely, that of Private Secretary to the Caliph Al Hakam. Mariam, daughter of Yaqub-ul-Ansari, a native of Seville, taught rhetoric, poetry and literature.

Two other instances of lady-professors may be mentioned here. Shuhda-Al-Katiba¹ lectured on *Tradition*, and according to Ibn Khallikan, ranked among the first scholars of her age. Von Kremer actually had in his collection of manuscripts one which purported to be notes of lectures delivered by this lady. She lectured in her house, which was in the square before the principal mosque at Baghdad.² Nor must we forget the lady who was the daughter of Taqiuddin Wasiti, and who was honoured with the title of *Sitt-ul-Fuqaha* (d. 725. A. H. 1325 A. D.). She lectured at Damascus on

¹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 625. She died in 574 A. H.; 1178-9 A. D.

² Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 121.

jurisprudence. M. Schefer had in his collection the very manuscript (*Kitabul Khiraj* of Yahya Ibn Adam) which she used for her lectures.¹

Islam has a high literary and scientific record to show—a record of which any people might be proud. And proud all the more in that the Muslims were the preceptors of Europe? Omitting Gerbert, whose travels among Muslims are open to serious doubts, Constantine the African is incontestably superior to his contemporaries, says Renan, because he had received a Muslim education. Roger Bacon eagerly studied Averroes, and from 1130 to 1150 translations of Arabic books were made at Toledo under the patronage of Archbishop Raymond. Then again, the protection and patronage accorded to letters and philosophy by Frederick II and his successors brought into vogue the works of Arab philosophers. Sicily was taken by the Aghlabides in the ninth century, and from there likewise Muslim learning made its entry among the Christians. The geographer Idrisi lived at the Court of Roger of Sicily, and made for his use a silver globe with the names of the countries then known engraved in Arabic. By far the greatest influence of Muslim learning was exerted on European thought through the medium of Aristotle when he was triumphantly enthroned in the University of Paris: Aristotle publicly, says Michelet, secretly the Arabs and the Jews, with the pantheism of Averroes and the subtleties of Cabala. I must bring this review to a close. In the traditions of Islam Sir Abdur Rahim finds incalculable strength, in its noble simplicity, its powers of adaptability to changing circumstances, in its past civilization, a hope for its future success, in its unity a weapon of tremendous force and durability.

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard has sounded a note of warning² in his *New World of Islam*, and has pointed to the growing

¹ Von Kremer, Vol. II, p. 122.

² See my article in the January number of the *Calcutta Review* "The New World of Islam."

Muslim unity as a most significant sign of the times. Sir Thomas Arnold—no alarmist, but a sober observer of facts—has precisely the same warning as Mr. Lothrop Stoddard to give. “To the politician this characteristic of unity in the bonds of faith is a source of constant anxiety, as it is capable of expressing itself in forms of fanaticism that may spread rapidly over immense tracts of country, and may link together in a common activity peoples otherwise sundered by whole continents or oceans. In the present day, when intercommunication is so much easier, and the sufferings of the Muslim world have done so much to excite sympathy for fellow Muslims in distress, *the possibility of wide-spread activity becomes still more possible.*”

Europe knows and feels the force of Muslim unity. Will the Muslims be insensible to its value and weight? Islam, both in India and outside, has its task cut out; and in no light-hearted vein must it meet the situation, face the task.

No people can flourish without a discipline and an ideal. Sir Abdur Rahim has inculcated and enjoined discipline and has proclaimed and held up the ideal. Lessons of the past should not be flung aside nor the experiences of the present thoughtlessly ignored.

Unity, harmony, perseverance, inflexible will, unbending determination—with these, as our weapons—offensive and defensive—we shall surely find or force a way to the place which Islam and Muslims deserve in the world. Sir Abdur Rahim's lecture is a summons to duty; and, we hope the Muslims of Bengal will respond to it.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE PRECIOUS STONES OF INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

From the earliest times India has been renowned as the source of most beautiful precious stones. As far back as the time of Ptolemy (about 140 A.D.) it was in repute for its diamonds. In the ancient books of India, the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, jewels are frequently mentioned. The Goddess Sita adorned her hair with jewelled butterflies, and wore jewels on every part of her person, from which circumstance every Hindu woman looks upon the adornment of her person with jewels as a religious rite. We read that when Mahmud of Ghazni broke into pieces the idol pillar at Somnath, a vast store of rubies and diamonds poured from it. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Shaik Abul Fazl says that there were rubies, diamonds, emeralds, sapphires and pearls in the Emperor's treasury, all classified according to their value.

Captain Hawkins, who lived at Agra from 1609 to 1611, describing the possessions of Jehangir, says he had eight chains of beads, each one of which contained 400 gems. The chains were of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, lignum, aloes and coral. Sir Thomas Roe also says of Jehangir that his buskins were embroidered with pearls; on one side of his turban was a ruby as big as a walnut, on the other a large diamond, and in the centre was a large emerald shaped like a heart. His sash was wreathed with a chain of pearls, rubies and diamonds. His neck-chain consisted of three double strings of pearls. He wore armlets set with diamonds, three rows of diamonds on his wrists, rings on nearly every finger. Both his sword and buckler were beset with diamonds and rubies.

From Bernier we learn that the Emperor Aurungzebe wore an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an

extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental Topaz (yellow sapphire) unparalleled for its lustre. The merchant traveller Tavernier bears similar witness to the great number of precious stones belonging to the Great Moghul.

In early times all the diamonds of commerce were derived from India; and the fabled wealth of India in gold and precious stones was one of the attractions that led adventurers to cross the treacherous Indian Ocean, or to attempt the perils of the North-West passage in their little vessels. There is small doubt that when Europeans first visited India, there was an immense quantity of precious stones in the country, hoarded in the treasure-houses of kings, and in temples. Owing to constant internecine warfare, it was common for rich men to have their wealth in jewellery and gems, so that in time of danger it could be easily carried away, or hidden in the ground. A chieftain or a noble could meet trouble with a lighter heart when his valuables were secure on his own person, or on the persons of his wife and daughters. This explains why so many stones were not cut, but only roughly polished. They were pierced, and strung for personal wear, and sometimes they were engraved with the names of their owners.

The Great Wars and disorder of the 18th and 19th centuries are accountable for the disappearance and loss of hundreds of hoarded precious stones. Dacoits roamed the country, and systematically robbed merchants and bankers. When Ghulam Kadir sacked Delhi (about 1771) he robbed the Emperor Shah Alum of all his treasures. Many valuable stones have perhaps passed into the possession of persons who do not know their worth, and many others have, no doubt, been buried and forgotten.

In those days of misrule and changing dynasties, the Rajput chiefs alone held almost undisturbed sway in their remote desert and mountain fastnesses, and to them flocked large numbers of great merchants and bankers, seeking

protection from the avaricious Mahomedans. To this day Bikanir, Jaisalmir, Jaipur, Ajmer and other Rajput towns are the homes of wealthy bankers whose trading branches are situated all over India, and even outside of its boundaries.

At the present day the precious and semi-precious stones mined in India, Burma and Ceylon are the diamond, the ruby, the sapphire, the spinel, tourmalines, aquamarines, garnets, rock crystal and various forms of silica, such as agate and carnelian. But of these the ruby and the sapphire mines are by far the most productive. The supply of diamonds and other stones hardly suffices for the needs of the people, and unset precious stones and pearls are imported into India in large quantities.

The diamond :

The diamonds of India occur on the eastern side of the Deccan plateau, in the central and south-eastern parts of the country. They are found in the non-fossiliferous sandstone and conglomerate rocks of the Vindhyan system, also called the Purana system, and in river gravels and sands which are the wastage of these rocks. These sandstones and conglomerates overlie the oldest crystalline rocks. The diamond mines were situated near Cuddapah on the river Penner; near Banaganapille, between the rivers Penner and Kistna at Kollar near Bezvada on the river Kistna; in the Central Provinces at Sambalpur on the river Mahanadi, and at Panna near Allahabad. In the last named area the diamond mining industry is active at the present day.

In the Cuddapah district the diamonds were found in a mixture of clay and gravel underneath beds of red, or bluish-black clay. The gravel was first washed in a cistern and then spread out on smooth planes of hardened clay. The gravel was turned over by hand, and in the process, the diamonds revealed themselves by their bright sparkle or scintillation, for

they have the power of dispersing light in an eminent degree.

At Banaganapille the diamond-bearing beds were fifteen or twenty feet below the surface, and consisted of a conglomerate of siliceous pebbles, quartz, chalcedony and jasper, which rested on sandstone of Devonian age.

At Panna the diamonds occur as pebbles in a conglomerate underlying sandstone of the Vindhyan series and also in a clay derived from it. The mines are scattered over a wide area of which the town of Panna is the centre. Mining is carried on by men of low caste, and by the same primitive methods as in former days. But the supply of gems is not considerable.

Every one has heard of the 'Mines of Golconda.' But they are a pure myth. Golconda was the stronghold and market to which the diamonds were brought from Cuddapah and from Kollar. Here they were readily purchased by the rulers and their wealthy court, and here they were cut and polished, for the people of India knew the art of cutting and polishing long before it became known in Europe. Tavernier, the jeweller, who travelled in India tells us that there were about 60,000 workers in the mines at Kollar in 1645 (?) If that was true there must have been a great output of gems, and it is probable that many of the large stones of ancient India came from these mines. But at the present time very few large stones are found in India. In 1881 a stone weighing $67\frac{3}{8}$ carats was found at Wajra Karur in the Cuddapah district, and in 1809 one weighing $210\frac{1}{2}$ carats was found at Hira Khand.

Though the industry has now almost died out, it is open to question whether modern methods and modern machinery might not set the industry on its feet again. There are diamonds in India for those who have the skill and energy to get them. Quite recently a find of diamonds was reported from the vicinity of Simla.

Many of the large Indian diamonds have an interesting history and here I will recall a few entertaining facts, connected with some of them.

One of the largest is mentioned by Tavernier as belonging to the Great Moghul, after whom it is named. It weighed 279 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats, was cut in rose form and had the size and shape of a hen's egg. This stone was found in the Kollar mine about 1550 A.D.

Another famous Indian stone is the Orloff diamond, which originally weighed 779 carats. After cutting, it was of the size of a pigeon's egg and weighed 195 carats. A French soldier stole it from a Brahmin temple where it was serving as one of the eyes of an idol, and sold it for a very small sum. After passing through several hands, it was purchased by Catherine of Russia for about £90,000 cash and an annuity of £1,000. It is a gem of a fine yellow colour. The next gem worthy of notice is the 'Pitt' or 'Regent' diamond, a very beautiful stone, cut in the brilliant form and unrivalled for its limpidity and shape. This stone weighs 136 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats. It was taken from India by a gentleman named Pitt, grand-father of the first Earl of Chatham, and was sold by him to the Regent, Duke of Orleans, for the sum of £130,000. It afterwards decorated the hilt of Napoleon's sword, was taken by the Prussians at the Battle of Waterloo, and so became the property of the King of Prussia.

A still more famous stone is the *Koh-i-nur* (Mountain of Light) which is sometimes confused with Tavernier's Great Moghul. According to Hindu tradition this gem was found in a Golconda mine, and according to the same tradition any one possessing it will be the ruler of Hindustan. It belonged in turn to the Bahmani, Khilji, Lodi and Moghul kings. Then it came into the possession of Nadir Shah who gave it the name *Koh-i-nur*. From him it passed into the possession of the Abdali monarchs of Afghanistan, the last of whom, Shah Sujah, presented it to Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the

Punjab. On the abdication of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, it was surrendered to Great Britain. Originally it weighed 900 carats, but cutting reduced it to 279 carats and when it was shown at the Great Exhibition of 1851 it had been further reduced to 186 carats by recutting. In 1856 it was recut again in the rose form.

The Sanci diamond is another remarkable Indian gem, weighing 106 carats. This stone at one time belonged to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. After the battle of Nancy in which the Duke was killed, a soldier found it and sold it to a clergyman. It became the property of Anton, king of Portugal, and afterwards was bought by a French gentleman named Sanci. King Henri III demanded the diamond as a pledge from a descendant of Sanci, who was being sent as an ambassador. The servant of this gentleman, when carrying the diamond to the king was attacked by robbers and killed, but not until the faithful fellow had swallowed the gem. Afterwards the body of the murdered man was opened by his master, and the diamond recovered. James II, of England had this diamond and took it with him to France at the time of the revolution of 1688. In 1835 it was purchased by a Russian nobleman for about £50,000. It is said to have been the first diamond to be cut in Europe.

Other celebrated gems are the Akbar Shah weighing 71 carats bought by the Gaekwar of Baroda for £35,000; the Nizam, supposed to weigh 277 carats, in the possession of the Nizam of Hyderabad; the Hope, a remarkable blue gem weighing 44 carats, bought by Mr. H. T. Hope for £18,000; the Dresden Green which is now one of the Saxon State jewels; and the Florentine, a pale yellow stone belonging to the Austrian royal family.

The Sapphire:

The sapphire is a variety of corundum, and is composed of aluminium oxide with a little ferrous oxide. It is found in

crystalline and metamorphic rocks, such as granite, gneiss, dolomite, and chloritic schist.

In Ceylon sapphires are more abundant than rubies. They occur with garnets and other minerals firmly embedded in clay in which there are occasional lumps of gneiss and granite. In former times there were sapphire mines in Zanshar, Kashmir, from which valuable gems were obtained, but these mines are said to be exhausted. Occasionally the ordinary blue sapphire and the rarer green, yellow, and white varieties, are found along with rubies in the gem-bearing gravels of Burma.

The colours of the sapphire are pure and light, of great variety:—Indigo-blue, azure-blue, lavender-blue, pearl-grey, milk-white, colourless, deep-green. Sometimes two and, less frequently, three colours are found in the same stone. These are commonly white and blue, blue and red, white blue and red. In the British museum there is a specimen of the gem which is blue and red at the extremities and yellow in the middle.

The white and pale blue varieties of sapphire possess such lustre that when cut they are sometimes sold to the unwary as diamonds. The green and the purple sapphires are often called oriental emerald and oriental amethyst respectively. It does not appear that any true emeralds have been found in India, Burma or Ceylon. The oriental topaz too is the yellow variety of sapphire.

The star sapphire shows an opalescent blue star of six rays in the direction of the principal axis. It is cut *en cabochon* and when held in the sun-light sends out a bright yellowish light.

The sapphire is not much used by Hindus, as they have a superstition that it brings misfortune to its wearer.

The Ruby :

The ruby occurs in crystalline and metamorphic rocks, such as granite, gneiss, dolomite, chloritic schist. It is an aluminium oxide with a little ferric oxide, and is, like the

sapphire, a variety of corundum. It occurs in the hexagonal system of crystals, usually in the form of a six-sided prism or a six-sided pyramid. In colour it varies from pale flesh-red to crimson-red and cochineal-red and as a rule shows a tint of violet when we hold it to the eye and look through it. When looked at through a dichroscope, one square shows carmine red and the other orange red. After diamond, the ruby is the hardest of the precious stones, and also the most valuable.

The best rubies come from Burma and Siam. In Burma the chief mines are at Mogok, 90 miles from Mandalay, where the gem occurs along with spinels and sapphires in crystalline limestone associated with granite and gneiss. The workings are generally not in the limestone itself, but in the detritus—gravelly beds derived from the rocks. In 1904 the produce of the Burma mines was valued at £ 80,000. In 1899 three unusually valuable stones were found, one of 77 carats being valued at 4 lakhs of rupees.

Rubies are rarely found in the peninsula of India, but they are frequent in the gem gravels of Ceylon along with sapphires and other minerals. However the Ceylon rubies, being of a pale colour, are not of much value.

The kings of Ava and Siam possessed rich collections of rubies and so did the Great Moghul. Tavernier states that in the throne of the last named there were 118 rubies which weighed from 100 to 200 carats each. That is on an average about one ounce each; but it is probable that many of these were garnets.

The king of Arracan is said to have had a six-sided ruby about one inch in diameter. The largest ruby ever heard of was that belonging to the king of Ceylon, which, according to Marco Polo, was a flawless gem, a span in length and as thick as a man's arm. Kubla Khan offered the value of a city for it, but the monarch refused to part with it.

The would-be-purchaser of a ruby has to be on his guard, for there are many red stones which are not related to the true

ruby at all, though they go by the names of 'Cape rubies,' 'Arizona rubies' (both are kinds of garnets) 'Siberian rubies' which are a kind of tourmaline, and 'Balas rubies' which are spinels. One who has a little technical knowledge can readily distinguish the true ruby from these by reason of its higher degree of hardness and its greater specific gravity. There is also a manufactured ruby on the market having the same physical properties as the true ruby, and it cannot easily be distinguished from the genuine article, except by the minute bubbles in it and its lack of dichroism.

The Spinel :

The spinel is a constant associate of the ruby in the gneiss and other metamorphic rocks, and in the gravels derived from them. It is found in Ceylon with sapphires, garnets and other minerals, and at Canarael in Mysore. The crystals on account of their perfect ruby colour and shape are often mistaken for the true ruby. Though beautiful gems when cut, they are of much inferior value to the ruby. They can be distinguished from the latter by their inferior hardness and specific gravity, and by the absence of dichroism which the ruby has in a marked degree.

Ceylonite or *Pleonast* is a variety of spinel from Ceylon which varies in colour from dark green to brown or greyish-black. The crystals are smooth and glistening.

Garnets :

Crystals of garnet are generally of the dodecahedral form, and are found in many kinds of rock including granite, gneiss, mica schist, slate, chlorite, limestone and iron ore. They are found in Burma Ceylon and India in large quantities. Those from Burma Ceylon and Kashmir used to be much esteemed, but at the present day the best stones are got from Rajputana. They range in colour from deep red to violet, purple, and yellow and in size from $\frac{1}{8}$ to 1 in. in diameter. The origin of their discovery in Rajputana is curious. It was noticed that many

Jogis or Hindu ascetics used to visit certain places in the jungles on pretence of making pilgrimages, and a watch being kept on their movements, it was found that they were collecting garnets for the Delhi market. The principal quarries for the gem in Rajputana were at Rajmahal in the South of *Jaipur*, at Sarwar in Kishengarh, at Kekri in Ajmir, and at Miru in Udaipur State. The garnets of Rajputana are similar to those of Burma commonly called almandine or amethystine garnets. They are of a rich dark red colour frequently tinted with violet, and are beautiful stones having all the qualities of the noblest gems, except rarity. If very dark, they are generally cut *en cabochon* and hollowed behind to allow the penetration of light. Stones of this kind when finely coloured are known as carbuncles. If a faceted gem is desired, the stone is generally formed into a thin table, and when skilfully set in gold, looks almost as well as a ruby. The craftsmen of Jaipur and Delhi where most of the stones are cut and polished, make large quantities of necklaces and bracelets of small faceted stones. Articles of silver plate are frequently adorned with inset carbuncles, and silver studs and buttons set with garnets are much worn by a certain class of Mahomedans. Often most beautiful engraved gems have been made of this mineral, some of which can be seen in the great museums of Europe. Sometimes large crystals have been cut into vases. The trade in these stones used to be very great, and in 1882 the value of the garnets exported from Rajputana was about Rs. 70,000. The chief demand was from Switzerland where the gem is used in the jewellery of cheap watches, and from France where the violet-tinted stones are much admired. Very large and clear stones have been sold for as much as Rs. 300 a tola. Mr. S. Tellary who managed the State factory, at Jaipur, did a great deal to stimulate the trade. At the present time production is not much encouraged and the trade is gradually dying away.

Beryl:

The crystals of Beryl are hexagonal, similar to those of emerald, except that they are longer and their sides are deeply striated, or streaked, down their length. The angles of the crystals are often truncated or bevelled, and these planes as well as the end planes are smooth. The cleavage is the same as in emerald. The Beryl is sufficiently hard to scratch quartz and is very slightly softer than topaz. It has a glassy lustre. Sometimes very large crystals of this mineral are found, but these are generally full of fissures. Clear transparent crystals, a foot in length, and four inches in diameter, have been obtained.

The beryl occurs plentifully in Ceylon and in various parts of India in veins traversing granite and gneiss, chiefly in pegmatite, along with rock-crystal, schorl, and topaz. Occasionally large crystals many inches across, are found in the pegmatite veins which are worked for mica in Hazari bagh and in Nellore. These however are full of cracks, and only small clear fragments could be obtained from them. Mining for beryl in the pegmatite veins has been carried on at Padyur, Coimbatore and at various places in Rajputana, especially in the Toda Hills.

The pale coloured and colourless crystals are cut into gem-stones, and are known as '*aquamarine*' and '*beryl*' respectively. The gem-stones are used for rings, seals, brooches, necklaces, and when of large size, are much esteemed.

The most common colours of this gem are apple-green, grass-green, honey-yellow, sky-blue, azure-blue.

Chrysoberyl, Cymophane:

This mineral is a silicate of alumina with a little lime, and oxide of iron. It occurs in semi-transparent rounded pieces in the sands of Ceylon, along with rubies, sapphires

and tourmalines. It is of a green colour with a yellowish or brownish tinge. Its lustre is glassy and rather greasy. A variety which shows an opalescent bluish-white light internally, comes from Ceylon. It is known as *Cymophane* and is cut *en cabochon* into ring-stones which are highly valued. When well cut and polished, this gem is not inferior in beauty and brilliancy to other gems of a similar colour but of greater value.

Ceylonite, Pleonaste :

As a rule Ceylonite occurs in trap and volcanic rocks. In the rivers and alluvial soil of Ceylon it is found accompanied by tourmalines, zircon and other minerals. Its colour is very dark green and nearly black, but when held between the eye and the light it is translucent, and green, and sometimes blue in colour. Some stones have been brought from Ceylon of a sky-blue, and others, of a yellowish colour. Ceylonite is harder than quartz and topaz, but it is softer than spinel.

Zircon :

Zircon is found in the gem-bearing gravels of Ceylon. The crystals are of the tetragonal form and are heavy and fairly hard. They have a glassy lustre, greasy, or resinous on a fracture. There are two varieties (1) The Hyacinth which is of various shades of red passing into orange and (2) the Jargoon which includes the transparent colourless and light-coloured kinds found in Ceylon with spinel, ruby and sapphire.

According to one authority, the Jargoon is also found in the district of Ellora, India.

Tourmaline :

The tourmaline is found in Burma, Ceylon and India. The crystals are usually the equiangular three-sided prism ending in three almost flat planes. The planes are often bevelled and truncated, so that six-sided and nine-sided prisms are formed.

The side planes of the prisms are deeply striated vertically. This mineral is as hard as quartz, but not so hard as topaz. Indigo-blue, honey-yellow, crimson-red, rose-red, reddish brown, and green are some of its principal colours. Tourmaline is strongly dichroic. Its lustre is glassy and resinous. *Rubellite* is a beautiful red variety of tourmaline found in the Ruby Mines District of Burma. The colour is probably due to the presence in it of a little manganese. The mines are in alluvial deposits in the Mong-long valley to the south-east of Mogok. Here the Chinese used to obtain the rubellite so much valued for making the buttons of Mandarin's caps. In 1898 the output of rubellite was valued at £359 and in 1900, at £1,240.

In the mica-bearing pegmatite of Hazaribagh district, blue, green and black varieties of tourmaline are found.

In Ceylon gems are cut from the brown, hyacinth-red, yellow, green, and red varieties that are plentiful there, but they are not much esteemed, because of the muddiness of their colours.

Gems made of the indigo-blue variety are generally known as *Indicolite* and those of a green or yellow colour, as Ceylon peridot.

Topaz :

The topaz is found in Ceylon and Burma in alluvial soil, but as a rule it is found in drusy cavities in granite, gneiss and micaceous schist, along with mica, beryl, tourmaline and rock-crystal. The crystals are usually rhombic and terminated by four-sided pyramids. Sometimes the lateral edges are bevelled, so as to form an eight-sided prism. The side planes of the crystals are finely striated vertically, but the bevelling planes are smooth. The topaz is harder than quartz or emerald, but softer than sapphire. Its colours are yellow of all degrees of intensity, cherry-red, violet-blue, colourless. The pink crystals are considered the most valuable. Heat or friction electrify the topaz, and by this property it can be readily

distinguished from a diamond or a ruby. If exposed to the sunlight for a long time, the topaz loses its colours. The gem is much esteemed by jewellers on account of its brilliant lustre, which however is lower than that of the sapphire, or ruby.

VARIETIES OF SILICA.

Rock Crystal :

Rock-crystal is pure silica crystallized in six-sided prisms which are striated transversely, and terminated by six-sided pyramids. It is colourless, yellowish-grey, wine-yellow, brown and rose coloured. Usually it occurs in veins and drusy cavities, along with beryl, mica, topaz, in granite, gneiss, and mica slate rocks. Rock-crystal is found in several parts of India, and in Ceylon. At Vallum in the Tanjore district fragments of rock-crystal are cut into gem stones and are known as Vallum diamonds. The quartz crystals found in the gypsum near Kalabagh on the Indus are much used for making necklaces. The lapidaries of Jaipur in Rajputana and of Delhi use them to make beautiful ornaments, and useful articles such as salt-cellars, umbrella-handles and vases. Spectacle-lenses and optical prisms are also cut from clear crystals. The wine-yellow and clove-brown varieties are most esteemed as articles of jewellery, and are made up into ear-drops, brooches, seals, necklaces. The deeper coloured yellow stones are often sold as topazes, and the clove-brown variety is sold as Cairngorm and smoke topaz. But the true topaz can be distinguished from rock-crystal by its superior hardness. Rock-crystal is only moderately hard, and is therefore an excellent stone for engraving on.

Some crystals contain hair-like fibres of rutile and green actinolite. These are called hair-stones and are valued by collectors.

Rock-crystals may be dyed blue by immersion, when heated, in Indigo, or in a solution of copper : or red, by immersion in a decoction of cochineal.

Amethyst :

The amethyst is a variety of rock-crystal coloured with an oxide of iron, and is of every shade of violet or violet purple. It is usually found in gneiss both in India and Ceylon. The best specimens, of a dark violet-blue colour, come from Cambay. When the colour is deep and pure, the Amethyst forms a gem of great beauty. A necklace of amethysts is of great rarity and value, because it is extremely difficult to get together a number of stones of exactly the same tint. When set in gold, and especially when surrounded with diamonds, the amethyst appears to great advantage. In olden times this stone was frequently cut into seal stones, of which many are preserved in museums and private cabinets.

Cat's-eye :

This form of quartz comes from the coasts of Malabar and Ceylon where it is found in gneiss. It occurs in various shades of grey, green, brown, or red. The red, and the olive-green varieties are most highly prized. When cut in an oval shape and with a convex surface, it exhibits a peculiar play of light, resembling the eye of a cat. This is due to fibres of asbestos interspersed through the stone.

Heliotrope or Bloodstone :

Heliotrope or bloodstone is a variety of compact quartz coloured with iron ore. It is translucent and of a deep green colour. As a rule yellow, or blood-red spots are interspersed through it. Sometimes it goes by the name of Oriental Jasper.

Chalcedony :

Chalcedony is almost pure silica. It is found in Ceylon in rolled pieces, and is probably derived from veins in the crystalline rocks. It is hard, takes a fine polish, and shows

beautiful colours. Ring stones, vases and other ornaments are made, and cameos, or engravings in relief, in which the figure is of a different colour from the ground, are often cut from it.

Onyx :

Onyx is a variety of chalcedony in alternate layers of different colours, usually white, black, and dark-brown. The concentrically-striped onyxes are much prized, and are cut into the so called 'onyx-eyes.'

Agate :

The agate is composed of crystalline and amorphous silica in concentric layers. It is said to include chalcedony, amethyst, quartz, carnelian, heliotrope.

Carrelian.

Carrelian is a red, or brown variety of chalcedony containing ferric oxide.

Sard :

Sard is a variety of carnelian varying in colour from pale, golden, yellow to reddish-orange.

Sardonyx :

Sardonyx is a kind of onyx having white layers alternating with sard.

Agate, carnelian, etc., are obtained from the trap rocks of the Deccan. In Cambay, agates and carnelians are cut and prepared for the market. The agates are for the most part found in the Bombay Presidency, near Ratanpur in Rajpipla State. Agate-cutting is also carried on at Jubbulpore and a few other places. Large quantities of the cut stones are exported to China where they are much esteemed. Agate pestles and mortars are much used by chemists. When the bands of

an agate are not well marked, bands of black and brown can be brought out in it by heating it in sugar syrup, and then treating it with sulphuric acid.

The following is an account of the Cambay Carnelian industry as it was 100 years ago : —

The carnelians of Cambay are procured from the neighbourhood of Broach by sinking pits during the dry season, in the channels of torrents. The nodules which are thus found, are mixed with other rolled pebbles, and weigh from a few ounces to two or three pounds. Their colour, when recent is dark olive-green inclining to grey. The preparation which they undergo, is first, exposure to the sun for several weeks, and then calcination. The latter process is performed by packing the stones in earthen-pots, and covering them with a layer five or six inches thick of dried goat's dung. Fire is then applied to the mass, and in twelve hours, the pots are sufficiently cool to be removed. The stones which they contain are now examined, and are found to be some of them red, and others nearly white : the difference in their respective tints depending in part on the original quality of the colouring matter, and in part, perhaps on the difference in the heat to which they have been exposed. The annual value of carnelian exported from India amounts to £11,600.

Moonstone :

Adularia is a transparent and almost colourless variety of felspar. The variety which is slightly opalescent and exhibits a bluish pearly light is valued by jewellers and is sold by them under the name of moonstone. It is cut in an oval shape in such a way as to show the pearly light in the centre of the gem ; and when set in a ring or brooch with diamonds or rubies, its pearly light forms a striking and pleasing contrast with the lustre and colours of those gems. It occurs in the metamorphic rocks such as granite and gneiss. In Ceylon it is found in rolled pieces in the beds of rivers.

The majority of the precious stones of India are found in the Plutonic and Metamorphic Rocks. The term Plutonic is applied to such rocks as granite and syenite which are supposed by many geologists to have cooled down and crystallized from a molten state deep down beneath the crust of the earth, being at the same time subjected to immense pressure by the weight of the overlying rocks. By the folding of the earth's crust in the process of cooling and contraction, immense masses of these igneous rocks were thrust up to the surface; and sometimes they were exposed on the surface by the work of rain and rivers which wore down and removed all the superincumbent rocks. Metamorphic rocks are those which were originally either sedimentary or igneous, but which have been subjected to immense pressure and consequent heat, and thus have been so altered as to be changed into practically new rocks. Where granite masses have been thrust up from below, the surface rocks in the vicinity of the upthrust have been altered into gneisses and schists. The difference between igneous rocks and metamorphic rocks lies chiefly in the structure. The igneous rocks are of close texture and the minerals of which they are composed are in masses intimately mixed, while the metamorphic rocks which have been altered by great pressure, heated gases, and heated solutions, are of a foliated structure. In gneissic rocks the minerals are of coarse particles and lie in irregular foliae, while in schists, such as mica schist, hornblend schist, etc., the foliae are much finer. The latter have probably been altered from shale, or from fine sandstone rocks.

The gneissic rocks in India are in Bengal and Madras, Bundelkhand, the Himalayas, the Salt Range and the Aravalis. They appear to have been formed at different times and those of Bundelkhand are the oldest. The gneiss of the Himalayas contains white felspar and much mica, while that of South India has pink felspar and much hornblende. The gneiss of Burma is similar to that of South India. It consists of

granitic gneiss, hornblendic gneiss, crystalline limestone, quartzite, and various kind of schist. Sometimes the granite stands out in rounded masses and forms huge piles of great boulders. This is seen also in South India and in Rajputana, where the softer rock intervening between the outstanding piles has been weathered, decomposed, and washed away.

The products of the metamorphic rocks are very interesting. Among the precious stones occurring in them are diamond, sapphire and ruby, beryl, rock-crystal, garnet, and zircon. There are many minerals in these rocks of great commercial importance, including asbestos, graphite, meerschaum, steatite, marble, serpentine; and a host of metallic ores of which the more common are tin, copper, zinc, cobalt, iron, molybdenum, gold and silver.

India is a country of vast mineral resources many of which have hardly been touched. This no doubt is due in part to the difficulty of mining in places remote from a railway, and in part to the indifference of the Indian to the study of Geology and Mineralogy. But there are signs that a change for the better is at hand.

Table of Indian Precious and Semi-precious Stones.

—	Specific gravity.	Hardness.	Composition.		Crystallisation.
			Carbon.	Cubic.	
Diamond ...	3.44—3.52	10	Strong chromatic dispersion causing a brilliant display of colours when faceted. Often phosphorescent after exposure to strong sunlight.		
Sapphire ...	3.6—4.1	9	Al ₂ O ₃ Aluminium Oxide.	Hexagonal, rhombohedra ¹ .	
Ruby ...	3.6—4.1	9	Do.	Do.	
Spinel ...	3.5—4.6	8	Mg O } Magnesia Al ₂ O ₃ } 28% Alumina 72%	Cubic.	
Garnet ...	3.16—4.38	7—7.5	Fe ₂ AlSi ₂ O ₇ (almandine) Iron aluminic garnet.	Cubic.	
Tourmaline ...	2.94—3.24	7—7.5	Complex. Silicate containing K, Na, Li, Mg, Ca, Mn and Fe.	Hexagonal, rhombohedral.	
Indicolite					
Ceylon					
Peridot.					
Beryl and Emerald.	2.63—2.76	7.5—8	Beryl and alumina silicate 3 (B ₂ Si O ₄) + Al ₂ Si ₂ O ₆ .	Hexagonal.	
Zircon ...	4.4—4.7	7.5	Zr Si O ₄ .	Tetragonal.	
Jargon					
Hyacinth.					
Cryoberyl	3.0—3.8	8.5	Glucine and alumina. Be Al ₂ O ₄ .	Rhombic.	
Cymophane from Ceylon.					
Amethyst					
Quartz					
Cata' eye					
Opal					
Chalcedony					
Agate					
Moonstone	2.65—2.66	7	Si O ₂ , Silicon dioxide.	Hexagonal.	
Sard					
Chrysoprase					
Aventurin					
Onyx					
Cair-gorm					
Smoke Topaz					
Jasper.					
Moonstone ...	2.53—2.62	6	K, Al, Si, O ₄ .	Oblique.	

ANCIENT "EGYPT"—ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTS

For some time past great and widespread interest has daily been concentrated on the "Valley of the Kings," near the site of ancient THEBES (*T' Apiū*), or NU-AMON, "The City of Amon," and not far from modern Luxor (*El Aqsa*) on the Nile, because of a sensationally reported "Find" there—the so-called "Tomb" of *Tūt-āukh-amon* ("Living image of Amon, or Ammon,") one of the 18th-Dynasty Pharaohs, who reigned during B. C. 1326-1315, though the press notices put him about a generation earlier.

Quantitatively, the contents of this cache are unusual. Also, they are unusually wonderful, *as a whole*; and, in connection with Art, they will doubtless prove of unusual value. But whether, amongst all that has been unearthed, there is anything likely to shed that new historical light which is so very much needed upon the period covered by say the reign of *Ākh-en-āten* ("Pleasing to the Divine Solar Disc") and the troublous times more or less immediately following his demise about B. C. 1326, has yet to be seen.

Why so much importance is attached to that period is this. It was a time of very anxious crisis—of nothing less than life or death—for AMON-RĀ.

But who, or what, was AMON-RĀ?

He was what is called a *Ruling Sun-god*—a great Zōdiacal Divinity; and, at the period under notice, his official upholders and representatives, throughout the land, but particularly in and around THEBES, were a highly organized body of panic-stricken, but very proud, very powerful, very astute, very resolute, and furiously angry Sacerdotes, who for ages had been the real rulers of Khem, but who now saw their

authority overthrown, their prestige shattered, and their vast revenues streaming elsewhere!

The *Zodiac* was an outcome of *Sun-worship*—a cult prevalent in some form for many thousands of years throughout the *Great Central Zone* that belts the land-masses of the Earth—practically the “Civilization Line.”

Under some special name for the *Sun-god*, at least in early Khem, each of its twelve divisions was regarded as presided over by a definite hypostasis, or personified aspect, of the otherwise ineffable *Supreme Being*. The entire cycle, however, was not only a wonderful enshrinement, both scientific and artistic, of the essential mysteries of the Divine Nature; it was also a mystically dramatic representation of the life-history of every individual soul, regarded as an evolving spiritual sun. Certain outstanding Personalities in the past—*e.g.*, *Osiris*, and many others—having actually lived the life so dramatized, and triumphantly emerged as Spiritual Conquerors, and so matriculated as Redeemers of their Race, have been designated *Sun-gods*, and *Saviours*, and poetically invested with careers corresponding, as it were, to the apparent annual course of the Orb of Day.

The first Zōdiacal division—familiar to us under its Greek name *Ariēs*, “the *Ram*” (whence of course, the early Pauline Christians obtained their emblem of “the *Lamb*”¹)—was allotted by the Ancient “Egyptians,” or *Romiū*, to *Amon* (meaning “the Concealed One,” but also symbolized by “the *Ram*”) who, in his character as a *Sun-god*, was called by them *Amon-Rā*. This was the divinity dominant in Khem in B. C. 1341, when *Ākh-en-āten* ascended the throne as *Amon-hotep IV*.

The division (now known as *Taurus*, “the *Bull*”) which lies second from conventional *Zero* on the diagram, but, in point of secular time, comes before the *Ariēs*, or *Amon-Rā*,

¹ Note.—Of the Christianity of Jesus Christ, the true symbol would appear to have been *Piscē*, “the *Fishes*.”

division, has an interesting history behind it. True, it has long been associated with PTĀH—earliest of the greater gods in the old Romic pantheon—whose name is derived from *Pâtāch*, “the Opener,” a very ancient word, said to be Semitic, though much more probably Hamitic.

But, originally, *Plāh* had nothing to do with the Sun. Before ever old Sol was thought of for purposes of measuring Time, *Plāh*, in solitary majesty, sat enthroned beyond the Arctic Circle—the deified personification of that stupendous imaginary line (from Pole-star in the Celestial North to Pole-star in the Celestial South) which, as the eternally-rotating axis of the entire universe, was regarded as causing the panoramic westward sweep of the stellar hosts, as nightly they rose and set. This mighty and mysterious turning-movement was supposed to generate *heat*, and so to result in the *Summer Solstice*—a point on the Zōdiacal Spheroid which the Romiū accordingly called “The Place of the Production of Fire,” and regarded as presided over by the lioness-headed goddess *Sekhet*, consort of *Plāh*.

During *Plāh*’s remotely ancient régime, the *Cosmic-Clock* was supposed to be in North-Polar regions, and to consist of a fixed circle of 360,° wherein *Anūbis* (the Jackal=our “Little Bear,”) with the tip of his tail attached to the Pole-star for the time being, acted as a revolving index-finger, or hand—and so marked the hour of the day or night, the season, and even the progress of the Cycle—in that age one of only 1440 spheroidal years (360×4), so clearly not *Sōthic*.

But, if *Plāh* was thus a North-Polar and pre-Solar divinity, how came he ever to find any place at all in the *Zōdiac*, which has always been distinctively and exclusively Solar?

He did it by incarnating himself, so to speak, in *Apis*, the *Bull* of Memphis. That animal, it seems, was a *Sun-god*, and bore the surname of *Mes-Rā*—literally “Child of Rā.” This was because he represented “Strength” and “Vitality,” and

so was mystically regarded as, like *Rā*, "the Source of Life." Thereupon, by virtue of this merger of *Ptāh's* being in that of the *Solar Bull*, the Tauric-or Bull-division of the *Zodiac* naturally became associated with both *Ptāh* and *Mes-Rā*—as, indeed, appears from the fact that the Second Spring month (opposite *Taurus*) in one of the Romic calendars is called *Paūphi*, a name that is related to *Ptāh*, and also from considerations connected with another Romic month which, though now the twelfth, is said² to have actually at one time "opened the Year," *i.e.*, was once the first month in the calendar. This is *Mesorē*, deriving from *Mes-Rā*.

It was as perfervid devotees of this particular aspect of *Sun-worship* that, when dwelling in the Delta prior to B. C. 1491, the Aamū-descended *Israelites*—half Romic in blood, in culture, and in sentiment—became distinctively known as the *Mesrāyim*, or *Abiri*, *i.e.*, "the People of the Calf."

It was this mystical old *Bull-worship* that was at the back of the popular religion in ancient sea-girt Krete, and afterwards gave birth in Greece to the well-known legend of the *Minotaur*.

It was this mystical old *Bull-worship* that was so prevalent throughout the long-forgotten but recently discovered "buried empire," as it is called, of the ancient Hittites of Asia Minor.

It was this same old mystical *Bull-worship* which was the heart and soul of *Druidism*, as established in Britain for a considerable time from somewhere about the 1st century B. C.—the symbol of that famous cult having been nothing more or less than "the astral bull of milk-white hue, its horns crowned with golden stars." And who knows that to it may not even be traceable Old England's traditional cognomen, "John Bull?"

It was this very same old mystical *Bull-worship* that formed the basis of *Mithræism*—that wonderful cult which for

² Note.—Mr. Alan Gardiner's theory.

so long, and at least on equal terms, struggled with *Early Christianity* for the suffrages of the Roman World, and even at one time bade fair to win the day. In that age throughout the far-flung empire of the Caesars—in connection with the idea of the spiritual salvation of the soul, people used to speak piously of being “washed in the blood of the *Bull*,” just as commonly and just as naturally as, in later days, when Christianity had acquired the ascendant, they spoke figuratively of being “washed in the blood of the *Lamb*”. In sooth, the idea was much more a Mithræic one than even a Pauline-Christian one. Christian proper it was not.

In fact, the cult of the *Bull*—as dominant during say B. C. 4000-2000, and surviving sporadically even later—is to be found expressed in every representation of the *Zōdiac*, in all Civilizations, West or East, if not the wide world over, at least throughout the *Great Central Zone*. For instance, the Babylonians and Assyrians knew it as *Khar-Sidi*, while in India it was, and still is, *Trishubha*. Prominent amongst its doctrines seem to have been the ideas of (1) the Immortality of the Soul, and (2) the Atonement, in its priestly sense—both fundamentals of Officialized Christianity, but the latter distinctively Pauline, and the former apparently unknown to original Judaism—which alone shows that the Jews had never been in Khem.

Well—as, by virtue of Precession, the Equinoxes and Solstices slipped backwards round the entire *Zōdiacal Spheroid* in the course of $26,521 \frac{2}{3}$ years (modern reckoning, on the basis of a Spheroid of $365 \frac{1}{4}$ degrees or days), each of the *Sun-gods* in the Romic pantheon presided over his particular *Zōdiacal* division (and therefore his special cult was supreme in Khem) for $2187 \frac{2}{3}$ years. The supremacy of the *Bull Cult*—beginning roughly about B. C. 4000—came to an end at THEBES (“City of Thrones”) shortly before the rise of the *Twelfth Romic Dynasty*, which began in B. C. 1989 with *Amon-em-het I*, formerly known as Se-hetep-āb-rū. From

that epoch, therefore, AMON-RĀ, as the dominant cult, was supposed to be divinely established; and thenceforward also THEBES was recognized as NU-AMON, "the City of *Amon*"—the "populous No" mentioned in the Bible (*Nahum iii*, 8.) In fact, too, *Amon-Rā* was the Ruling-God in Khem up to the spacious and splendid days of *Amon-hotep III* (the "Nimmuriya" of the *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*,) *i. e.* about B. C. 1372-1341. Towards the close of *Amon-hotep III's* reign, however, even within the sacred precincts of the Court, there had been stealing into favour certain heretical views which, though also a form of Sun-Worship, were nevertheless distinct from, and absolutely subversive of, those connected with the established and popular cult then enthroned, spiritually and otherwise, at *Nū-Amon*. This was the veneration of ĀTEN, "the Solar Disc," regarded as the symbol and representative of the ETERNAL, in whom alone is Life. In those days there was a good deal of intermarrying between the Pharaohs and the royal house of MITANNI—the country just north of the great bend of the Euphrates at Niy, now better known as Upper Mesopotamia. Its people—once the Custodians of Civilization, and Overlords of Western Asia—were a remarkably fine blend of ROSY-BLOND stock, anciently immigrant from the Mediterranean, and aboriginal TURĀNIAN blood. After Mitanni's collapse, some time in the 14th century B. C., many of them entered the ASSYRIAN ethnic fold, but most migrated east, over the Zāgros, and re-appeared on the stage of history as the NORTHERN MEDES. Possibly the new cult in Khem was an outcome of these intimate relations. Indeed, there is even some reason to believe that in ĀTEN-WORSHIP we see nothing more or less than an early form or perhaps refinement, of MITHRĀISM, already alluded to.³

However, it was not till the next reign—that of the mystic, AMON-HOTEP IV, or ĀKH-EN-ĀTEN, about B. C. 1341-1326—that the worship of ĀTEN really became the State

³ Note—¹ Possibly, however, *Mith-Rā* was nothing but a corrupted variant, on foreign lips, of *Mes-Rā*.

Religion in Khem, and for a time even ousted that of *Amon-Rā*, whose arrogant and self-centred Hierarchy thereupon not only lost their all—place, power, and wealth—but, in their chagrin, were made to bite the very dust. It was a most revolutionary and highly interesting period—how interesting may be gathered from the fact that the presiding genius, *ĀKH-EN-ĀTEN* was a poet of no mean order; indeed, it is obvious that from his famous “Hymn to *ĀTEN*” (the words of which, though simple, are exceedingly beautiful and impressive) the writer of *Psalms CIV*, whoever he may have been, must have got much of his inspiration. Several of his very phrases are clearly “lifted” from the original.

Now, with these momentous times, we are only meagrely acquainted. Hitherto, it has been taken for granted that *Ākh-en-āten* was succeeded—though only for a brief period—by a king named *Smenkh-kā-rā*: but now specialists are by no means sure whether *Smenkh-kā-rā* ever reigned at all. Some prefer to think that he was only associated for a time with *Ākh-en-āten* as a Super-Vazir—a sort of Sublimated “Help,” on whom the monarch could rely to look after the State, while he himself was dreaming of more congenial things. Possibly, therefore, *Ākh-en-āten*’s immediate successor was *Tūt-ānkh-amon*—originally *Tūt-ānkh-āten*—the Pharaoh over whose alleged, and allegibly untouched, Mausoleum all the recent journalistic pother has been raised. Of *Tūt-ānkh-amon*, however, little more is known than that the embittered old Priesthood at Thebes proved much too strong for him, and even in his reign some reversion was undoubtedly made to *Amon-Worship*—as his own change of name from *Tūt-ānkh-āten* clearly implies. Of *Āy*, his successor, practically nothing is known; while, of that obscure but very efficient soldier-statesman, *Hor-ēm-hob*—the man who restored *Amon-Worship*, pulled the dislocated affairs of the unhappy country together, brought order out of its administrative chaos, and possibly founded the next, or 19th, Dynasty of high spirited Pharaohs—all that we *think*

we know is as nebulous and unstable as the conditions amongst which he worked; and there is a very great deal more that we would *like* to find out about him and his times. Meanwhile, a French *savant* has come forward with the startling declaration that Tût-ânkh-amon's mummy was actually found by Professor Davis in 1912, and that this so-called "Tomb" is a mere Emergency-Store, or Glorified Godown, and not a Tomb at all—certainly not Tût-ânkh-amon's Tomb! At this very moment those in charge of the removal-operations had come upon a resplendent, gold-covered shrine, or series of shrines, which might or might not have enclosed a sarcophagus, which, again, might or might not have contained Tût-ânkh-amon's body. To put the Frenchman's assertion to the proof, all that was necessary was to proceed with the work—to open the shrine. That would have settled all doubts, promptly and effectually.

Well, was this done? Was the obvious step taken? No; instead, work has suddenly been stopped, the "Tomb" has been closed, and we are told it is to *remain* closed until the autumn! However, we have at least had 3 months of tumultuous and sustained excitement, undoubtedly fomented by the press. And seemingly, for the present, that is about all—except that the amenities of "The Little Village on the Thames" have been enriched in a way that will be appreciated by all who are fondly familiar with the genial give-and-take of its picturesquely complex street-life. The other day a typical specimen of the fly but out-at-elbows Londoner was shuffling along Tottenham Court Road behind a barrow-load of weird-looking old furniture. A pal who was mooching in front of the "Horse Shoe" called out—"Ullo, Chawlay, wotcher got there? Suthin' arty pinched from Wardour Street?" "Nao," was the reply, "yer blinkin' ijjit! But arty, yuss! Tykin' it to ver Museum—Summa Cawta's stuff, outa old Tooting-Common's Gryve!"

The old name of the country that we now call *Egypt* was **KHEM**, and the people who lived in it, up to say the middle

of the 6th century B.C., called themselves—not “Egyptians,” and not Mesrāyim—but ROMI, *i. e.* in a distinctive, if not an exclusive, sense, “Men.” There was a time—far back in the Geological Past—when entire Africa, not only in shape, but also in the distribution of its land—and water-areas, was very different from what it is now. In its northern regions, from the Nile westwards, including the Sahāra, all was sea. South of that marine-area, the continent reached out far into the Atlantic—much farther than its present western limits of Guinea and Sierra Leone. Also, there was no Red Sea then. East of the Nile, an unbroken stretch of African land extended northwards, as far as, and in fact including, what is now the western half of Arabia.¹ All this continuous, north-eastern part of archæan Africa seems to have been the original Khem.

From “Khem” probably derived “Ham”; and from that, of course, came “Hamites.” And just as out here, *kh* in one region is elsewhere transmuted into *sh*—*e. g.* *Pakhtu* on the frontier, but *Pashtū* in India—so “Shemites” in Western Asia and Arabia was originally perhaps only a variant of “Khemites” and “Hamites” in Africa. In fact, both these races—the Hamites and the Shemites, or Semites—were simply special and local varieties (one in Africa, the other in Western Asia) of one of the 3 main-stocks of humanity—the *Dark-Whites*, who, from extreme West to extreme East, have immemorially inhabited the *Great Central Zone*; with the slant-eyed Tūrānian *Yellows* to their North, and the *Blacks* and other dusky peoples, originally of archæan “Gondwānaland” descent, to their South. Because of certain affinities subsisting between the “Semitic” languages of Western Asia and sundry “Hamitic” languages of Africa—and particularly because the etymon of *Plāh* was *Palach*—philologists and Egyptologists (not realizing *why* these things were so) have long assumed, and some writers still re-echo the assumption, that in the untraceably remote past (or, as Breasted puts it, “in an epoch

Note—¹ Pirsson and Schuchert's *Geology*, Part II, p 891.

that lies far below our remotest historical horizon," *History of Egypt*, p. 26), "Egypt" and adjacent African areas must once have received and assimilated an unusually powerful, but forgotten, strain of "Semitic" blood and culture—immigrant from Western Asia or from Arabia. But in view of the common origin, or basic race-identity, of "Hamites" and "Shemites," and of *Khem* having once included half-Arabia, any such hypothesis seems quite visionary and uncalled for.

"Egyptian" (or, as I prefer to call it, *Romic*) Civilization—the Civilization of the mysterious old *Romiū* of *Khem*—goes back to an almost incredibly remote antiquity. Along the various lines of enquiry that are available, there are many indications of this. We can at least be certain that it dates from some time in the Tauric Era—an Age which, in round numbers, lasted from about R. C. 4000 to about B. C. 2000.

Of course, however, *tradition* in *Khem* takes Civilization back *much* farther even than that—in fact, to amazingly remote times—many thousands, not of years, but of *centuries* before B. C. 4000! Even elaborately constructed lists of fabulously long-enduring divine-dynasties for those misty old golden-ages are seriously relied upon and solemnly recorded. Vague and grandiose claims of this kind are found in all countries, ancient or modern—nowhere, perhaps, more strikingly than here in India—and usually, of course, we only greet them with a kindly smile. But it is questionable whether such an attitude would be justifiable in the case of *Khem*. There, Civilization is undoubtedly very very old. Even what still survives of her profoundly scientific Chronological Records—once regularly kept in the Temples, but destroyed by the successive and accumulated savageries of Ethiopians, Assyrians, and Babylonians—is astounding for the majestically long vista of orderly continuity that it displays!

This, at least, we know. The magnificent Sculptural Art of what is called "the Old Kingdom," *i. e.* of the earliest *Romic* Dynasties, reveals *Khem* as having *then* attained a stage

of cultural maturity, if not indeed of decadence from maturity, which compels us to infer that it must have been *led up to*, more or less gradually, by ages of precedent development. And those early Dynasties themselves go back to the 3rd or 4th millennium B. C. !

Then, of course, there is that biggest, grandest, and most widely-spread of *all* Earth's Memories (or, it may be, Dreams)—the Tradition of ATLANTIS, or rather POSEIDONIS, the original centre whence *all* Civilization is said to have radiated.

Sólōn, the celebrated Athenian law-giver, heard it from a Temple-priest at Sāis in the Delta. He communicated it to Plato, and Plato preserved it for us. Khem, it is claimed, was a *colony* of the great Island-State ; and this alone, if true, takes her origins back to something like 12,000 years ago, at the least—for we learn from a document called the *Troano Manuscript*, discovered by an archaeologist named Le Plongeon in what is said to have been originally another Atlantean colony (Yucatan, in Central America), that about B. C. 9000 *Poseidōnis* was completely overwhelmed by a tremendous convulsion of Nature, and suddenly disappeared beneath the waves, with a population of some 60 million souls ! Another thing Le Plongeon tells us is that the *Greek alphabet* (which, in its sequence, is quite different from that of other scripts—say from the order of the very similar *fūthorks* of Early Europe) can be reduced to Māyax roots (Māyax being the language of the Māyax in old Yucatan), and that, when so treated, it turns out to be nothing less than a cryptographic memorial of the essential facts concerning the World's most appalling Tragedy. He also relates a legend, found by him in Yucatan, describing how a Queen named Mū was once upon a time driven from her throne there by usurping brothers, and after a long journey, all overland, reached Khem, where, amongst other doings, she introduced the Sphinx, which, we are told, had formerly been her family crest.

Lastly, Romic Civilization has a wonderful, almost a weird, individuality. This has always characterized it. For countless centuries it has stood forth—a phenomenon, fascinating but strikingly *sui generis*. This, of course, is from the European point of view, which *we* have inherited. But how came Romic Civilization to *be* like this? The explanation lies in Khem's peculiar geographical situation.

ATLANTIS may or may not be a myth. All we *know* is that there *must* have been *some* pre-existing world, physical and sociological, out of which this present world of ours developed in course of ages upon ages of ordinary every-day evolution; and, from that standpoint, ATLANTIS and POSEIDONIS seem to be as good a precedent state of affairs as any other. However—this particular question apart, the region where *we* first begin to glimpse Civilization (a civilization in whose actuality even the Didymuses of "scholarship" can believe without too much loss of dignity) was in the remotely archaic Mediterranean World, as peopled by a short, slight, brunet folk who, so far as we can judge, were its autochthons—representatives in those longitudes and latitudes of one of the 3 main-stocks of Mankind—the *Dark-Whites* of the *Great Central Zone* mentioned some way back.

Of the dim and distant Age during which these Mediterranean Brunets and their type of culture were dominant, we of course know hardly anything, except that it was deeply enough rooted in the past for Religion to develop from originally crude personifications and deifications (masculine and feminine) of the Forces of Nature, through the complexities and eventual refinements, first of *Moon-worship*, and ultimately of *Sun-worship*, in all their various stages, emotional, mental, and spiritual—the final stage being everywhere, throughout the *Zone*, associated with an ultimately dominant Divine-Name which we may conveniently and provisionally call *El*, though in fact it appeared in many local and other guises, some of which are difficult to recognize as mere variants of the original. One of

them, however, was the Romic RĀ—probably at first LĀ; for in Khem, as in many other countries, *r* and *l* were interchangeable. Possibly this incalculably early old Mediterranean Age may be equated with that called by the Romans the Age of *Saturn*, and which they were content to identify with the Age of *Krónos*. In some indefinite way it was perhaps also associated with a culturally superior, if not precedent, Age (or rather *régime*, connected with the Divine-Name *Oouranos*. But whether, again, this had anything to do with ATLANTIS, must be left open.

The next Age, throughout the same Mediterranean area, was that of the *Rosy-Blonds*—a new and superior race, whose origin is unknown to conventional “scholarship”, but who, at some untraceable epoch in the past, established themselves gradually and almost imperceptibly throughout the Mediterranean world, and eventually superposed themselves and their loftier culture upon its older inhabitants. It may conveniently be regarded as identical with the great and dazzling Age associated in classical Mythology with the majestic name of *Zeús*—the god whose infancy was passed in “concealment.” It was distinctively the Age of *Sun-Worship*, but Sun-Worship in its maturer phases. Its ultimately dominant Divine-Name—not only in the Old Mediterranean world, but throughout the *Great Central Zone* to its farthest limits, except perhaps in Khem—was what (again conveniently and provisionally) may be called *Iō*, with, of course, a host of protean local and other variants, masculine and feminine. Nevertheless (again throughout the *Zone*), like early scripts showing through a palimpsest, the older Divine-Names of the preceding Age, in some form or other, and each in its own particular area of development, still continued to remain more or less in evidence—not infrequently with a prefixed or modified and incorporated *Āb*, *Āp*, or *Āpa*, meaning “Father”. “Northern” *Apollo*, somewhere up in Central Europe; *Bel* and *Baal* in Western Asia, are examples. Each is really *Āb-EL*, i. e. “Father EL.”²⁵

Note—²⁵ Sometimes the gods of the old Age are made feminine, and married to the gods of the existing Age. *Hēro*, for instance, was really a form of *EL*.

Now, seated where she was, on the Nile, Khem, though in touch with the Great Outside World to her North, was yet in a manner isolated. Originally and essentially, her civilization was rooted in that of the autochthonous Mediterranean Brunets of the primitive *Saturn Age* (if so we may call it) ; and later on it was considerably modified by cultural and other influences streaming into it from adjacent Rosy-Blond sources throughout the very different and proverbially brilliant and beautiful days of what we are calling the *Zeús Age*. Also, like all other countries around " the Great Green Sea," Khem was territorially an integral part of the *Great Central Zone*, and she not only contributed towards, but was also beneficially or prejudicially affected by, the changes continually in progress throughout that vast region. But, unlike those countries, she *also* held out her hands far Southwards and Eastwards. Thus, in her unique situation, Khem (whether ethnically or culturally) was not really representative of what, to her, was " the North "—*i. e.* not of that Old Mediterranean World to which *Modern Europe* largely traces its cultural descent. Rather was she, throughout the Ages, a very special and local expression, or side-show, of the Mediterranean World for the time being.

To sum up. She was co-eval with both the Ages above referred to ; she witnessed the supersession of the picturesque and joyous old *Saturn-Age* by its more resplendent and progressive successor, the pre-Hellénic *Zeús-Age*, of which *Minōan* and *Aegean Times* seem only to have been a concluding phase or pendant ; she survived even the *Zeús-Age* ; her own self it was who shattered and scattered its exquisitely refined and beautiful but baneful civilization during the Great Sea-Raid period—those stirring and dramatic days of the " Churning of the Ocean " in the 12th century B. C.—and later her eyes beheld that lovely emanation from its swirl and spume, the *Rise of Greece*—Aphroditē emerging from the Foam ; and, as mysterious as powerful and renowned, she stands before us, even then

an impressively ancient product of evolution. As *Khem*, or *Ta Meri*—beloved home-land of the illustrious old *Romiū*—she flourished in freedom to a date no less recent than the 8th century B. C. For two centuries more, however, she was repeatedly devastated, broken up, depopulated, and kept in subjection by ruthless invaders *Kūshites* from the South, *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans* from the North—all not only aggressively imperialistic, but also more or less *Kāssitic* in descent, and therefore essentially barbarous, however highly civilized and however efficient for the time being. And only from about the 6th century B. C. and onwards does she become generally known as *Egypt*.

Since then, her experiences have been many and kaleidoscopic. She has seen the *Persian*, the *Greek*, the *Roman*, the *Arab*, the *Frenchman*, Our *Noble Selves*, the *International Adventurer*, and the *Tourist*—all lording it in her midst. But now, liberty to live her own life is hers.

Here, let us leave her—merely remarking that her present indigences are no longer the *Romiū* of *Khem*. They have long since vanished into the Unknown! The *Egyptians* of to-day are a different crowd altogether—nowise related (even by way of descent) to the original old *Dwellers on the Nile*.

HERBERT BRUCE HANNAH

FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

VII

We have throughout taken for granted the mosquito theory of malaria. But, the principal weapons in our fight with it would be the same on the miasm theory which it superseded; for the problem of the reduction of mosquito is all but identical with that of the reduction of miasm. These weapons are flooding and drainage, and they have both been resorted to from remote antiquity. Empedocles freed Selinos in Sicily from malaria by flooding the marshes surrounding it. A remarkable example of the disappearance of malaria with flooding occurred in Holland in 1748. "The Dutch allowed the land for defensive purposes to become overflowed. Peace being concluded during the middle of the summer, the inundation was caused to subside, whereupon a serious outbreak of malaria occurred. The epidemic was not successfully combated until the land was again submerged and kept so until the advent of winter."¹

On the other hand, Hippocrates says that the depopulation of the city of Abydos was not only stopped by the draining of the adjoining marshes, but it actually became healthy. In the Colony of Demarara, drainage and agriculture has "rendered the deepest and most extensive morass probably in the world, a healthy, fertile and beautiful settlement."

Our Government have adopted both of these methods—flooding and draining—but in the wrong place. Instead of ever seriously coming to grips with malaria by removing the impediment to drainage due to the construction of roads and railways, which was the primary and immediate cause of the outbreak of virulent malaria about 1860, they have from the

¹ Deadrick on "The Study of Malaria," quoted by Dr. Bentley in his "Note upon flooding as a Method of Anti-Malarial Sanitation," p. 2.

very first been floundering in the *bils* and adjoining paddy fields, which as we have seen before (Article II), could not possibly have originated it. In Article IV we have shown how futile as measures of malaria-prevention are likely to be the recent attempts to flood them, and how fraught with danger to health are the embankments of the canals which have been excavated to carry them out.¹ In regard to the opposite method of draining, one of the earliest steps taken by the Government of Bengal was the drainage of a large *bil* in the Hooghly district called Dhankuni Julla on the recommendation of their Engineering expert Mr. Adley. A bill was introduced in the Bengal Council for the purpose in December, 1870, under the title of Drainage and Irrigation Bill. The speech which Raja Digambar Mitra made on the occasion is so full of strong common sense, and his arguments against the drainage of *bils* as an anti-malaria measure are so cogent and apposite, that I make no apology in making copious extracts from it :

“ With due deference to the professional experience of Mr. Adley, on whose report the proposed measure seemed to be entirely based, he must admit that he felt considerable difficulty in subscribing to the opinions of Mr. Adley in that report as to the cause of the epidemic.First, in Mr. Adley’s catalogue of causes was the ‘marshes of jheels and jullas whether of fresh or salt water; the last are most pernicious; where salt and fresh water intermingle, putrefaction is more rapid.’ Now the whole country—he meant Lower Bengal—was full of these bheels or depressions, which were the natural receptacles of the drainage of the surrounding lands. At the lowest estimate he would take a hundred of these bheels to every district.These he sincerely trusted it was not pretended should be drained.But, unfortunately for Mr. Adley’s scheme of drainage, and the removal thereby, of the cause of the epidemic, the adjoining lands happened to be paddy fields, over which water lodged to the depth of two or three feet, and which continued

¹ The Nowi-Sunthi project criticised in my article seems to have now been abandoned after an expenditure of Rs. 3,37,854. All of this expenditure has probably been worse than useless.

in that state for at least four months in the year, and these lands, according to him, were equally productive of miasm.¹ In his list of causes were found 'moist lands and meadows or a water-logged subsoil when dried up under the sun'; again, 'rice grounds, especially in jullahs, where the ears of the crop only are cut off, and the stalks left to rot, in the water—thus adding fuel to the fire.' Now was Mr. Adley prepared to drain these ricelands, which constituted nine-tenths of the culturable lands of Lower Bengal, and deprive the people, if possible, of the only food crop the lands were capable of bearing? But what made Mr. Adley so sure that these bheels and 'ricegrounds' were the causes of the epidemic fever? Was not Calcutta within a mile of an extensive salt water lake, which according to him was still more generative of malaria than a fresh water one, and had it notwithstanding, within the memory of the present generation, ever suffered from a type of fever which was met with only since a few years in some of the most healthy localities of Bengal, and which decimated in the short space of a year and a half the population of a village where it broke out?..... But the idea that the *bheels* which had existed since the formation of the country itself, and the rice-lands which meant the surface of the whole country, were the generating causes of the epidemic, was so preposterous, that he would not detain the Council with further remarks on the head. But while he deprecated in the strongest terms the drainage of bheels and rice-lands, with a view to the removal of the epidemic, he was fully sensible of the absolute necessity of drainage, so far as the villages were concerned. In fact, he had always held, and still held, that fever wherever and whenever it had epidemically broken out in this country, was wholly and solely traceable to impeded drainage, caused in many instances by railway feeders, which of late had sprung up in large numbers, where or the same had crossed the drainage course of a village or villages. The same might be said of railways and other kinds of obstructions, whether they were offered in the passage of the rainwater from a village to the adjoining paddy field or from the paddy field into the bheel, or from the bheel into a navigable stream..... But the proposed measure, while it provided for the drainage of the bheels and paddy-fields, made no provision for the obstruction to the free drainage of the villages."

There were also high officials of Government who exonerated the Dhankuni and other extensive *bils* from

¹ It should be noted that until the close of the last century, malarial fever was generally held to be due to miasm.

active part in the genesis of fulminant malaria. Col. Haig, R.E., reported, "that no connexion has yet been traced between intensity of the fever and proximity to stagnant marshes..... On the contrary, there are numerous facts which are absolutely irreconcilable with such a supposition. Some of the villages on the borders of the Dankuni *jullahs* have been distinguished by comparative immunity from the fever while it has raged in others which are quite free from swamp. The Collector reports that Chanditala and the neighbouring village at the south-west corner of these swamps have generally been considered exceptionally healthy." Mr. Grant, Magistrate of Howrah, observed: "I have only to say that every one who has studied the subject must have been struck with the fact, that the fever constantly (indeed very generally) avoids these horrible swamps." Yet, despite these asseverations, official and non-official, it is a singular fact, that the Government, during the last six decades, has been attacking the *bils* and paddy fields while the demon of Malaria has been committing untold havoc in its strongholds, the ill-drained villages and towns. The fact is singular, but not inexplicable. The explanation has been suggested in my last article—the pro-railway proclivities of the Government. They have been looking askance at the dire depredations of the fiend lest by attempting to check them, they should run counter to the interests of the worshippers of the modern fetishes of commerce and industry. They have been adopting all sorts of anti-malaria measures but *the one* without which all such measures are bound to be ineffective, which was recommended fifty-eight years' ago, and which has been repeatedly urged since then. Their action has all along been like that of sprinkling water at the top of a plant while it is being eaten away at the roots. If sham drainage, Health Department, lectures and exhibitions, drugs, and bulky reports and frothy speeches with well-rounded periods and unctuous phrases, could have driven out malaria, it would have been

extirpated long ago. The attitude of Government is well explained by the candid pronouncement of Lord Curzon before an audience of industrial and commercial notabilities :

"Your business and mine are one and the same. Yours is exploitation, and mine is administration. Both are part and parcel of the same Government."

It should be noted, that our Government is not exceptional in this intimate and insensate alliance with industry and commerce. It dominates all the other Great Powers of the present day.¹ All the more important wars since the close of the last century are attributable to it. It is the modern fatuous craze for industry and commerce that has landed Indians and the rest of mankind in a quandary, and so long as it lasts there does not appear to be any reasonable prospect of abiding amelioration of their condition. And we have been indulging in these lucubrations partly from an impelling sense of duty and partly in the hope that they may be of some use when saner ideas of the progress and welfare of humanity prevail, and that some at least of my cultured countrymen may be prevented from wasting their energy and substance upon futile, make-believe anti-malaria measures.

The delay is, no doubt, very unfortunate. The malaria problem is a part of the wider health-problem. Health is the resultant of an exceedingly intricate, multitudinous and involved complex of forces, physical, psychical, social, and gubernatorial. We have hitherto mainly dealt with only one of the factors of health—drainage. Among the other more important factors, are food, drink, air, and peace of mind. As

¹ According to the *New York Nation* there was a strong "diplomatic smell of oil" at the Geneva Conference. "For a brief moment the clouds lifted at Geneva, and we glimpsed the underlying economic struggle; the talk of 'Germany,' of 'Russia,' of 'France,' of 'England,' and of their political spokesmen faded; instead, the excited correspondents cabled columns about the 'Royal Dutch,' the 'Shell,' the 'Anglo-Persian,' and the 'Standard oil.' The great oil companies assumed the centre of the stage; the politicians appeared plainly as the puppets; for a day or two we were even permitted to read the names of the men who pull the strings."

(Quoted in the *Modern Review* for July, 1922.)

we shall see in our next article, the conditions in regard to all of these have of late been becoming more and more unfavourable. The solution of the problem of malaria is, in consequence, every year becoming more and more difficult.

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

SPRING

Here's nimblefooted spring,
Lightly tripping,
With limbs of radiant hue,
And locks of dew ;
She will not loit'ring stay,
But soon will haste away.

Come let us follow her ;
Whereso ever
The grass is freshly green,
There she hath been ;
'thro' pathways, undisturbed,
Gaily hath she wandered.

We'll trace her footprints green
Of emerald sheen,
And spy her buds and bells
In the sheltered dells ;
We'll watch her nesting birds,
And her pasturing herds.

Come let us follow her ;
Wheresoever
Shine her footprints green,
There she hath been ;
She will not loit'ring stay,
But soon will haste away.

V. B.



Kumar Bahadur and Party on the Site immediately before Excavation.

THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC EXCAVATION IN BENGAL

To the small village of Paharpur near the Jainalganj station on the E. B. Ry. goes the honour of containing the now famous mound which is being excavated under the auspices of the University of Calcutta with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society. This mound and the ruins surrounding it cover an area of more than 81 Bighas and have long since attracted the attention of European travellers. Thus the place was visited and described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton between 1807-11, by Westmacott in 1875 and by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1879-80.

The central portion of the ruins is occupied by the great mound which rises up to a height of about 80 ft. above the level of the country and looks exactly like a *pahār* or hillock from which no doubt the name of the village has been derived. The mound is surrounded by boundary walls which run on four sides of it each being nearly 125 ft. wide. Here have been picked up many bricks of large size reminiscent of the early Pāla Age and also ornamented terracottas. Cunningham took the mound to be a Hindu temple because he thought that one of the terracotta sculptures which he had discovered represented the 'skeleton goddess *Kālī*.' Dr. Buchanan Hamilton and Westmacott however were both of the opinion that it was a Buddhist site. But from the visible condition of the whole ruins it was easy to conclude that the structure whether a Buddhist stupa or a Hindu temple, must have been an exceptionally large one and from the quality of carved and ornamented bricks also a very fine one. One can therefore fully understand how keen Cunningham's disappointment was when he was prevented by the local Zemindar from excavating on the site by what he calls the latter's 'dog in the manger policy.'

There is a widespread belief all over the neighbouring villages that a great treasure is buried in the mound, and it is therefore no wonder that clandestine attempts were made from time to time by various persons to dig out the treasure. An early attempt made in this direction was by a man named Ghanashyam who laid bare a portion near the top as early as 1876. A similar attempt was made sometime later by a Bairāgi who dug a hole in the mound but on a lower level. All these labours necessarily proved abortive. In more recent days the treasure hunters have been replaced by the brick-diggers who are however the worse of the two classes of vandals. These are mostly the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages who carried off cartloads of bricks for domestic use. Out of evil sometimes cometh good ; and in the course of these depredations near the south-west corner of the enclosure, a person named Samir Mondal, a goldsmith of the village of Paharpur, accidentally discovered two broken fragments of an octagonal stone pillar one of which was inscribed. Babu Sreeram Maitra, an officer of the Bolihar *rāj*, brought the fragments to the notice of Mr. A. K. Maitra, C.I.E., Director of the Varendra Research Society, who with his characteristic enthusiasm for archaeology submitted a report to the Government of India which led to the stoppage of all spoliation.

It is a great pity that although the Archaeological Department has been in existence now for more than half a century and although the capital of the Government of India up till very recently has been Calcutta, very little seems to have been done for that province which is of any archaeological importance. Even a complete and exhaustive list of monuments and antiquities has not yet been drawn up, and as to excavation the idea does not seem to have occurred to any archaeologist that Bengal, though it does not contain many structures intact of the pre-Mahomedan period, has yet many ancient sites which with the help of the spade can be made to yield a most interesting history. Fortunately for Bengal there were three disinterested

votaries of archæology. Who has not heard the name of Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., the founder and President of the Varendra Research Society? He was passionately fond of making tours in Varendra with the express object of collecting images and sculptures, the precious relics of the ancient art of Bengal. He was followed up and actively helped by no less a veteran Sanskrit scholar than Mr. A. K. Maitra, Director of that Society and by Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda now of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum. These undertook extensive tours in Varendra and gathered such a large number of old images and sculptures that they were perforce impelled to found a society which is known as the Varendra Research Society. Sir John Marshall who is noted for co-operating with learned societies gave it all the help he could and thus made amends for what the Archæological Department failed to do for Bengal before his time. These three promoters of the Varendra Research Society during the course of their tours visited the Paharpur site some 14 years ago and were struck with the extensive nature of its ruins. They very much desired in the interest of Bengal Archæology that they should be systematically excavated. But there were two difficulties in the way. The first was the monetary difficulty, and the second was in regard to the selection of the archæologist who could be safely entrusted with the work. Mr. Chanda with his wonderful aptitude for hitting upon the right means to an end suggested to Kumar Bahadur that Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar should be made Officer-in-charge of that work as he had scientifically carried out a good many excavations in Western India. The other difficulty was solved, thanks to the characteristic generosity of Kumar Bahadur for archæology and ancient history of India, by his offering an annual sum of Rs. 2,500 for a period of five years. Negotiations were forthwith opened with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of the Calcutta University and Sir John Marshall of the Archæological Department. It is scarcely necessary to add that they were both extremely

sympathetic and the latter even went to the length of not only acquiring the archaeological site of Paharpur but also supplementing Kumar Bahadur's gift by a grant of Rs. 2,000 for this year at least. Bengal is therefore indebted for this excavation as much to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Sir John Marshall as to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray and Mr Ramaprasad Chanda.

I have referred to the inscribed pillar found near the south-west corner of the enclosure. The record was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr A. K. Maitra who translated it as follows :— ' This excellent pillar was caused to be made by Śrī-Daśabalagarbha to please the three Jewels (Dharma, Buddha and Samgha) for the good of all created beings.' This was a distinct clue, and lines of trial trenches were laid at his suggestion from this findspot on both sides of the enclosure, and the excavations were formally opened on the 1st of March early in the morning by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray. Mr A. K. Maitra in asking him to turn the first sod made some learned observations. He said that there was literary and inscriptional evidence to show that preservation and conservation of ancient monuments was recognised to be a duty not of the modern civilized government alone but also of the State in ancient India. The merit acquired by a person in undertaking such an operation was regarded to be of a higher order than that accruing even from the construction of a new edifice. He further pointed out that such activities were not foreign to ancient Bengal, and deplored the want of interest displayed by the Archaeological Department in this direction in modern Bengal. He however appreciated the action of Sir John Marshall in inducing the India Government to make the recent grant for undertaking excavations at Paharpur. Mr. Maitra concluded by thanking Kumar Bahadur for his generous gift and called upon him to turn the first sod. Prof. Bhandarkar in supporting Mr. Maitra's request eulogised the activities of the Kumar as founder and

President, Mr. A. K. Maitra as Director, and Mr R. P. Chanda as late Secretary of the Varendra Research Society, for the valuable services they have rendered to the cause of archaeology in Bengal and Varendra in particular. He further pointed out the special significance of Kumar Bahadur's grant as it is apt to be lost sight of by his countrymen. In the present time when the financial stringency is being so acutely felt not only by the local Governments but also by the Government of India, there was every danger of the Government grants being considerably reduced which had so long been reserved for archaeological excavations. Kumar Bahadur has thus set an example to those generous-minded Zemindars and chiefs who are interested in the ancient history of their country to come forward with similar gifts of money for excavation of ancient sites in order to induce Government to co-operate by similar grants which by themselves would not be enough for carrying them out scientifically. He hoped that Kumar Bahadur's example would be followed by other members of the aristocratic and wealthy classes and concluded by supporting Mr. Maitra's request to the Kumar Bahadur to turn the first sod. The Kumar Bahadur in replying observed that he claimed no praise for having done what he considered to be his duty inasmuch as his ambition was to help the reconstruction of the history of his country by archaeological explorations. He placed his money in the hands of the University because he thought that as a Chair in Ancient Indian History and Culture has now been established it was only fitting that the band of young scholars attached to it should receive practical training in archaeological research and build up the history of their country themselves. The annual grant which he has offered is but a trifle as compared with what is actually required for the systematic excavation of the Paharpur site. He was however glad that he was able to enlist the sympathies of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Sir John Marshall without whose help his slender gift of money could

not have materialised into anything substantial. He thereafter turned the first sod amidst loud applause.

The excavations were, no doubt, formally opened on the 1st of March, but we could not start the actual operations on that date as we were not able to secure any coolies. The people of the adjoining villages were apathetic if not actually hostile. Thanks however to the efforts of Babu Sreeram Maitra of the Bolihar *raja*, we were able to secure some coolies on the 3rd instant, and the day following we could obtain the full number that was required. I have already stated that lines of two trial trenches had been marked running from the spot where the inscribed pillar was found, one inside and the other outside the enclosure. It was a marvel and a pleasure to see that Mr. Maitra in spite of his age and Kumar Bahadur in spite of his aristocratic mode of living toiled and moiled exactly like us supervising and guiding the untrained coolies. On the very first day we lighted upon the outer face of the western rampart of the enclosure. Once it was exposed the course open to us was to trace it as far as possible towards the south-west corner. This was however a most arduous task. For the preserved portion of the wall was no less than 14 ft. in height and extended as far as 76 ft. When the south-west corner was reached our task lay in extricating the south rampart from the debris. As much as 83 ft. of this was cleared. To find out what the original condition of the site was in front of the south rampart we sunk a few trenches which revealed no less than three wallings running parallel to it and at a short interval from one another. The ramparts and these wallings have a most interesting history to tell. In the first place the western rampart clearly tells us what addition was made to it at two different but early periods, how the damaged portion was repaired and how the unequal settlement and the bulging of the wall was counteracted by the erection of a buttress. Perhaps the most interesting feature in connection with this rampart was the keybond that was inserted to hold

the new repair patch fast to the old masonry. This was indeed an ingenious contrivance which could ordinarily have been thought as possible only in the modern age of scientific advance but which is clearly to be seen on this old rampart existing long before the Mahomedan invasion. The idea of buttressing again is supposed to have been introduced in India after the Mahomedan conquest. But that notion also stands exploded in the light of the buttress that we clearly see here put up. As regards the south rampart the most curious and also the most puzzling feature lay in the erection of three walls parallel to it. The full significance of these wallings is not yet clear and may be revealed to us next year when we extend our excavations not only eastward but southward. These wallings look like protective works but whether they were intended to serve as protection against the floods or against enemy attacks or both it is just now impossible to determine. One feature however which is common to both these ramparts is the texture of the bricks. When their lower courses were laid bare water oozed out of the soil and we could not carry the excavations further downwards. There can be no doubt that for centuries the bricks of these courses were in contact with water and moist soil and yet not a single "salt-eaten" brick our vigilant eye could detect. Local enquiries however told us that modern house bricks of the surrounding sub-division were by no means free from the action of salt. Is it not therefore clear from this that the people of ancient Bengal knew how to manufacture bricks which were saltproof. We cannot however at the present stage lay great stress upon the point but must wait for a year or so to see how the exposed bricks fare.

Inside the enclosure also the site yielded to the spade in revealing two floors, each of which contained a regular and intricate network of wallings of different levels and therefore of different periods. On the lower story we lighted upon two smaller *stupas* which confirmed the inscription that it

was a Buddhist site where we were working. One interesting excavation is that of a ring well with masonry enclosure of a very early period. Not far from it was found a large quantity of broken pottery showing that a fairly big chamber with the few remnants of a staircase touching it that has been laid bare close by must have served as the dining hall.

As regards the upper floor it seems to have been divided into three compartments, a front veranda, a back line of cells and a passage in between. Two of these cells were certainly shrines. To what purpose the other cells were devoted is not yet clear. Probably they served as residences of monks. The floor of both the passage and the cells consisted of hard rammed-down concrete but in the case of the former the concrete floor seems to have been decorated with large brick tiles well laid down. Here too layers of different periods were unearthed but as the season was fast advancing we could not do it satisfactorily and have therefore reserved it for the next year.

Our excavations were by no means fruitless in respect of minor antiquities also. A few terracottas of dancing and other figures and a fairly large number of fragments of string courses of arabesque and other designs have been picked up and are extremely interesting. Not many specimens, it is true, have been recovered of old pottery which are whole and entire; nevertheless the many fragments that have been collected are of so many different and in some cases artistic patterns that they are sure to throw light on the art of pottery in pre-Mahomedan Bengal.

It is impossible to conclude this short account of the Paharpur excavations without expressing our deep sense of obligation to Mr. A. K. Maitra for the fatherly care and love he bestowed not only upon us but also on the antiquities exhumed and for the knowledge and scholarship he placed at our disposal to enable us to tackle some of the intricate problems. It is also impossible to express our profound sense

of gratitude and admiration for Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray who although he was the patron of the excavation was a worker amongst workers and therefore a comrade to us all. People need not be surprised if we long for the day when we resume excavations next year in co-operation with these gentlemen who are the heart and soul of the V. R. Society.

HEM CHANDRA RAY

THE LOTUS CUP

The contented murmur of tall palm-trees,
Bending awhile in the lazy breeze ;
The clicking of graceful bamboo boughs ;
The line of the jungle in distant frieze ;
The brilliant beauty of tropical bloom
Splashing with colour the growing gloom ;
The restless beat of the big hand-drum.
Breaking the silence with rhythmic thrum ;
The star-strewn darkness of velvet night ;
The white moon flaming in magical light ;
The haunted silence of jungle and brush ;
The glamour that brands with inscrutable blight ;
The hot sun burning a white-hot sky ;
The ragged black line of the crows flying high ;
The poison-sweet somnolent breath of the East,
All capture and hold us in thrall till we die.
For he who dwells too long in the East,
Or takes but a sip at the lotus feast ;
Can never go back to the old home brew,
Or walk the old paths, be he Pagan or Priest.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

REPORT OF THE FISCAL COMMISSION

The Fiscal Commission's report is out and an unanimous fiat has gone forth for Protectionism as the true policy for India. Here the Imperialists, and the Capitalists as well as the Indian Economists have got a convenient ground to meet in agreement and have recommended that the Government of India to adopt a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination so as to make the inevitable burden on the community as light as is consistent with the due development of Industries in India.

For some years past the Indian opinion has been overwhelmingly Protectionist and this recommendation of the Commission is more likely to be popular than otherwise among the people who seem to know, and it would be overbold to hold free trade opinion for India in the face of the finding of the experts; yet apprehension of economic loss to the consumers and permanent injury to the industrial progress of the country may not be altogether a baseless alarm. Those who are well-versed in the Industrial History of India of the last two decades beginning from the self-imposed protective duty by the Indians at the initiation of the Boycott movement of 1905 and the recent Charka Movement of Mahatma Gandhi may well be apprehensive of the taking of ruthless monopolistic advantages by the Capitalist class over the dumb and ignorant millions of the Indian consumers.

Free Trade *vs.* Protection is a long-standing dispute in Economics, and it may be gathered from the discussions about it that Free-trade increases the utility of the World-wealth though protection may be necessary in the interest of nationality even at a sacrifice of cosmopolitan prosperity. Thus it may be said that from the purely Economic point of view Free Trade should undoubtedly have the judgment in its

favour, but as in the present age the civilised world is much more guided by the principle of nationality than of humanity, protection is at premium with most of the countries and even England which has been a strong advocate of Free Trade for a long time as against the principle of protection of Germany, America and many other countries, is now yearning towards protection.

But even from the point of view of nationality protection is never an unalloyed good and its adoption may lead to more harm than good and thus it is necessary to discuss the grounds of adopting protectionism under the particular circumstances of a country. Generally the argument in favour of protection are based on—(a) Self-Sufficiency, (b) Diversity of Industry, (c) Advantageous Industry, (d) Favourable balance of trade and exchange and (e) Realisation of a part of the national revenue from producers and sellers of foreign monopolistic goods. The first is almost fully political in significance as it intends to make the country independent of foreigners, particularly in case of war, and the newest phase of self-sufficiency is the policy of preserving key-industries and other industries of national safety; the last is fiscal and it allures the people with the fond hope of shifting a part of the national burdens on the shoulders of the foreigners which feat is impossible to accomplish except in the case of monopoly products of foreign countries or goods with monopolistic advantages in trade; the rest are purely economic argument and, if they are weighed in balance with the advantages of Free Trade, may be found wanting; and the truth of the dictum of Prof. Nicholson that “Free Trade like honesty still remains the best policy” and “that these exceptions are simply part of the casuistry of Economics; they are like discussions by moral philosophers of the justification of occasional mendacity” remains uncontroverted.

Starting from the above general arguments in favour of protection which at best prove that protection may secure national interest at the sacrifice of human interest we may

proceed to consider the advantages of the application of the policy in the particular case of India. In this respect the Commission has endorsed in its preliminary conclusion the popular view that the industrial development of India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population, and its natural resources, and that a considerable development of Indian Industries would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole." The conclusion is based upon the consideration of certain economic features of India which may be indicated as follows:—The country is still in the Agricultural stage as much as about three-fourth of the Indian people still depend for their livelihood directly or indirectly upon agriculture and in certain part of India the agricultural labour is in excess; while about 50% of India's Exports consist of raw materials like cotton, jutes, oil seeds, hides and skins, her import statistics contain about 80% manufactured goods. The Commission is of opinion that industrial development in India on the line indicated by countries great natural resources.

"(i) Will beyond all doubt increase the production of wealth and enrich the country generally.

(ii) Will also help to redress that excessive dependence on agriculture which makes Indian Economics, unstable in character.

(iii) Further it may lead to—(a) Development of Capital resources, by opening out of lucrative avenues for the employment of the hoarded stock, (b) more advantageous employment of labour by employing some of those labourers who have at present no other employment than in agriculture" though they are in excess in needs there.

(iv) The industrial development may have salutary effect (a) on agricultural conditions by solving the problem of agricultural poverty and providing a remedy for the periodical scourge of famine, (b) on the public revenue by providing additional taxable funds due to the increased national wealth,

and (c) on the national character by sharpening the intellect of the people.

A Free Trader may be excused if he fails to endorse fully the opinion of the Commission in every item mentioned above. Industrial development by utilising the hitherto unemployed labour and capital and other material and immaterial resources of the country, will surely enrich the country, but it will not do so if labour and capital and the other resources already in employment are merely shifted from their old venues to new ones. Such shifting may do some harm even as we see when discussing the effects of artificially stimulating industry through protection. It is incontrovertible that excessive dependence on Agriculture has resulted in the evil of making Indian Economics unstable, but its cure is being accomplished through a gradual and natural industrial development without any costly stimulus. The story of the hoarded wealth of India is a matter of doubt though the proverbial shyness of the Indian Capital is beyond controversy: but this shyness is due to industrial backwardness which in its turn is much more traced to want of reliable entrepreneurs than to any other cause. If labour be in reality in excess of agricultural needs of certain parts of the country, its shifting to any other industry or any other tract will be economical to the country and beneficial to labour itself, but here the Commission meets with a paradox that though the Indian captains of industrie complain of want of enough supply of labour towards their enterprises it is a fact that a large amount of Indian labour annually flows out, and here an additional fact may be adduced that large cultivable tracts are yet uncultivated for want of labour and the Bengal agriculture is much handicapped for its dearth. Increase of nominal wages has been surely an accompaniment to industrial development in India but it is doubtful how far real wages have increased in proportion to the increase of nominal wages. It is mere truism to say that the public revenue fund will increase with the wealth

through the growth of industry or in any other way, but many will not admit that the Indian agricultural labour is less intellectually alive than the industrial labour here or in any other country. On the other hand they are admitted to be physically and morally healthier than and superior to, their compeers in the industrial fields inside and perhaps outside India. However on the above consideration and also in view of a strong leaning towards protection of the Indians and the witnesses who evince "a dis-inclination even to consider whether the individual would or would not be injured," the Commission has recommended in the best interest of India the adoption of a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination along the line indicated in this report." It has been noted that this strong public sentiment is due to the past economic history of India which seems to show to the patriotic Indians that the old fame and relative importance of India's manufactures have diminished and the Indian people have been impoverished.

After recommending the general policy for protection the Commission adds that discrimination is necessary on the occasion of practical translation of the policy into action in the interest of the country as well as of the consumers, and that an industry claiming protection must show (a) that "it possesses natural advantages; (b) that without the help of protection it is not likely to develop at all, or not so rapidly as desirable, and (c) that it will eventually be able to face world competition without protection."

Mill's Infant Industry argument and the above generalisation are classical in Economics. So without stopping for considering them one may proceed at once to consider the effects of their application to Indian problems. The Industrial Commission traced the backwardness of the Indian industry to the natural conservatism of the people, the inefficiency of labour, the absence of industrial and technical education, the shyness of capital—and the want of proper

organisation ; and the same Commission proposed, for curing the above defects in the field of industries in India, improved education, extended banking facilities, and freely offered technical assistance. But the present commission seems to think that in addition to the above, the policy of protection is necessary as "crutches to teach the new Manufactures to walk," for creating confidence of capital the shyness of which is a great desideratum in the industrial development of India. But as it has already been noted at, the shyness of Indian capital is due to the failure of a number of undertakings, particularly of many of those under Indian management, and thus want of good entrepreneurs and proper organisation may be regarded as the real evil. Protection may temporarily help industries under bad management to live for a time at an enormous and unjustifiable cost to the consumers but it cannot permanently prop up a defective organisation which is always a losing concern to the community. So failure of industries, suffering from bad management and causing shyness of capital cannot in the long run be prevented by protective measures, neither it is desirable for the community to make such an attempt. Moreover the industrial statistics of India shows that the shyness of the Indian capital is gradually giving way before the new awakening of the spirit of industrialism and appearance of a few trustworthy leaders of Industry. Bengal for some social and economical reasons, has been specially backward in the field of industry, but even here capital in big scale is forthcoming to support a number of big joint stock undertakings associated with the magic name of Sir P. C. Roy. Is the doubtful and costly protection absolutely necessary for overcoming the shyness ? May it not do more harm than good to the cause it is advocating, by prolonging the life of undertakings under bad management, which will inevitably die in the long run and helping which to live, means premium over inefficient management ?

From the Import and Export statistics of India it is found that 70 to 80 per cent. of the Indian imports is manufactured goods while 40 to 50 per cent. of Indian Exports is raw material for production. But of Imported manufactures the largest item is cotton goods (30 per cent.), and then come in order steel (8 per cent.), machinery (6 per cent.), railway plant and hardware. Which of these requires protection in accordance with the proposed tests, of possessing natural advantages, of depending for development absolutely upon the new policy and of the possibility of facing the world competition in future ?

The cotton industry cannot be said to be in infancy and it has flourished naturally. In 1878 there were 58 mills while in 1919 there were 27 mills. Truly there have been periods of depression from which no industry is altogether free and periods of boom, thanks to the self-imposed bounty payment by the Indian consumers whose nationalistic sentiment has been ruthlessly exploited by the millowners who have made a profit of 100 per cent. or more on certain occasions. But apart from these occasional happenings the steady encouragement awarded to the mill-owners by the natural conditions of the Indian Cotton Industry is beyond all doubt as proved by their eagerness to launch new undertakings in the direction. Their investments have surely been profitable inspite of the existence of the counter-vailing excise duty curtailing their natural freedom to favour their Manchester competitors in the past. Is it then necessary to protect the cotton industry at the cost of the consumers, to give more to those who have and who have shown their greed of exploiting the needy, by their past behaviour ?

Another important industry in India is the Jute industry which possesses special natural advantages—jute being a monopoly product of the land and as such the industry is flourishing well without any artificial help of protection. The other industries, like Iron and Steel, Oil Pressing, Coal mining,

Wool and Silk, are progressing hopefully without protection and hardly any strong case may be made in favour of the system on the plea of rapid development if the disadvantages of the inevitable burden on the community may be duly considered.

Protection cannot be effective unless it raises the price level internally to a considerable extent. Revenue duties on Foreign goods raise the prices also but only up to the limit of export point, that is, the country trying to secure revenue from foreigners must limit its demand at the point when it ceases to be profitable to the foreign merchants to export their goods to the revenue-imposing country. Thus it is the interest of the revenue-seeking state to be moderate in its imposition. But protection is a preventive measure and seeks to create a monopolistic operation in the industrial field in favour of the home firms altogether barring the entrance of the foreign competitors or by allowing them to enter at a disadvantage, and this is done with ease by the imposition of a high duty. The home manufacturer get advantages at the cost of the home consumers who are to purchase the produces of the protected industries at high prices. The imposition of such a burden may be wise and economically sound from the nationalistic points of view only, under certain circumstances. But it may be doubted whether the circumstances of India are not such as to make the imposition resulting in high prices altogether unjust and economically unsound and harmful. It is surely unjust in those cases in which the industries are hopefully progressing because of their natural advantages in the country without the artificial stimulus of protection, and most of the possible industries are doing so; it would be unjust if the burden falls on a particular class and most of the benefits accrue to another; and it would be doubly unjust if the starving Indian masses are to pay more for their bare necessities to benefit the rich bourgeoisie producers who in the name of the development of the national industry would

secure the advantages of artificial monopoly. Without protection and inspite of the powerful and perhaps favoured competition of Manchester the Indian cloth industry has on occasion, taking advantages of the patriotic sentiments of their customers, have sweated them mercilessly. What will not these cloth princes do when free from the Manchester competition and secure in their artificially created monopoly by protection ?

The present loss is admitted but hopes have been held out that the loss may be temporary and in the end the consumers may " obtain the goods as cheap as if he were free to import " or even more. If he obtains the goods equally cheap after a period of compulsory loss he is on the whole a loser. Thus he loses immediately for the gain of the capitalist producer which is unjust to him, and ultimately for the sake of the country which is a patriotic hardship. But how will the country fare if the necks of the starving millions are broken by the addition of the burden of protection which though may be labelled temporary, must continue for a generation at least, in order to be effective in its mission. Again the histories of the Protectionist countries like Germany and America show that once Protection is introduced the bait of the gradual diminution of the burden may remain only in paper. It is rather difficult to follow the opinion of the learned Commission when it says that the agriculturists and the middle classes will be adversely affected by Protection, yet it will do good to the country, though it is easy to understand how " the necessity of a high customs revenue is inevitably leading India towards Protection."

The disadvantages of Protection have been enumerated on the heads, namely (a) Danger of Political corruption, (b) Monopolistic combination and (c) Inefficient methods of production ; and the safeguard proposed against these contingencies has been the principle of discrimination, for (i) restricting the rise of prices, (ii) curtailing the period of burden, (iii) serving the best interests of industries and

(iv) minimising the effect on the balance of trade. But the outlines of the scheme of protection hardly points out to satisfactory practical arrangements for carrying out these pious intentions. Also it is striking that while in the case of export duties for Protection or revenue a number of articles such as jute, cotton, tea, rice, wheat, hide and skin, have been specially examined, no such specific treatment has been accorded to protective duties on imports except in the basic industries which have generally been regarded unsuitable to protecting import duties. In the absence of discussion on particular industries to be protected by import duties it is difficult to think out a specific case for protection, specially in view of the strong expressed opinion of the Commission that there should be no leap in the dark and no speculative protection should be granted to an altogether untried new industry. It has been already seen that of the chief Indian industries, *jute* requires no protection and cotton manufacture is flourishing hopefully inspite of keen foreign competition without the artificial nursing of protection, and iron manufactories in gigantic scales have been established by private companies, of course, with the expectation of reasonable profit inspite of the world competition. It may be pertinent to ask again which of the important Indian industries require protection and have established their claims in accordance with the tests of the Commission ?

The Commission has justly pointed out to the cost of protection as an item in discussing the suitability of the system to the Indian condition. It will surely impose the burden of increased prices upon the people : generally the poorer classes will suffer ; the agricultural classes will be adversely affected ; and the middle classes, that is, the professional clerical and petty trading classes, will be the worst sufferers. Thus it comes to this, that those who are in most indigent circumstances and are in the danger of extinction for want of absolute necessities, will be hastened to their doom by the protective

tariff which has the pious intention of making the people prosperous by developing the industries of the country. It may be the policy of killing the goose for the golden eggs, but is it a sound policy? Is it just to tax the majority (the consumers) for the benefit of the minority (the producer) when the majority can hardly pay more while the minority are already well off? It seems that the Commission has not properly balanced the gain and loss to the nation though it has spoken vaguely of both. It has been said that protection has more political than economic basis and its main support is the nationalistic argument. It has been regarded as a great weapon in contest with foreign nationalities and is useful in undermining their economic strength negatively and positively, by limiting their market and one's making country self-sufficient. From this point of view Protection may hardly be regarded as beneficial to India. India has no separate political existence and the major part of its commercial transactions is with the British Empire, and so Indian Protection cannot be thought of from merely the Indian nationalistic points of view and to take the most encouraging expectation it would be a fair sharer in the benefits that may accrue to the empire from the imperial preference, and one may be excused in taking the pessimistic view apprehending that India as a weak partner in the empire may be utilised for the benefit of the more advanced and stronger imperial constituents. Even the Government of India in 1903 stated that "After reviewing the position of India, the nature of her trade and tariff, and her commercial relations with the empire and other countries their general conclusion was that from an economic standpoint India had something, but not perhaps very much, to offer to the empire, that she had very little to gain in return, and that she had a great deal to lose or risk."

It is very likely that the imperial preference instead of making India self-sufficient and industrially prosperous, may

retard her industrial progress by making her development one-sided and unprofitable to herself. In fact she may not be in a position to protect where protection may be necessary in her own interest and may be expected to sacrifice her particular interest in that of the empire. She may have to give up cheap foreign goods and to accept dear imperial goods; her infant industries or possible new industries may have to bear the brunt of competitions of well established industries in Manchester, Birmingham, Australia or Java, and she may be delegated to the disadvantageous position of producing raw materials for the industries of the empire and bearing the loss consequent on the limitation of the market for such productions.

It is difficult to conceive that a strong case for protection has been made out by the Commission, but if protection has been found at all necessary for India the proper method is not import duties which will raise the prices of the necessities of the poor consumers, nor export duties which will adversely affect the interests of more than 75 per cent. of the Indian people who are producers of raw materials as agriculturists, but the system of bounties to industries establishing their claims to protection. There would be a great deal of difference in the effects of bounties than in those of customs duties. The bounty system will not increase the price of home production it will not cause inequitable taxation on the poor in favour of the capitalists; it will be paid from the general revenue fund of the country which is raised from the poor and the rich alike and when properly distributed, of which the rich bear proportionately greater burden than the poor; the adjustment of aid to the necessity of a particular industry will be more accurate; and finally the poor will not be alone in fighting out protection which has been admittedly regarded as a temporary measure, when there should no longer be any need for it. In the case of protective duties the capitalists may easily make a common cause to exert political influence to continue the privilege, but in the case of bounty the interests

of the really able *entrepreneurs* may not be the same as of his unworthy compatriots. The former is likely to exert for capturing the market in fair competition and taking advantage of the Law of Increasing Return, while the latter may resort to artifices to survive under the shade of the system. It is easy to understand that the elimination of the latter which will raise the marginal efficiency in production will be to the public interest.

From the above discussion it may seem that from the cosmopolitan point of view protection is not moral, and from the Indian nationalistic point of view it is unjust to the consumers, futile, impolitic and unnecessary for the country and possibly injurious to the industrial development ; and even if protection may be found suitable for any particular industry as an exception, the method should be not customs duties but bounty payments.

AKSHAYKUMAR SARKAR

NURJAHAN¹

SYNOPSIS

Nurjahan was one of the wives of Jahangir, Emperor of India and of the Moghul Dynasty. She was a woman of unusual mental attainments and beauty and of great force of character. She really ruled the land, in which she was aided by her father and her brother.

Regarding her birth various stories are told, but all agree that she was born in the desert, and that her great future was foretold soon after her birth. The one here chosen is as follows :—Her father, a Persian nobleman, was obliged to flee from his political enemies. His wife accompanied him and they undertook the journey to India. In the desert they lost their way.

It was about this time that this child of destiny was born. The father would have abandoned his child, but the mother's entreaties induced him to return for it. He was just in time to save her from the jaws of a huge serpent, which he killed. A party of merchants came their way. The leader had for several nights been troubled by bad dreams, in which he was fighting a huge serpent, which he could not subdue. On arriving at the place where the stranded travellers were, he recognised it as the scene of his nocturnal struggle, and seeing the serpent slain, his gratitude to the slayer knew no bounds. In the merchant's party was an astrologer, who predicted the future of the desert-born infant.

The parents arrived safely in Lahore. The father obtained a post of some importance and rose to eminence. The child was named Mehr-un-nisa. At the age of 16 she was betrothed to one Sher Afghan. Shortly after this betrothal Salim met her one evening in her garden. He then conceived for her that love which was to last throughout his life. Mehr-un-nisa's marriage with Sher Afghan was celebrated soon after and she went with her husband to his estate in Burdwan.

After Akbar's death Salim ascended the throne as Jahangir. Shortly after this event Sher Afghan was slain in an affray with a royal officer and his party. It is generally accepted that Sher Afghan's death was caused by Jahangir's orders, but there is no proof of it.

Mehr-un-nisa, now widowed, was asked to come to the royal palace at Agra. She went and Jahangir renewed his suit, which she refused. She

¹ A dramatic poem in seven Acts by A. Christina Albers.

was then interned at the palace in Agra. Here she lived 2 or 3 years. She made many friends and they called her Nur-Mahal, Light of the Palace. Both Jodh Bai, the Emperor's mother, and Rehba, the Emperor's wife and the mother of Kusru, the heir-apparent, urged her to marry the Emperor. She finally did so. She then received the title of Nur-Jahan, Light of the World.

Kusru rebelled against his father. He was subdued, his followers put to death and he imprisoned. While in prison he was secretly murdered by a plot in which Nur-Jahan is said to have had a hand. His death broke his mother's heart.

Nur-Jahan survived her royal husband nearly 20 years. She spent her time in charity and religious devotion. She lived in a small house near his mausoleum and daily carried a lamp to his shrine which burned through the 24 hours. She herself spent many hours of the day and night in prayer at his tomb.

Personæ Dramatis.

Prince Salim—who later becomes

Jahangir—Emperor of India.

A fugitive from Persia.

His wife.

Their daughter—who is first known as

Mehr-un-Nisa—next as

Nur-Mahal—later as

Nur-Jahan—Empress of India.

Jodh Bai—Jahangir's mother.

Rehba—Jahangir's first queen.

Merchants.

Astrologer.

Spirits of Paradise.

Spirits of the Desert.

Ministers, Attendants, etc.

ACT I

THE FUGITIVES IN THE DESERT

(APPEAR THE THREE SPIRITS OF PARADISE)

1st Spirit of Paradise—

In throbbing rhythm heaves the ocean
The desert stretches brooding still,
But all—in silence or in motion—
Allah, obeys Thy mighty will.
Thy hand moves, and the lowering mountains
Rise upward from the ocean deep
One drop from Thy eternal fountains,—
And rocks and deserts rouse from sleep.

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

The earth lives by unending changes ;
Where desert is, once water rolled
But He, who all things well arranges,
Keeps all things wisely, well controlled.
He guides the worlds, sans rest revolving,
Throughout their countless million years,
The while life-waves slowly evolving,—
Until the crown, till man appears.

3rd Spirit of Paradise—

And man moves on in dire confusion
As on his road he stumbling goes,
Within that network of illusion
Of what he calls life's joys and woes,
Until through long and sore probation
He rises upward from the sod
Lifts the dark curtain from creation
And makes himself one with his God.

The Three—

And we the cycle's first-born brothers,
 Guided by the Eternal Grace,
 We stay, that we may guide the others,
 The younger children of the race.

(Enter a troop of the Dark Spirits of the Desert.)

1st Spirit of the Desert—

There then, I call those mortals fools,
 Well, I would hold my sides with laughter.
 I turn them round like very tools,
 Yet, where I go, they follow after.

2nd Spirit of the Desert—

Are they as blind as bats, I say ?
 If I can see the caravan passes
 Left on the sands, why then not they ?
 They move about like braying asses.

3rd Spirit of the Desert—

See, there they come, Pooh ! hear them cry,
 ' I can't get further, all is over.'
 Well then, be quick, lie down and die.
 Didst think the desert sands were clover ?

(Enter the fugitive from Persia with his wife ; she carries the infant, he supports her. The Spirits of the Desert jump about mocking them, etc.)

Wife-

My brain is throbbing and my sad heart breaking.
 Oh that we had stayed in our native land.
 'Lone in the desert, with limbs sore and aching
 Blinded my eyes by the hot desert sand !

Husband—

Our foes were many and mighty in pow'r
Thus o'er the desert in haste we must flee.
Let hope sustain us in this darkest hour,
Come, rest thee here a while and trust in me.

Wife—

Let me depart, but shelter thou the child,
Oh, Allah, hear a dying mother's sigh
Protect the desert-born, let her not die,
My helpless infant, in this lonely wild.

*(She falls back exhausted. First Spirit of Paradise holds
his hand over her.)*

1st Spirit of Paradise—

Strength to the dying,
Hope the sighing!
Stilled be thy sobbing,
Thy brain's mad throbbing.
Heart that was breaking
Limbs sore and aching,
Find rest again.
Anguish and pain
Flee and depart
From this sore heart!

(The wife raises her head, but falls back again.)

Husband—

We could yet go the journey on
But for the child,—

1st Spirit of Desert (going closely up to him)—

That's quickly done,
I'd manage soon that creature wee,
Why, hang the bundle on a tree.

(Husband looks about wistfully, takes the child and places it under a tree ; a great serpent lies there coiled up. Second Spirit of Paradise holds his hand over the child.)

2nd Spirit of Desert—

Ha, eas'ly are those mortals foiled,—
Did he not see the serpent coiled ?

1st Spirit of Desert—

My friend the serpent ?—aye, so be it.
I touched his eyes, he could not see it.

Wife (feeling about and rising, then falling back again)—

Where is my child ? Oh Allah, hear my groan.
Save but the child and let me die alone.

3rd Spirit of Desert (going close up to the husband)—

Fie, leave the rat where she is lying,
It is better one than three were dying
Why whimper o'er that whining elf,
A man's first thought is with himself.

Husband (to wife)—

Think of thyself ; come thou art stronger.
All my attention is thy need.
If we delay but one day longer
It may be too late. Come we proceed.

Wife—

Without my child ? No, never, never,
Where is my child ? Oh God above !

No seas, no desert storms can sever
The heartstrings of a mother's love.

(The serpent moves.)

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

Sleep thou, sweet child
In jungle wild.
No danger harm thee,
No fright alarm thee,
Spirit of Love
Below, above
Shelter and hide thee.
No harm betide thee.

(The father suddenly starts, goes towards the tree, kills the serpent after a severe struggle, takes up the child and places it into the mother's arms, then sits down beside her.)

3rd Spirit of Paradise—

In looking o'er the wastes, it seems
I see the pilgrims in the West,
Whom we o'ershadowed in their dreams
That they might follow our behest.

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

Yes, they are coming slowly near
Allayed our worries and our fear.

(Enter a troop of merchants in Persian dress, and one man in astrologer's attire. They sit down tired, some taking off their shawls, etc., while the leader looks about in evident amazement.)

1st Spirit of Desert—

Ho, fellows, come on for a ramble,
And leave these folk to their preamble,
Their talk's too dull for clever ears.

(Pointing to the fugitives)

We're sure of these, there have no fears.

2nd Spirit of Desert—

Yes, I'm myself tired of the rabble.

3rd Spirit of Desert—

Stop now, be always charitable,
Why chaps, I am not half so mean as
You are. When I have had enough
I leave a little in the trough.
I say, leave some for the hyænas.

(All laugh and run out.)

1st Merchant—

Well, of all wonders, here's the place,
The very rocks, the open space,
And over yonder that bent tree
That three nights in my dreams I saw !
Great Allah, how can all this be ?
It strikes the trembling heart with awe,
And her the very serpent too
Whose fangs deep in my flesh were buried,
Vision of fright, how it has worried.
Ah, aged mother, was it you
Who saved your absent son by prayer ?
But now, where is the serpent-slayer,
Who thus the evil forces thwarted ?
He shall indeed be well rewarded.

2nd Merchant—

Behold those wand'ers, all alone
Deserted sitting on a stone.

(They go towards the fugitives.)

1st Merchant—

Strangers, in the lost wilds, we greet you,
And are most heart'ly glad to meet you.
But may we question of your name
And how to this lone place you came ?

Husband—

We welcome strangers, you indeed.
We are strayed travellers in great need,—
From Persia, going to Lahore.
But seems our journey is all o'er.

(Pointing to his wife)—

Behold her all exhausted lying.
Ere the sun sets, she may be dying.
Our way lost and our horses dead,
Consumed our water and our bread,—
Thus are we left forsaken here,
No village, not a dwelling near.
And then, to add unto our sorrow
Here in the desert, yester morn,
To us an infant child was born.
I fear we shall not see the morrow.

1st Merchant- -

That is indeed a mournful plight.
But tell me, stranger, was it you
Who this dread poison-reptile slew ?
It must have been a heavy fight.

Husband—

Yes, I did slay it in great fear.
It came my slumb'ring infant near.

1st Merchant—

Know then, that thou my life has saved.
Three nights I felt that brute surround me,
Till in its very coils it wound me.
To rescue me no man had braved.
It thrust its fangs into my flesh
Till in my night mare I would waken,
And sleep no longer could refresh
My fevered nerves, so sore and shaken.
Almost convulsed by gnawing fright
I trembled at the thought of night
And feared to see the break of day.
Certain ere this, but, friend, for thee
The monster had o'erpowered me,
My bones were the hyenas' prey
And may great Allah e'er preserve thee
And now permit me, friend, to serve thee
I am thy servant, by God's grace.
See those two horses,—those I place
At thy command. They're well supplied
With all that's needful and well-tried.
So are the men who are to guide thee
And may no further harm betide thee.
Trust Allah and thy guiding star,
And when thou reach thy journey's end
As Allah grant, then may thou send
My horsemen back to Khandahar.

Astrologer—

This is a strange co-incidence,
I pray thee, stranger, go not hence
Without at least one word from me.
Strange is indeed the Fates' decree.
Thy daughter, born in desert wild
May be the stars' most chosen child,

For know thou that I have the key
The future's secret shrine to ope.
Permit I cast her horoscope.

Husband (smiling)—

Thou mayest if it pleasest thee.
But how much is there to be told ?
The maiden 's now scarce two days old
And there is doubt that she 'll count three.

Astrologer—

She may count many ; let us see.

(He draws squares and triangles on the rock with chalk, then suddenly rises and looks about with the expression of the greatest wonder. There is general laughter.)

2nd Merchant—

Forsooth, what may the wonder be ?

1st Merchant—

Now, Pandit, tell, what hast thou seen ?

Astrologer (amazed and enthusiastic)—

The wonder quite o'erpowers me.
This maiden, born in misery
Will one day be a mighty Queen
Her life in desert wastes begun
Will lead to glory and to fame.
She is the daughter of the Sun,
Light of the World ! O mighty name,
Throne, kingdom are awaiting her.
The constellations never err !

Husband (laughing)—

Thanks thousands to the constellation.
We'd gladly save us from starvation,
And happ'ly wonder on our road,
If we but live, without the load
Of extra crowns and thrones to carry,
Nor is it well too long to tarry.

Astrologer (enthusiastic)—

I wish thee Godspeed on thy way
But think of me on that proud day
When the now scorned and starving maid
As Queen and Empress stands arrayed.
When but the movement of her hand
Will shape the fortunes of the land,—
The daughter of a Persian clan
The mighty Queen of Hindustan !

Husband (laughing)—

I thank thee, friend. Buoyed up by hope
And saved from famine, we may cope
With what of our march is remaining
But fear I, we are long detaining
Our friends here.

(to Merchant)

As to thee, my friend
I can but pray that Allah send
His choicest blessings unto thee
Long life, wealth, happiness, these may be .
Gifts granted thee unto the end.

1st Merchant—

And may thy journey well proceed
My men are true, my horses strong,

May not the road seem all too long,
And Heav'n save thee all further need.

(They put their right hands to their foreheads in greeting and depart in different directions.)

ACT II

Sixteen years later Prince Salim meets Mehr-un-nisa in her garden. Scene.—A moonlit garden. Enter a troop of Minstrels. They sing.

Song.—

Pining sings the Nightingale
In the Princess' garden.
Hangs the moon so soft and pale
Where the breeze-kissed cloudlets sail,
In the Princess' garden.
Oh the pining Nightingale
In the Princess' garden.

Lifts her head the moonlit Rose
In the Princess' garden.
Where the crystal fountain flows
Soft her crimson leaves unclose
In the Princess' garden.
Oh the trembling moonlit Rose,
In the Princess' garden.

Ah, 'tis but the old, old tale
In the Princess' garden,—
Moon and Rose and Nightingale
While the white clouds draw the veil
O'er the Princess' garden.
Moon and Rose and Nightingale
In the Princess' garden.

(Enter Mehr-un-nisa. She carries a white pigeon which she fondles.)

Mehr-un-nisa—

Ah, timid creature, and why fear to fly
 Wouldst not thou follow where thy mate has flown ?
 I would not keep thee, go and seek the sky,
 In the vast realm of ether find thy own.

(She places the pigeon on a branch. There is the sound as of fluttering wing. She stands smiling and looking up as if watching the pigeon's flight. After a while she goes to the fountain and plays her hand through its spraying water.) Prince Salim has meanwhile appeared among the shrubs.

Salim—

Star of the Night ! Vision entrancing fair !
 Peris appear, lend me a pure disguise
 That unknown I might tread upon the stair
 That leads to paradise.

Fair Hourî, from what silver, star-girt clime
 Didst float thus moonlit garden to enhance ?
 What heaven, what celestial field sublime
 Hath lent thee radiance ?

The moon would linger in enrapt surprise
 Thy footprint leaves sweet fragrance on the lawn
 Who lit the splendour in those raven eyes,
 Child of a starlit dawn ?

(Mehr-un-nisa notices him and smiles. He approaches.)

Salim—

'Ah, lady fair, I fear I am but rude,
 Wouldst thou forgive me if I dare intrude ?

Mehr-un-nisa—

Right welcome, Sir. The house within was hot,
I longed for coolness and the humid air.

Salim—

Thanks to the house that did detain thee not
I thought I found a dreamfay's silver lair.
To enter it my heart was quite afraid.

Mehr-un-nisa (laughing)—

Fear not, Sir, I am but a mortal maid.
And trust me, I don't wear a foreign mask.

Salim—

Mortal indeed ? —then, lady, may I ask
The name of her who does enchant me so ?
The name of her who so enchanteth me ?

Mehr-un-nisa—

I am a simple maid as thou may see,
Named Mehr-un-nisa, and of Persian race.

Salim—

Oh, Sun of Women, rightly art thou named
Fair Mehr-un-nisa, noble and well-famed
For beauty, high nobility and grace.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Thanks, Sir, for thy esteem, which I have won.
And, in return, then might I ask of thee
The name of him who does thus honour me ?

Salim—

My name is Salim.

Mehrun-nisa (surprised and making obeisance)—

Ah, the Emp'ror's son?
Badshaw salam, I knew not one so great
Had entered unknown on my low estate.
I'm but the daughter of a simple clan.

Salim—

Do forget that. We're meeting maid and man.
Let us converse in concord heart to heart.
Forget the world and her deceitful art.

Mehrun-nisa—

True, there is much to be forgotten,—yet—

Salim—

Yes, there is that which I shall ne'r forget
Oh Mehr-un-nisa, by thy holy face
By thy pure heart, touched by a heav'nly grace
By those dark eyes, which in pure virtue shine,
Believe me, maiden, that my heart is thine.
By all the starlit sky, by heav'n above
Pure as thy virgin heart is, my love.

Mehrun-nisa—

Moonlight entrances where the fountain flows,
Jasmine with jasmine, not jasmine with rose.

Salim—

How speak thou maiden, do thy words convey
That with this night my love would fly away?
Would I make pastime of thy holy face?
Dost think I came a traitor to this place?

Mehr-un-nisa—

Nay God forbid, I know thy noble heart,
But there is that which is past human power.
I am an unknown maid of simple art.

Salim—

Thy graces and thy face are richest dower.
I'll make thee the first Queen of Hindustan.

Mehr-un-nisa—

I am the promised wife of Sher Afghan.

Salim (after a pause)—

Was it thy heart that spoke, who promised thee ?
Be true oh maid, I see it in thy eye—
Why wouldst thou to thy own pure bosom lie ?
Thou art not his, thy soul belongs to me.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Lord, thou art wedded to a stainless wife
Be true to her and find thy solace there.

Salim—

Nay, I want a companion for my life.
Rehba is pure, but she is all in pray'r.
She cannot give me human sympathy.
She cannot grasp the duties of a State.
Nor help to bear the burdens that await
The future ruler o'er a mighty land.
Come, maiden, trust me, give me thy fair hand.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Ah woe, that we have met, that we have spoken,
What my heart feels no tongue shall ever tell.

Honour and promise—these may not be broken.
The hour is late,—and—Badshaw—fare thee well.

(She bows and walks off. Salim looks after her and holds out his arms as if to bring her back. He walks up and down for a while).

Salim—

Ye Powers that be, Ye Forces that shapen
The worlds for their paths, for man destiny
Ye, who have told, allow nothing to happen
Without your will, your eternal decree
Why did you cast,—through relentless decision—
Me amid forces I cannot control ?
Why lead before me this heavenly vision,—
Show and withdraw it,—the soul of my soul ?
Have I not known since my boyhood's first dreaming
That in my life there was something amiss ?
And through the days and the nights' mellow gleaming
E'er the same message came, and it was this,—
Somewhere,—or be it on earth or in heaven,
Somewhere—that is the eternal decree,
Which unto thee the Immortals have given,
There is a soul that belongs unto thee.
And what I longed for and sought with impatience
This summer night has unfolded at last.
But for an hour I lived in its radiance,
While thus the die of my life has been cast.
And if there's aught I would say, it is this, ah,
That in this world and the future to be,
Through all the ages, oh fair Mehr-un-nisa,
All my soul's being belongs unto thee.
And may it be, that in ages now slumb'ring,
Times that are now long forgotten and dead
Which in their cycles long æons are numb'ring—
Thou Mehr-un-nisa and I have been wed ?

That on some planet now long ago vanished
I lived near the aureole of thy warm face,
And all the thoughts of existence were vanished
But for an hour in thy heavenly embrace?
But here I stand in the whirlpool of being

Whence I am thrown quite without my consent.
Ages have fled, still the ages are fleeing,—
Yet through it all are the Forces content?
Why do they lead with relentless persistence
Me through a maze that is darker than night?
Oh, I demand the right of my existence,—
Powers on High, give me light, give me light!

*(He drops down on a seat and covers his face with his hands.
Appear the three Spirits of Paradise.)*

1st Spirit of Paradise—

Peace to thy burning grief,
Peace to thy soul,
We, the Eternal, live
Man to console.
Mortals are weeping,
Deep sighs still fall.
But we are keeping
Watch over all.

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

Is still the path below
Watered with tears.
Man wanders to and fro
Hopes, sighs and fears.
But purified by woe,
Washed clean by tears,
Upward the soul must grow
Through the long years.

3rd Spirit of Paradise—

But not unaided shall
 Man walk the earth.
 We the invisible
 Watch o'r his birth.
 Through his long years of strife
 Aid and befriend.
 Comfort and guide his life
 Unto the end.

ACT III

(Ten years later. Salim has meanwhile ascended the throne as Jahangir. Sher Afghan has been slain and his widow Mer-un-nisa is ordered to come to Agra. Scene—A Durbar Hall. Jahangir sits on throne, his Ministers of State near him.)

Jahangir—

Then, gentlemen, it seems our work is done.
 Give unto all who ask and see that none
 Leave disappointed. See that my command
 Is carried out in justice through the land
 Then for this evening we shall be free.

(Enter servant, he makes a low bow, putting his right hand to his head.)

Servant—

Badshaw, Salam.

A lady waits to see your Majesty
 She is the widow of late Sher Afghan,
 And but arrived this morning from Burdwan.

Jahangir (his eyes brightening)—

Bid her come in, let not the lady wait.

(*to his ministers very cheerfully*)—

Then we have done now with affairs of State.

(*They rise, make their bow to the Emperor and exit. Enter Mehrun-nisa. She bows, then steps back and stands with bent head. She wears the widow's white attire, over her head a veil, which partially conceals her face.*)

Jahangir—

Ah, lady fair and hast thou come at last?
Thy presence calls fond visions from the past.

Mehr-un-nisa—

That I am here is not of my own will.
I came the Emperor's orders to fulfil.
Thou knowest, Lord, I came at thy command
My heart cries out, 'tis justice I demand.
The noblest of thy subjects has been slain
Upon thy honour hangs a gory stain,
I therefore ask the Emperor, ask the man,
Avenge the brutal death of Sher Afghan
For, is not justice the first law of might?

Salim—

He slew a royal officer in fight
And thus was slain. Perhaps thou knew it not.

Mehr-un-nisa—

It was the work of a base, outlined plot.
'Twas not the first time murd'ers lay in wait
He was not safe upon his own estate.
A band of hired assassins sought his room
And Sher Afghan had that day met his doom
But for his prowess which drove them to flight
And brought one more dastardly plot to light.

My life was terror, oft I warned him, still .
 My husband was too proud to bend his will
 To low-born villains. His exalted mind
 Held nothing that was of the baser kind.
 On those degraded plotters looked my lord
 As lion looks upon a jackal horde.
 Yet came the day that brought the eagle down
 And now his lands are taken by the Crown.
 Oh Emperor, let me not appeal in vain,
 Avenge the death of this most noble slain.

*(While speaking she proudly raised her head but now
 she bends it again and stands in silence.)*

Jahangir—

I knew not of these things ; my hand
 Is free from stain. 'Twas not by my command
 That all this happed. And justice shall be done
 To the offenders—each and ev'ry one.
 But lady, let the past forgotten be, *(after a pause)*,
 Thy glorious presence overshadows me.
 It waft to flame my love's half slumb'ring ember.

(He sits down and holds his hand over his eyes.)

I see again that evening long ago
 Ah Mehr-un-nisa, do thou not remember
 That hallowed hour that did enchant us so,
 That moonlit fountain and its rippling song ?
 The years have past—years weary, sad and long.
 Too long the cruel fates have stood between.
 But come at last, and be my wife, my Queen.
 And in thy glorious being let me live.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Nay, speak not so, oh King, I cannot give
 My hand without my heart. Empire and Throne
 These cannot for a woman's heart atone.

My lord is slain, and I appeal to thee
Oh King, for justice unto him and me.
This is the cause for which I would implore.
Do not recall the past,—I want no more.

Jahangir—

Oh cruel words, but go, have thy free will
And hold thyself disdainfully aloof.
My life lies broken at thy feet, ah ! Still
Thou shalt find shelter 'neath thy Emperor's roof.
And lady, thou art safe within my walls,
Whatever yet the changing years may bring.
No harm shall reach thee in my palace halls.
Thou shalt have the protection of thy King.

(Both walk out in different directions slowly and with bent head as the curtain drops.)

ACT IV

(Scene.—A large, well furnished room. Mehr-un-nisa, sits by an open window. Outside, the minstrels are singing.)

Song.

A maiden leaned over the balcony.
Her dreamy eyes wandered over the lea.
Afar the blue waters were flowing.
And as her sigh went through the heaving air
The white rose fell from her raven hair
And sadly the south-wind was blowing.

It fell to the ground where the pilgrim stood,
Its snow-white petals turned crimson as blood.
And weirdly and sad moaned the wind, oh,
He watered the rose with his heart's salt tears

And all through his wandering after years
He dreamt of that balcony window.

And oft stood the maid on the balcony
Her searching eyes wandered restlessly
But never the winds were replying.
And thus did they live till their hearts grew cold.
It is a sad tale, yet old, so old
And ever the north-wind is sighing.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Ah sad, sweet notes, borne on the wind away,
How deep into my heart cuts the sad lay.
Thus flee the years, the rose loses its bloom,
And hearts grow weary 'neath life's sullen gloom.
While mortals sigh and bathe their path in tears,
Shrink from the future and mourn by-gone years.
And I? Am I true to myself? My heart
Accuses me. I play an untrue part.
And ev'ry gush of the cold sweeping wind
Throws back the echo of that cold disdain
I flung at him—upon my own sore mind
I struggle with myself,—yet, all in vain.
The love he gave was so all pure and great
And she who spurned it, to her own heart lied,
Oh give me back that hour, relentless Fate,
It was not want of love that spoke, 'twas pride.
The very walls as my accusers groan,
The voice of Judgment calls out from the sod.
For is not love itself the stepping stone
By which we mount unto the throne of God? •

(Appear Spirits of Paradise.)

1st Spirit—

Cast thy false self away
And untrue pride

Live in the living day
On life's full tide.
Rise and accept thy choice,
And let thy heart's true voice
Be thy safe guide. (*Exit.*)

(*Enter Jodh Bai and Rehba. Mehr-un-nisa bows and stands before them in silence.*)

Jodh Bai—

My tender child, I sorrow at thy fate
And more than ever thought of thee of late.
My son doth love thee, child, try to forget
The darker past and be thou happy yet.
'Tis but by giving solace that we find
Peace and contentment for our own sad mind.
He wants thy all, he craves thy sympathy,
The Crown, the country, daughter, these need thee,
He is so lonely on his mighty throne,
For kings too often must stand all alone
Duties of kingship and a mighty land—
Ah, who can all these burdens understand?
He needs a friend with whom to share it all,
Thou art that friend, my noble Nur Mahal.
Great duties call thee, child, don't turn aside,
Step from oblivion as thy Emperor's bride.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Thou know'st the place is filled, my heart would break
Were I another's lawful right to take.

Rehba—

Come, sister dear, accept a gift from me
The place as Empress and the regal Crown
At thy fair feet I gladly lay them down,
Surrender pow'r and kingship unto thee.

Mehr-un-nisa (Shaking her head).—

Thou cannot make a sacrifice so great.
I rob thee of thy own lawful estate ?
No, Rehba, no—this cannot be.

Rehba—

Lest, sister, this world never was for me,
My life to pray'r and worship is all given.
My thoughts are not on earth, they are in heaven.
I have my son, Kusru, whom I adore,
He feels my heart, my world, I want no more.

(Enter Jahangir, Jodh Bai leads Mehr-un-nisa forward.)

Jodh Bai—

Come forward, daughter, do thy homage bring,
Pay thy respects unto thy Lord and King.

(Mehr-un-nisa steps forward and bows. Jodh and Rehba nod to each other and go out. At the door Jodh Bai turns, looks at them with intense satisfaction, nods her head smiling and steps out.)

Jahangir—

Fair Mehr-un-nisa, once more do I stand
Thy country's King, a slave at thy command
Oh maiden, why must I so oft repeat ?
Place I not Power and Empire at thy feet ?
Once more I come to ask thee to be mine.
Speak for the last time.

Mehr-un-nisa—

Badshaw, I am thine
I was false to myself ; can you forgive ?
I clung too stubbornly unto the past.

Jahangir—

Forgive ? From this hour I begin to live.
I only know that thou art mine at last,
Thou hast redeemed in me the better man
Crown, Sceptre, Power, I place them in thy hand
To thee belongs the Kingship of the land.
The world shall know Queen as Nur-Jahan,
“Light of the World” my own, my country’s star,
Sun to adorn a mighty Empire’s throne.
I give my life to thee to make or mar,
Thou art my world, I live in thee alone !

ACT V

(IN TWO SCENES.)

Scene I. Nur-Jahan and her ladies in waiting. They put the last touches on her toilet.

A Lady—

I trust his Majesty will be well pleased.
Now rest, oh Empress, till the twilight closes.
Then will begin the gay midsummer feast,
Dream of the year, the merry Fete of Roses.

(Enter Jahangir. He is followed by servants carrying jewelled caskets.)

Jahangir—

Queen of the Roses, bright “Light of the World,”
Was ever Queen of Paradise so fair ?
Still a few rose-leaves might as yet be curled
Around that throat and through that raven hair.

(He takes ornaments out of the caskets, puts a tiara on her head and strings of pearls round her neck and bracelets on her wrists.)

Jahangir (in admiration) —

The dreamfay floats upon a poet's song
As rests the moon the summer-clouds among
So rests the diadem in those raven curls.
Thy beauty gives new lustre to the pearls.
The ruby shines thrice bright, the amethyst
Receives its splendour from thy queenly wrist.

(He goes to the door, then stops and looks at her in fond admiration.)

I shall return for thee in a short while,
Oh, for one ray of thee, Light of the Sun !
Away from thee the minutes darkly run,
My heart lives in the radiance of thy smile. *(Exit.)*

(Nur-Jahan smiles sadly. She sits down listlessly.)

A Lady—

Be happy, Empress, for the evening star
Shines brightest on the calm, unruffled sea.

Nur-Jahan—

Am I not happy ? What is there to mar
The love and beauty that life holds for me ?
My life floats onward like a summer-dream.
Too fair for this world almost, it would seem.

Scene II.

(Enter Rehba. Nur-Jahan and her ladies rise, the latter leave the room.)

Rehba—

Oh, sister, tell me, must I then believe ?
Dark rumours whisper of thy guilty hand.

Nur-Jahan—

What mean thou, Rehba, I don't understand.
Thy words are so all veiled, I can't conceive.

Rehba—

I'm speaking of the murder of Khusru.

(Nur-Jahan starts and look at her wildly.)

Rehba—

I see it in thy eye,—yes, it is true.

*(Nur-Jahan covers her face with her hands, sighs deeply
and stands with bowed head.)*

Oh false, false Mehr-un-nisa, Nur-Jahan !
I gave thee wealth and purple, husband—all.
I made thee the first Queen of Hindustan.
I kept one only flow'r and that must fall
Through thee, through thee ! Oh heav'n I grasp it not,
Thou the partaker of so base a plot ?
By thy conspiracy my Khusru slain,
Upon those jewelled hands the murther's stain ?
Oh ! untrue wife, do grasp what thou hast done,
Hast thou not slain thy own true husband's son ?
Thou hadst the Emperor's heart, in thee he trust.
Thou trampled faith and honour in the dust,
He calls thee a stainless wife—oh shame !
False one, thou art unworthy of the name.
He did rebel, thou sayst, and though it be.
Is that yet reason he were slain by thee ?
By thee whom I gave all I had to give,
But that fond treasure, dearer than my heart ?
Oh Mehr-un-nisa, Rehba cannot live,

The sword that slew my son, has pierced its dart
In my blood too. The wound will heal no more.
My son, my all,—for me the world is o'er.
No solace will my burning spirit have
For thee the Empire, but for me the grave.

(Rehba walks slowly away. Nur-Jahan, her hands still before her face and sobbing, falls on her knees. Re-appear the three Spirits of Paradise.)

1st Spirit of Paradise—

False sister, queen and wife,
Bitter thy sin,
Soon will the flower of life
Wither within
Gave we not wealth and pow'r,
Kingdom and all ?
But in an evil hour
Thou hadst thy fall.

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

Sleep will thy pillow flee
Thy own heart bleed
Ever recoil on thee
Thy evil deed
And will the stain of blood
On thy hand stay
Cannot the ocean's flood
Wash it away.

3rd. Spirit of Paradise—

Seek thou thy own release
From thy black sin
But the road unto peace
Lieth within

Still have the Pow'rs on High
One solace sent,
As the lone years go by—
Pray and repent.

The Three—

Through thy deep agony
One hope is lent.
As the years slowly flee,—
Pray and repent.

ACT VI

THE DEATH OF JAHANGIR.

Scene.—A sickroom. Jahangir lies on a couch. Nur-Jahan kneels beside it. Doctors and attendants move about or stand in solemn silence.)

Jahangir—

My hour hath come, I feel my spirit flee.
Oh, my beloved, linger near me still.
My soul is floating on a vast still sea
A Power controls me stronger than my will.
Ah purest woman, when my spirit's flown
Think of me in the silver twilight hours.
Let still thy prayers mingle with my own.
Think of the happy days that have been ours.

(He falls back but rises again.)

Ab, Nur-Jahan, my own, my spirit bride,
How gloriously happy were those years
That I have spent half dreaming by thy side.
And now, beloved, that the end appears,
Weep not, my own, my true, my perfect wife.

But for thy holy and unselfish care
Long ere this ended were this mortal life.
But rest thee now, thy own frail strength to spare.

Nur-Jahan—

Nay, nay, be still, my husband, speak not so.
What is my strength, what is my life to me?
Thou art my life, no other do I know,
Nor wish to know existence without thee.
Think not so sadly, fever-heat doth fret,
Illness deceives,—thou will be stronger yet.

(A doctor feels his pulse. Nur-Jahan looks at him anxiously questioning. He shakes his head.)

Jahangir—

The years that thou hast given me, my Queen,
Beside me as my angel on the throne,
Like happy summer vision they have been.
But dearer those, that thou hast spent alone
With me, sweet heavenly nurse. The gnawing pain
Seemed joy under thy touch, soothing and calm.
The failing breath was called to life again
Beneath thy angel presence' healing balm.
Come nearer, let me see thy glorious face
Shed on me yet the lovelight of thy eye,
That to the last I feel its unstained grace,
As I have lived in thee, so let me die.
Allah protect thee, give thee strength to bear
And through the years I shall in silence wait
Till thou dost join me on the wings of pray'r.
Light of my life, meet me at heaven's gate.

(He falls back dead. Nur-Jahan buries her face in her hands. The attendants stand with bowed head. The angels of Paradise have meanwhile appeared and stand at the head of the bed.)

1st Spirit of Paradise—

Pilgrim go on thy road,
 Thy time has come.
 Lay down thy earthly load
 Leave thy earth's home
 Still will we not forsake
 Guide thee and lead,
 And thou, whose heart would break,—
 Pray for the dead.

ACT VII

DEATH OF NUR-JAHAN.

Scene.—The interior of Jahangir's mausoleum. There is a granite sarcophagus. Nur-Jahan enters silent and pale; she wears a snow-white robe and her hair hangs down in two tresses. She carries a small lighted lamp. This she places upon the sarcophagus, then kneels down beside it, her head resting against the stone. After a while she rises.

Nur-Jahan- .

Oh spirit refuge, here in thee alone
 My burning soul finds what it longs to get.
 Here the fast heaving pulses cease to groan
 And the wild, maddening midnight mock'ries let
 Me bid them go; the echoes of their moan
 Die in the distance, and I can forget
 No more for me the world and her dominions.
 My soul but yearns to stretch her spirit pinions.

And still my mind floats through forgotten years,
 Where visions hushed on mem'ries pathway tread ;
 Where in the ling'ring gloom the still heart hears
 The spirit whisp'rings of the hallowed dead,
 In that deep shrine that knows nor mirth nor tears
 Whence all emotions like a bird have fled.
 And there float year on year in quick succession,
 But joy and woe no longer their possession

And ye, oh stars, who by conjunction's might
 Foretold a sceptre to the desert-born,
 Who in your shining maze in vaulted height
 To make for man a destiny have sworn,
 Who to prepare his pathway have the right
 And laugh his feeble efforts thus to scorn,—
 Why in the network of your constellation
 Did you weave sin and weakness in temptation?

(The three Spirits of Paradise have reappeared while she spoke. She looks heavenward and again kneels down by the sarcophagus.)

1st Spirit of Paradise—

The mighty Fountain of all Being
 Sends forth its life throughout vast space.
 And the All-knowing, the All-seeing
 Holds all the worlds in His embrace.
 The ruling Power that guides creation
 Works ever on for good, nor mars.
 Then bend not 'neath thy constellation
 But lift thyself beyond the stars.

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

The river of existence floweth
 Through that wild whirlpool, men call life

And o'er it all, the pow'r that knoweth
Leads each one through the storm, the strife,
Until the lesser waters mingle
Where streams into the ocean fall,
And through long stress and tears, the single
Man blends his being with the *All*.

3rd Spirit of Paradise —

The light will shine ; well hast thou striven
For thy life's errors to atone.
Rehba, thy sister, has forgiven
And waits to lead thee to the Throne.
He, whom thou gave thy heart's devotion,
Whose spirit had thy loving care,—
He too has crossed the darker ocean
And found salvation through thy pray'r.

The Three—

And the All-knowing, the All-seeing
Watches creation from the height.
Till all the elements of being
Blend into universal light.

(Nur-Jahan rises and looks heavenward. She moves about as if half blinded and groping for something, then she stands still.)

Nur-Jahan—

The passing years have fled, I see no more
My searching eyes are dark and darker growing,
Yet in the distance is a shining shore,
A beck'ning hand a verdant pathway showing,
And thousand lights, like falling meteor
And fragrant breezes softly, lightly blowing.

An unknown Force my being is uplifting,
And slowly, slowly are the senses drifting.

(She kneels down in the centre of the stage. A number of celestial beings appear. They group themselves in a semi-circle round her, the three leading spirits in the centre.)

And now I feel my trembling spirit flee
I see before me virgin fields extending.
A holy awe gently o'erpowers me
Through my cold frame its holy tremours sending.
Oh silver stillness, vast and heaving sea
Thy mighty rhythm floats on without ending,
Thus ebb my pulses and my soul is fleeing
To blend its essence with eternal being.

1st Spirit of Paradise—

See the darker curtain riven
And the soul washed clean from sin
Sees the purer light of Heaven
Hears the summons, "Enter in."

2nd Spirit of Paradise—

Take the right of thy existence
For the lower path is run
And the evil Power's resistance
Flees like shade before the sun.

3rd Spirit of Paradise—

Feel the heaving of the Spirit,
Gentle pilgrim of the earth,
For all ripened souls inherit
In their hour the Spirit-birth

The Three—

And the shadow-play of being
Fades, the light shines from within
See the darksome shadows fleeing,
All the celestial Beings,
Hear the Voice call,—

“ Enter in !”

*(While the last line is being said the platform on which Nur-
Jahan is kneeling rises slowly up while the curtain falls.)*

A. CHRISTINA ALBERS

CALCUTTA DEGREES vs. FOREIGN DEGREES

[In September, 1922, the writer of the present article sent to the *Modern Review* an article bearing the above heading; it was published in the said journal in November, with editorial comments. The purport of the article was to prove that the final degrees conferred by the Calcutta University were in no way inferior to the degrees conferred by foreign universities. This was proved from the fact that a large number of graduates of the Calcutta University had won the doctorates of foreign universities (especially of London) in the minimum time period after graduation. It was further stated that Indian students who, after taking the M.A. or the M.Sc. degree, proceed to London and Cambridge, and read for the degree course merely waste their time in studying over again the same books which they have read at Calcutta. Then the original works done by such of Calcutta graduates, and the Cambridge graduates as have taken to the teaching profession and have facilities for original work were compared, and it was proved to the hilt that the Cambridge graduates were nowhere.

In commenting on the above points, the Editor of the *Modern Review* reiterated his well-known accusations against the Calcutta University, and defended the Cambridge graduates with the art and skill of an advocate. Later on a certain "Academicus" from Cambridge published a note in the February number of the *Modern Review*, defending the Calcutta M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s who read for the Cambridge or London B.A., B.Sc. examinations. The following rejoinder was sent to the *Modern Review* for publication, but the Editor had not the courtesy to publish it. I have, therefore, craved the hospitality of the Editor of the *Calcutta Review* to spare for me a few pages. For further particulars see the M.R., Nov. 1922, p. 586, Feb. 1923, p. 212.]

The learned Editor of the *Modern Review* has asked me if I have ever reflected why earnest students of science resort to London or Cambridge and not to Calcutta. He has himself called attention to several considerations, which attract Indian students to foreign countries, but curiously enough he has failed to call attention to the most important consideration. If he turns over the pages of the *Modern Review*, 1922, he will discover that on page 256, he wrote the following in course of the editorial Notes ;

“ Indian students, who have the means, generally go to British Universities. Those, who want to get Government jobs or wish to become barristers, have no other alternative but to be in British Universities.”

Then follow a few lines, the purport of which is that if the Indian students proceed to America, Germany, or France, they will get not only a much cheaper but a more efficient education.

Whatever the learned Editor of the *Modern Review* may say, it is well-known that in the case of 99 per cent. of students, the prime consideration for proceeding to London or Cambridge, is not a burning desire to suck at the fountain source of knowledge, nor an indignant effort to escape from the stinking moral atmosphere of Calcutta, but a much baser and venal one—namely, the prospect of easily getting a comfortable job. Everybody knows that in Government service, a foreign degree, particularly a British degree, is always rated higher than the degrees of Indian Universities.

The learned Editor has said of earnest students from all parts of the world being attracted to Cambridge or Oxford. But he is probably unaware that there is a world of difference between the conduct and bearing of these students and those of the Indian students. In course of my stay at Cambridge, I found quite a number of research scholars from France, Switzerland, Scandinavia and America, working at the science laboratories of Cambridge. They were mostly post-graduate

students, who have been sent by their Governments to learn the particular branches of knowledge in which Cambridge professors have specialized, for example to learn electron theory from Thomson, radio-activity from Rutherford, plant physiology from Blackman or political economy from Pigoud and Keynes.

They take a piece of research work under the professor's guidance, learn the laboratory methods, and go away as soon as the work is finished. Excepting the colonials and certain Americans, who look upon England as their motherland, you will rarely find anybody who cares to take any degree either by research or by examination. The present writer asked a Japanese research student if he were trying for any research degree at Cambridge. "I am a Doctor of Science in my own university and I think that is quite as good as any English degree," replied the Japanese proudly. Another Norwegian student told the present writer that he would submit the thesis he had prepared at Cambridge for the Doctorate of his own university, as otherwise the English would think that he had come there to beg a degree from them, which would lower his country in the estimation of the English. Our Indian students follow neither the foreigner nor the colonials (except a few exceptions in the latter case), even when they have got the highest degrees of the Indian Universities and can at once proceed for the research degree under any one of the celebrated professors there. Their mentality is just in keeping with their political status.

CHEAPNESS OF CALCUTTA DEGREES.

The learned Editor of *Modern Review* seems to be very much awestruck at the majesty of Oxford and Cambridge degrees. But if he cares to investigate, he will find that *degrees are far cheaper at these places than at Calcutta*. Let us see what is the Cambridge system. Of the four to five thousand

students in this University less than 10 per cent. (I state this number subject to correction) take the honours' course. In the pass course, the students have to appear either in one subject or in four subjects say History, Logic, Economics, and Literature. In the former case the standard is about the same as the Calcutta B.A. honours' course. In the latter case, the standard is equal to that prescribed for the Calcutta Intermediate. Students, taking honours who are prevented through illness, real or feigned, from appearing in the final examination are allowed to have a consolation degree (Aegrotat) on the recommendation of the tutor. Of course, that obliging gentleman has rarely been known to have denied his ward this small bit of courtesy. So the Editor of the M.R. will see that if a man stays at Cambridge or Oxford for three years (spending £1,000, at the least) it is impossible for him not to have a B.A. (Cantab or Oxon).

Has the Editor of the M.R. heard of anybody who had gone to Cambridge and failed to secure a degree? May we ask in all humility if the scholastic equipment of such men, many of whom, unfortunately for the country, are encumbering responsible teaching posts in the educational department, are in any way superior to that of the much-abused Calcutta M.A.'s?

Turning to the scholastic side, namely the honours, schools of Cambridge, Oxford or London, I would say that the efficiency of teaching varies enormously, depending entirely on the efficiency of the staff. As a rule the value of these degrees is very much exaggerated in India. A few years ago, the man who got a first class Tripos at Cambridge, was supposed to be a great genius, almost a potential Newton. The long quotation from Prof. Young's report which was cited in my last note will show how erroneous this notion was. When some Indian students become Wranglers (or something equivalent to that), their names; their pictures, were published in the journals and people were led to believe that a Newton or a Gauss had come

among them. Yet during the long years of their stay in the educational spheres, most of them failed to produce a single scrap of paper worth mentioning, or in any way demonstrate their superiority either in teaching or research over the Indian graduates. We are apt to forget that. The same may be said of the reorganised honours' schools. Cambridge is justly famous for its schools of physics and mathematics. The celebrity of its physics professors is world-wide. In my note therefore, I singled out the teaching of these two subjects at Calcutta and Cambridge for comparison. I remarked that the books usually followed by students and the syllabus are almost identical at Calcutta and Cambridge. This statement has not been challenged either by "Academicus" or the Editor of the M.R., though the latter expresses his doubt about its veracity in a rather cavalier fashion. I throw an open challenge and let anybody contradict it if he can. The Editor of the M. R. came down with his customary cudgel on the Calcutta University for my inadvertently remarking that the text books prescribed are the same at both places. No text books are thrust on the Calcutta students, only certain books are recommended. Otherwise the student, whether at Calcutta or at Cambridge would find himself suspended in the mid-air. As for dictation of notes, I would mention in all humility that this is not a characteristic Calcutta vice invented by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee but is found all over the world.

I have attended the lectures of about twenty professors in England, France and Germany in my own subject. In a majority of the cases, I have found professors addicted to this vice.

Both the Editor of the M. R. and the Academicus suggest that identity of course of study does not mean identity of quality. I am unable to follow this piece of logic. Does it make the slightest difference in my knowledge if I learn the algebraical formulæ $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$ at Cambridge or at Calcutta?

Professor Young's report, from which I profusely quoted in November, 1922, is dated 1918. So it is not obsolete by age. Academicus accused me of slave mentality for quoting Professor Young, but it may be news to him that Professor Young was one of the seven commissioners, who were entrusted by the Cambridge University to reorganise their course of mathematical studies. If the moral and mental preceptors of Academicus could have such confidence in Professor Young's wisdom, the present writer has not probably erred on the side of slave mentality in quoting him.

Academicus's article is a long panegyric on the efficiency of Cambridge teaching, and on the excellence of the social side of Cambridge life. He suggests that the Ph.D. course of Cambridge has been instituted merely for the purpose of supplying the Americans and the Colonials with cheap red gowns (who would otherwise be captured by the wily Germans!) and further that the Cambridge B.A. has more intrinsic value than the Ph.D. All this looks like special pleading on behalf of the Cambridge B.A., but who would believe it in view of the fact that the authorities of that august body insist that every aspirant after the red robes of Cambridge must have a previous qualification equivalent to the Cambridge B.A. It is quite possible that Academicus is a Calcutta M.A., who (after having served at a Calcutta College as a professor for several years), has crossed the seas to seek new childhood on the banks of the Cam. We hope he will not forget to embellish his name with a B.A. (Cantab.)

Assuming that there is some amount of truth in all these wild suggestions, Academicus's own writings show that in England, people lay more stress on the capacity of a man to do original work than on any university degree. Only such men can aspire to become university professors who, as Academicus says, have demonstrated their capacity for original thinking by the publication of a considerable volume of work, fitted to gain the appreciation of the experts on the

subject. Can this be said of the graduates of foreign universities, who in this country, are given posts equivalent to the university chairs on the strength of their examination degrees?—And what is after all a Ph.D. or D.Sc. except the admission by a body of learned men that the holders of these degrees have done certain amount of original work, and have thus raised themselves a step higher than the B.A. or the M.A. who have merely passed through a prescribed course. The point in my communication was that Indian graduates could more profitably utilise their time in England by doing research work under some of the celebrated professors there. When instead of doing that they spend their time in sitting for the examination and reading the same books, which they have read in India, for two or three years more, they do nothing but waste their time for venal ends. This is what I termed “the prostitution of the intellect for the purpose of shining by the reflected glory of the ruling race.”

I compared the production of the Cambridge Tripos men in mathematics and physics, who are holding posts equivalent to university professorships, all over the country, with that of the post-graduate teachers of the Calcutta University, and proved to the hilt that the Cambridge men were nowhere. I had to consider only the best elements, for in every country it is not every Jack or Tommy who proceed for the research course, but only the most intellectual. The comparison was therefore between the best products of the Indian universities (particularly of Calcutta) and the best students of British universities who have taken to the learned profession, and have got facilities for original work. I am perfectly at a loss to understand how the learned Editor of the M. R. arrives at the curious logic “heads I win, tails you lose.” His arguments are not those of a judge but rather those of an advocate. They may mislead the administrator, but in the international field of scholarship, there is no place for an advocate. If the Cambridge graduates cannot convince the public of their

superiority by indisputable proofs of scholarship, no amount of sophistry on the part of the Editor of the M. R. can achieve that.

The learned Editor will note that Academicus does not defend these Cambridge graduates, but shifts the blame on the shoulders of the Government. "In his remarks about these Cambridge graduates 'Scientificus' forgets that their inertia is mainly due to the fact that they are in the Government service. The automatic promotion of Government servants from one grade to another has nothing to do with their scholarship and hence the proper incentive to action is lacking."

It may not be generally known in this country that the majority of first class Tripos men of Cambridge or Oxford become teachers in secondary schools, corresponding to intermediate colleges in our country. Only such men can aspire to become university professors who, as Academicus says, "have demonstrated their capacity for original thinking by the publication of a considerable body of work fitted to gain the appreciation of the experts on the subject." Generally, in the case of scholars with good academic degrees, ten to fifteen years of apprenticeship as research scholar, assistant, or assistant professor must be passed, before one can aspire to become a professor.

In India, whenever a man comes with a good foreign degree, we do not insist from him these periods of hard work and apprenticeship. Administrators are misled by a false notion of their capabilities. They are sure to get posts equivalent to university professorships, if there be any vacancy. And what next—a long academic sleep till he withers down to a comfortable old age pension !

Regarding the social side of Cambridge and Oxford, it is obvious that Calcutta can never have anything like this. Calcutta can develop into London, Paris, or Berlin, but it can never expect to have anything like the social side of Cambridge or Oxford life.

In concluding this theme, I wish again to reiterate my view that it is not my object to decry foreign degrees, or discourage our students from proceeding to foreign countries. For a long time yet to come, we have to send students to foreign countries to learn the arts and crafts in which no education is available here, or to learn up-to-date scientific methods under the famous savants of the West. But the Indian student should bear himself like a man, and always bear in mind that he is the representative of his country in that land. We may quarrel amongst ourselves regarding the value of our own degrees, or regarding the controversy whether the Calcutta University is a nationalistic institution, or a bureaucratic institution, but the foreigner never troubles his head about these things. He sees in the Calcutta graduate a product of the Indian system of education, and whenever a Calcutta M.A. sits for the London matriculation, intermediate or the Cambridge B.A, it invokes in him an inner laughter regarding the mentality of the class of people who can abjure their own *alma mater*. Two thousand years ago, Hippocrates, the father of Greek medicine, said "man must cure himself." With regard to education, we may say that "man must educate himself." The waters of the Isis, the Cam, or the Thames have no such magic virtue in them as can turn a set of easy-going gay young gentlemen, however intelligent they may be, into great savants, unless they avail themselves of the opportunities offered them in these places of learning. And I have just tried to show that a majority of Indian students do not take this step, but idle away their time and opportunities in frivolous pursuits, and deceive their countrymen by a flourish of B.A. Cantab or Oxon.

Reviews

History of Jahangir.—By Beni Prasad, M.A., Allahabad University Studies in History, Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 501.

Prof. Beni Prasad writes in a fascinating style. He seems to have made an exhaustive study of all available materials on the subject. He has laid under contribution contemporary Persian Historians and European travellers as well but has wisely avoided the common temptation of making a pompous display of learning by compressing within a narrow space an enormous amount of minute details and he has succeeded in producing a scholarly work that will be equally welcome to the learned few as well as the average student. Details that may bore him has been relegated to the footnotes. The most interesting Chapter is that dealing with the Sher Afkan incident. Prof. Beni Prasad gives a pointed lie to the current belief that Jahangir was guilty of murdering Nurjahan's first husband. Prof. Beni Prasad says—"Motamad Khan completed his history during the reign of Shah Jahan. Kanghar Husaeni's work was inspired by Shah Jahan. Both were hostile to Nur Jahan, the great rival of their patron; yet neither lets fall a hint which would connect her life with a deep scandal. Abdul Hamid Lahori and other historians of Shah Jahan's reign refer to Nur Jahan, but do not hint that she married the 'murderer' of her first husband. It may be argued, indeed, that no court historian would dare to refer to a scandal dishonourable to the whole dynasty, but no such partiality can be attributed to contemporary foreign visitors. On the contrary, they revelled in scandal; they were only too ready to credit and record any rumour which reflected on the moral character of high personages. They describe a licentious scandal between Jahangir (then Prince Salim) and his step-mother. They hint at a similar scandal between Nur Jahan and her step-son, Shah Jahan. But none of them even suspects that Jahangir murdered Sher Afkan for the sake of his early love. They refer to Nur Jahan's early life, to her husband's violent death, to her marriage with Jahangir, to her vast influence over him, but they do not even insinuate any early love between them, any share of the second husband in the 'murder' of the first. Hawkins, enjoying the inestimable advantage of a knowledge of Turkish, arrived at the Mughal court sometime after Sher Afkan's death, received admittance into the rank of mansabdars, formed numerous acquaintances, and left Agra sometime after Jahangir's marriage with Nur

Jahan. Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry lived for several years at the Mughal court when Nur Jahan was at the height of her power and was the subject of universal talk. William Finch, an acute observer, found himself in India about the same time. Pietro della Valle confined his travels to the western coast, but heard much of events in the interior during Jahangir's reign. It is inconceivable that every one of them would fail to learn of Jahangir's guilt, if he were really guilty, in the Sher Afkun affair." It is needless to say that these arguments cannot be hastily dismissed and they deserve serious consideration.

There are a few defects in this excellent work that must be attributed to hasty revision. Gujrat is for example spelled in three different ways (Gujrat, Gujarat, and Gujerat) in different parts of the book. In p. 131 we read of Maha Singh son of Raja Man Singh; on p. 208 we are told "About this time Jagat Singh (son of Man Singh) died and was succeeded by his son Maha Singh. Such was the situation when Usman broke into open revolt and inflicted on Maha Singh a severe defeat on Bhadrak." In the index we find Maha Singh, son of Raja Man Singh, 131, his defeat by Usman, 208. Prof. Beni Prasad mentions the twelve great chiefs of Bengal but there were at no one time twelve great chiefs or twelve Bhuiyas in Bengal. The twelve chiefs who form the list of this illustrious nobles were not all contemporaries. We hope these few defects will be removed in the next edition.

Prof. Beni Prasad is a very modest man and does not claim finality for his History of Jahangir. Only fools and madmen can have the stupid courage of deeming their work as the last word on any subject. But we confidently hope that Prof. Beni Prasad's book will for the next few years at least, be considered as the standard biography of Jahangir.

The Defence of India.—“Arthur Vincent,” Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 195.

It is one of a series of booklets dealing with “problems of general interest published under the general editorship of Dr. L. F. Rushbrooke Williams.” We are convinced Prof. Rushbrooke Williams is doing the propaganda work which he has been employed by the Government of India in right earnest. The book may be well compared with a sugar-coated quinine pill. The author writing under a pseudonym pays a glowing tribute to the Indian soldiers' heroic service during the last World War in his preface. He appeals to the patriotic desire on the part of the educated Indians to undertake the military defence of the frontiers. He pretends to recognise the legitimacy and justice of such desire and hints that when Swaraj comes the Indians will have to defend their country against foreign invaders. But then he will have the naval headquarter of

the Indian fleet at Singapore. He advocates the wellknown forward policy and he thinks that the present extravagant military expenditure is by no means too high because he expects India not only to defend herself but the empire also if necessary. One may naturally ask why India should raise her little finger in defence of the white settlers of Kenya, for instance, in times of war while these very gentlemen are quite willing to murder Indians in time of peace? The author also opines that the complete Indianisation of the army must be a slow process for the fighting races of India are not noted for their education. Well the educated races are debarred from enlisting in the army because they do not belong to the fighting races and the fighting races must not get King's commission for they are uneducated and uncultured. May we ask what education and culture do those Tibetans possess who are now being given military training at Quetta? At whose expense are these Mongolian gentlemen from the extremely civilised, educated, cultured and progressive country of Tibet getting the training that is denied to the children of the soil. These Tibetans style themselves as Majors and Captains, we do not know in which army, but it is well known that at least one frontier of India can be very easily assailed by them. But what voice had Indians in the military policy of the British Government in India? We must humbly accept the following dictum of the propagandist pamphleteer—"Much has been written about the Indianisation of the services in general, and of the officers of the army in particular. The fighting races of India are certainly as good and as strong to-day as they have ever been, the proof was in the battlefields of the Great War; but more is needed than bravery and stamina. The key lies in the superiority of Western warfare and western weapons over their Eastern counterparts. For two hundred years the European soldier has been the military leader of India, because of his long training in the warfare and military arts of the West. Nor can the East learn those things in a moment." Evidently Japan belongs to the extreme West and the Tibetan Majors now residing at Quetta also hail from some unknown white country in Europe.

The Private Diary of Ananda Rangna Pillai from 1736-1761, Volume VIII, May, 1751, December, 1753. Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras. Edited by H. Dodwell, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1922, pp. 473. Price 3 Rupees.

All serious students of Indian History, who care to make an acquaintance with original and contemporary historical documents and explore the sources, know the importance of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. Ananda Ranga occupied an important office in the French Service and was for many eventful years Dupleix's confidential interpreter and news agent. He had

therefore unique advantages of getting information of the most important character and fortunately for us he did not neglect his opportunities. In the pages of this diary we read not only what happened but what was expected to happen. We read in the same pages of battles, political intrigues, wars and treaties and of peaceful commercial transactions, how clothes were sorted and packed, how they were purchased and sold, and how they were procured and despatched. The account left by Ananda Ranga does not lack intimate personal touch. Dupleix's vexation at his failures, his jubilation at his success, his joys and sorrows, the numerous eagerly expected but false rumour of Muhammad Aly's death, have all found their place in these pages. We learn to what extent Madame Dupleix was reasonable for her husband's success and failure, what part she played in his affairs, and how she was approached by all who sought favour or justice. Incidentally we find what an active advocate of missionary work she was and how she never missed a single opportunity of converting in their death-bed against the will of her victims and their relatives, the helpless Hindus under her husband's government. Balaji Baji Rao is throughout these pages called San Bhaji Rao and Baji Rao himself is styled as the Nawab and not the Peshwa. Nandiraj the Mysore Dalwai's brother is styled as Sarbadhikari and Malhar Rao Holkar is described as Baji Rao's Gunasta. The book will be equally useful to the students of political and administrative history of the Deccan.

Ananda Ranga never missed any opportunity of flattering his master and here is an interesting specimen—(Dupleix says) "I am the luckiest man in the world. I replied who doubts it? What other French man could have slain Nasir Jang, Subahdar of the Deccan, and ruled over it? Ahmad Shah Padshah himself so feared you as he sat upon his throne at Delhi, that he courted your friendship and desired your help. Who else could have been destined to such fortune? By your great deeds, you won this title of Marquis; and as you have no son, your elder brother's son will inherit it and others after him. Who can wonder at it?"

The Europeans in those days carefully studied Indian manners and that is why they were so popular. Both the English and the French celebrated their victories by distribution of sugar in right Indian fashion and received distinguished Indian visitors with *Pan* and *Atar*. Mr. Saunders, Governor of Madras, we learn was very fond of Tamil diet and for days lived on Tamil dishes.

The book is well printed on thick paper and is decently bound. Considering the present high cost of printing the book has been very moderately priced and the Madras Government deserves our thanks and gratitude for publishing this extremely useful work, and placing it within the means of every Indian student. We are eagerly awaiting the succeeding volumes.

PAHARPUR EXCAVATIONS



Rev. M.A.



Stray Terracottas.



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Mound on old site,



Rampart of the old site excavated.



Ourselfes

The Convocation Addresses

H. E. THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

GENTLEMEN,

I am very proud to occupy the post of your Chancellor and I devoutly hope that it may be my privilege to render some service to the University in that capacity. At present, unfortunately, I am suspected of being engaged in a sinister conspiracy to destroy its independence, if not its very existence. I am not concerned to defend myself against such a charge to-day as on this occasion I wish to avoid all controversial topics and I will content myself with saying only two things in this connection. The first is that I do not regard the post of Chancellor as a merely nominal title and an ornamental adjunct to the office of Governor of Bengal. I recognise that the post makes me for the time being the responsible head of the University and so long as I hold it I shall study to promote the permanent interests of the University to the best of my ability.

The second thing I wish to say is that I can only serve with any advantage in this dual capacity if the University is either quite independent of the Government or else associated with the Government in an intimate and friendly relationship. I fear that the first of these alternatives, though ideally the best, is unattainable in India, and this, I think, was recognised by the University Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler. The Report of that Commission deals with the matter in the following words:—"The Provincial Universities of India were all established by Government action ;

and they were established partly in order that they might exercise, on behalf of Government, certain functions of regulation and control over colleges and schools within their allotted areas. For that reason they have been from the first not independent corporations of learning, but bodies mainly nominated by Government wielding defined powers which were delegated to them, and subject to constant supervision by Government."

The connection of Government with the University, therefore, and the supervision by Government of the affairs of the University are no new things which we are seeking to create for the first time. They exist to-day, and the only object of the legislation which we are contemplating for the University is to make that connection and that supervision as intimate, as helpful and as harmonious as possible. I am content to leave the matter there and to trust to the future to dissipate the fears and the suspicions which have recently been aroused.

I now want, as this is the first occasion on which I have an opportunity of addressing the students of the University as their Chancellor, to tell them what is the function which I wish this University to serve in their lives and what are the qualities which I should like to see developed in them as the results of their University training.

I regard Calcutta University as primarily a great human factory and I am anxious to see that it supplies the commodity which is most required. The great need of the moment in India is for men—and by that word I do not mean human animals of the male sex. It is one of the defects of the English language that we have no noun to describe the human species except in terms of men and women. I use the word men in a sexless sense to mean persons—both men and women—with intellects, character, and physique fitted to do the work of the Nation to which they belong and which this generation is pledged to create. You may think, Gentlemen, that at college you have only your personal interests and prospects to consider:

that you have but to acquire knowledge, pass examinations, obtain degrees and enter a profession. You doubtless hope after leaving the University to earn enough money to live comfortably, to marry and to raise a family to succeed you and carry on your name. But if that is the only conception you have of your University career and of your destiny in life you will have failed to realise a fact which I want to bring to your notice. There are periods in the life of every community when the interests of the whole community dominate the interests of the individual, when the State has a supreme claim upon the services of its members. Such a period we have just lived through in England under the stress of the great European War. All those who lived through those years came to realise that the needs of the nation were supreme, and that to those needs their individual happiness or comforts or interests had to be subordinated. Though we were not individually responsible for the danger which threatened us, we accepted the obligations which that danger imposed upon us. Such periods occur as a rule when the life of the community is threatened by some external calamity. In a besieged city, in a district afflicted by flood or famine or pestilence, in a nation at war for its existence this law of compulsion is recognised and accepted ; at such times the rights of the individual must perish that the community may live. The thought I want to impress upon you is that we are living in such a period in India to-day though the evidence of it is not so easily recognised as in the conditions I have mentioned. India to-day is not threatened with destruction from without, we are not faced with any calamity of nature or assailed by any foreign foe. Yet she is engaged in a struggle for life which entitles her to claim the services of her sons and daughters. Her need arises not from the fear of death but from the throes of birth. The Indian nation does not yet exist but it has been conceived in the womb of Time. That conception having taken place, it is not in the

power of anyone to avert the consequences. But it is in the power of all of us to control and direct them. It is the fate of this generation to witness in India the birth of a Nation, and this fact imposes upon us all, whether we like it or not, very solemn responsibilities and obligations. We all have a part to play, I for a few years only, but you during the whole of your lives, in this great drama. We have to accept the consequences of the actions of others who preceded us but upon our actions, upon the conditions which we establish, will it depend whether the Nation which is born in our time is strangled at birth, or crippled for life, or grows into healthy manhood.

That is why I have said, Gentlemen, that you cannot live for yourselves alone, and that is why I have said that the supreme need of the moment is for men and women with clear vision and understanding of what is going on and with the intellects, character and physique which will fit them to play their part. I do not mean by that you have all got to be politicians. Actual politics play a much smaller part in the building of a nation than is generally supposed. In addition to politics a nation requires commerce and industry and sciences and arts. India wants statesmen, judges, administrators, doctors, nurses, engineers, captains of industry, philosophers and teachers; it wants a healthy, happy, cultivated people with sufficient food and occupation: it wants fine buildings, roads and bridges and railways; it wants paintings and sculpture and music. If these things are needed, it is to Universities like this that we must look to provide the needs. I feel therefore that in addressing you to-day I am addressing those who are going to supply the needs of India to-morrow, and according to the conception you form of your responsibilities and of your opportunities while you are here, will depend the extent to which India will be well or badly served in the years to come.

I have spoken of the building of the Indian Nation and I want to pursue that metaphor for a moment. It is not

inconsistent with the metaphor of birth, because we speak of building a body as well as of building a house or a temple or a monument. This nation then has to be built and you are both the builders and the material of which it will be composed. The material is of almost infinite variety and that has led people to say that a nation can never be built out of it. That would be true if India had got to become homogeneous before it could have national existence. But homogeneity is neither necessary nor desirable; the character of the various materials, they need only to be welded together so as to serve a common purpose. A body is composed of eyes and nose and mouth and ears and trunk and limbs, they all have their separate purpose in serving the body, but if you were to try and make a body which is all eyes or ears or limbs it would be a lamentable failure as a body. Similarly, in a house there are many materials, slates and bricks and wood and stone, --many features, doors and windows and roof, etc. --all these are different and valuable and necessary for the purpose of the house. So, too, in this Indian nation which you have to build out of your own selves, there are Hindus and Mahomedans and Sikhs and Christians and Buddhists and Jains and Parsis and Jews, there are Brahmins and Namasudras and the whole range of caste between these two, there are hillmen and plains-men, there are Bengalis and Punjabis and Madrasis and a host of others; that they are different does not mean that they are irreconcilable or unserviceable, all that is required is the cement of a common purpose to enable them to coalesce into a nation.

I don't want to talk politics as one who is concerned for your welfare and that of your country, and in that capacity I want to invite you to cultivate an attitude of mind which will make you good builders and good building material and to avoid as far as you can, an attitude of mind that will unfit you for either of those purposes. I hope you will acquit me of any

racial arrogance or prejudice when I tell you that the mental attitude I want you to avoid is the one which I and most of my countrymen have been schooled in from infancy, and the one I am recommending to you is one which should be congenial to Eastern philosophy and which, if practised, would enable the East to teach the West a lesson. What then is this doctrine against which I am warning you? It is the conception of life as a great battlefield in which rival forces are always fighting for mastery. We are taught in the nursery, in school, by the church, by society to regard life as a battle for which we must prepare ourselves by learning to distinguish between right and wrong, between what to fight for and what to fight against. According to this view of life conflict is a law of existence and individuals are organised into contending groups. The world is represented as a struggle between duty and pleasure, health and disease, poverty and wealth, capital and labour, right and wrong, God and the Devil, life and death. The result is that in every human being, as in humanity at large, there is internecine war, waste of energy and retarded progress. The ghastly object-lesson of 1914-1918 is only a reproduction on a world-wide scale of what goes on in every individual soul. And the pity of it is that though all war viewed from without is seen to be wasteful and destructive and evil, viewed from within it has attributes that are glorious and noble. It stimulates energy, calls forth unselfishness, and is often inspired by the highest ideal of the human mind. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*"—to die for the right, to vanquish the enemy, to win the victory—idealism can go no further. Yet stripped of its ideal associations what can be more hateful, more mad, more wanton than warfare in any form?

Imagine you all passing out of the doors of the University and being surrounded immediately by the clamour of rival partisans, calling upon you to join their groups and fight for their causes, and I want to suggest to you another conception

of life, another principle of conduct which will save you from the embarrassment of selecting an army in which to enlist. My message to you to-day, is to make the purpose of your lives creative not destructive, to aim at the reconciliation and not the defeat of opinions and movements to which you feel opposed. Make as much use as you can of all the materials which are within your reach. When you encounter some activity which appears to you to be pernicious, instead of saying to yourselves "that must be wrong because it is opposed to what I think right, therefore I will fight it," say rather "there must be some right in that because many others believe in it. I will not rest till I can find some way of reconciling it with my view and making it serve my purpose."

When you see two forces fighting against each other, instead of throwing in your lot with one of them seek rather to unite them both. Imagine a world full of trains or motor cars, all chained together back to back in pairs and being driven in opposite directions. Do not be satisfied to link on to one of these and impel it a little further in the direction in which it is facing but try to turn as many of them as possible in the same direction so that their energy may be used in unison and not in opposition. Take for your guiding principle in life and make it an article of faith, that all seeming opposites are reconcilable, that you can accomplish more as lovers than as haters, that it is greater to create a good than to destroy an evil. If you will do this you will, I am confident, find life both easier and happier and you will add a hundred per cent. to the efficiency with which you can serve both yourselves and your country.



THE HON'BLE THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is now incumbent on me, in accordance with established usage, to review in brief outline the work and activities of the University during the twelve months which have elapsed since it was my privilege to address Convocation last year. By an unusual stroke of good fortune, the ranks of our active members have not been thinned by death during this period, though we have to lament the loss of three of the most notable of our Honorary Fellows, each of them a graduate of this University. Raja Pearymohan Mookerjee, Nawab Serajul Islam and Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda were once familiar figures in these halls, and, in years gone by, were closely associated with the administration of this institution. They distinguished themselves in diverse spheres of life, but their characters had many a striking feature in common. Devotion to duty, sobriety of judgment and honesty of purpose secured for them the genuine respect of all with whom they were brought into contact. Fearless and trenchant critics of men in authority and of unwise measures invented by them, they were still regarded as true friends of the State. In the sphere of education, they never faltered from their adherence to the principle of freedom, expansion and improvement. May their careers serve as beacon lights to the rising generation of our young men.

The belief, I think, is widespread that during the last twelve months the University has been subject to the operation of a silent though persistent process of dissolution, and a complete collapse, imminent and inevitable, has been as keenly apprehended by our friends as eagerly expected by our enemies. By the never-failing grace of Providence, however, we have hitherto escaped what could not but be regarded as disaster by all well-wishers of high education in

these Provinces, and our work has been steadily continued amidst unsettled and perilous circumstances.

During the last sixteen years, we have uniformly recognised the principle that the most fruitful results in the domain of higher studies could be achieved only by the assimilation of what is best in the West with what is best in the East, for the revivification of all that is most vital in our national ideals. It is for this reason that we have successively brought our students into contact with such masterminds as Professor Arthur Schuster, Professor George Thibaut, Dr. Gilbert Thomas Walker, Dr. Andrew Russell Forsyth, Professor Herman Oldenburg, Professor Herman Jacobi, Professor Paul Vinogradoff, Professor Henry Edward Armstrong, Professor Alfred Foucher, Professor Sylvain Levi and others too numerous to name. We consider this one of the most valuable features of our arrangements for the promotion of special studies and research by the rising generation of our scholars, and to me personally it is a matter for peculiar satisfaction that, our efforts in this direction are likely to be materially facilitated, if we can act in close co-operation with the Academy of Culture, the Viswabharati at Santiniketan, which owes its existence to the inspiring influence of our great national poet.

During the last few months, we have had amongst us more than one scholar of international reputation. Professor James Wilford Garner of the University of Illinois, whose name is a household word wherever International Law and Political Science are studied, delivered a course of illuminating lectures on the Development of International Law during the first two decades of this century, as it has emerged out of that wreckage of modern civilisation, the Great World War. Professor Arthur Antony Macdonell of the University of Oxford, whose name is held in honour in every centre of oriental learning, discoursed to our students on Comparative Religion, as the first occupant of the Stephanos Nirmalendu

Ghose Lectureship, founded by our distinguished benefactor Mr. G. C. Ghose in memory of his son. These lectures constituted a new departure in our ideal of the scope of academic activity. In this materialistic age, when Universities are apt to be regarded as workshops for the manufacture of the public servant, the professional man and the skilled mechanic, it cannot be superfluous to impress upon our students that the highest ideal for man lies in love and service to his fellowmen and that whether we turn our eyes to the unfathomed depths of the sea or the boundless regions of space, beyond the things which are seen and temporal are the things that are unseen and eternal. We had also two courses of stimulating lectures by Dr. Stella Kramrisch who opened out to our students a wonderful vista in the domain of Indian Art, its contact with the Art of other civilisations and its true place in the system of Indian Esthetics. In addition to these, we had short courses of lectures by Professor John Mackenzie of the University of Wales on our present outlook in Philosophy, by Professor Millicent Mackenzie also of the same University on recent educational developments, and by Professor Buck of the University of Nebraska on American Universities.

While we have been fortunately able thus to extend a cordial welcome to so many distinguished scholars of such varied types for the benefit of our senior students, we rejoice to think that it has also been found possible to send out some of our most capable University teachers to investigate educational methods abroad and to undertake research in special branches of learning. In this category are included Professor Hemendrakumar Sen, Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra and Mr. Prabodh-chandra Bagchi, each of whom has been awarded one of the Travelling Fellowships founded by our eminent benefactor, Sir Rashbehary Ghose. Dr. Sen and Dr. Mitra are well-known specialists in Chemistry and Physics, and we confidently expect that their visit to the West will enhance their

unquestioned fitness to direct higher scientific studies in this University. Mr. Bagchi, who acquired a competent knowledge of Chinese under Mr. Masuda and Mr. Kimura, our University Teachers of that difficult language, has been deputed to accompany Professor Sylvain Levi in his tour through Indo-China and Japan and finally to proceed to the University of Paris for the pursuit of studies indispensable for the proper appreciation of the manifestations of Indian civilisation in ancient times beyond the limits of India proper. Well-wishers of this University will no doubt be delighted to learn that arrangements are in progress for the deputation of three other scholars during the current year.

While we have thus endeavoured to ensure a steady supply of men permeated with the highest traditions of scholarship, current alike in Eastern and Western seats of learning, we have not neglected the needs of what might be erroneously deemed as humbler spheres. For the first time in the history of this University, after hesitation and deliberation for many years on the part of the authorities, we have at last found ourselves in a position to institute the Degree of Bachelor of Commerce, and within a few weeks we shall hold an examination to test the fitness of students trained in the Department of Commerce which is attached to the Krishnath College at Berhampore and is maintained by the liberality of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar. We have also framed now Honours Courses for the Degree of Bachelor of Science, specially designed for students who may subsequently make a choice of technological studies. Instruction in these courses under modern conditions must be necessarily expensive, and we look forward to the best Colleges in this city, singly or jointly, to arrange for the introduction of these groups of fruitful studies. We have, in the sphere of legal studies, assigned an important position to Roman Law and Constitutional Law as necessary pre-requisites for a Degree in that Faculty. The changes I have hitherto

specified have already received governmental sanction and have come into operation. We have recently had occasion, moreover, to examine the regulations for Degrees in Medicine and to effect alterations in them with a view to elevate the standard of instruction and examination. One topic has here created a real difficulty such as sometimes inevitably arises from a conflict between an irresistible demand for expansion and an imperious need for efficiency; in such circumstances, prudence requires a reasonable reconciliation of the opposing ideals. But, of far graver importance than any of the changes mentioned are the proposed new Regulations for the reconstruction of the Matriculation Examination, which are based upon the recommendations of a Conference of Head Masters of Secondary Schools drawn from every part of these Provinces. They are of a far-reaching character, and if ever brought into operation, they are bound to revolutionise our entire system of education.

In these days of political ferment when plans for the reform of an institution leave out of sight the fundamental purposes of its foundation and culminate in devices calculated to concentrate authority in the captors, it may not be unprofitable to dwell for a moment upon one aspect of our activities which concern directly the student population for whose benefit the University and all who administer its affairs have been called into existence. During the past year, the work of our Students Welfare Committee and Students Residence Committee has been carried on amidst rapidly increasing difficulties. The Students Welfare Committee, which commenced its work now three years ago with extremely limited resources in both men and money, has continued its examination of students in the University and in the affiliated Colleges. The successive reports, which have been published and widely circulated, would have forthwith riveted the attention of responsible people in any civilized community, not wholly callous to the physical welfare of its

rising generation. The facts ascertained during the last year have fully confirmed the appalling situation disclosed in previous reports ; there is no longer any room for doubt as to the rapid deterioration and the consequent danger of the ultimate extinction of the cultured manhood of the country. Thousands of students have voluntarily submitted themselves to medical examination, and our records, which have been accurately prepared according to the most modern scientific methods, indicate that two out of every three students require immediate care and attention. Defects of all descriptions, in every part of the human frame, affecting the eyes, heart, pulse, tonsils, lungs, throat, spleen, and liver are matters of the commonest occurrence. What remarkable improvements may be achieved by proper training and supervision under favourable conditions has been conclusively established by the fine presence of the members of the University Training Corps which must have excited the admiration of all well-wishers of the students of the rising generation. Notwithstanding all this, neither the Government as representative of the people, nor the members of the educated public have come forward with material aid to promote the work of the Students Welfare Committee. Yet, inspite of great financial stringency, the University has carried on this laudable enquiry, of inestimable value to the nation, with the assistance of members of the medical profession, who have devotedly worked with unflagging zeal and have accepted what would be considered in every University other than ours as a ridiculously inadequate honorarium. At the same time, the problem of the residence of students, which is closely connected with the question of student welfare, has reached an insoluble stage. The houses available for this purpose are insufficient in point of accommodation, and, in many instances, are unsuitable from the standpoint of sanitation. The rise in the value of land, the increase in the cost of building construction, the severity of competition for such houses as exist, have all

contributed to a phenomenal advance in the rent, to an extent which is found oppressive by the middle class student with a limited purse. Here, again, applications for even a modest measure of additional help from the public funds has proved ineffectual. I cannot conceal my conviction that the problems I have indicated, which affect our students every moment of their lives, stand in need of immediate and sympathetic attention, and will be regarded by all their benefactors as far more urgent than the most ambitious plans for reconstruction of the machinery of the University.

Let me pass on for a moment to that section of our institution which has been created and is maintained for higher teaching and research and may appropriately be regarded as the true University. During the current academic session, which is about to close, the work of our University teachers in every department has been successfully carried on amidst financial difficulties of the gravest character. It is my pleasant duty gratefully to acknowledge that the wholetime University teachers, who cannot look forward to any external source of income, voluntarily kept a substantial portion of their salaries in abeyance, while lecturers who are connected with Colleges or may rely upon other sources of income, have, in many instances, ungrudgingly continued their association with our work without any remuneration. To crown all, Professor Sir Praphullachandra Ray, that veteran founder of the Indian School of Chemistry, who has also made his name illustrious as the guardian angel of suffering humanity, has offered to surrender his entire salary for a term of five years for the special benefit of the department which is proud to acknowledge him as its leader. Self-abnegation of this description is bound to call forth feelings of admiration from all but the most debased minds. I do not overlook that a considerable number of our University teachers has succumbed to the pressure of untoward circumstances and has taken up appointments elsewhere on more attractive terms, in some cases in

institutions in different parts of India, aided or maintained from the public revenues. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that notwithstanding privation, the large majority of our University teachers has tenaciously clung to their work of higher instruction and advancement of research.

There are unmistakable signs of intellectual ferment visible to all but the stone-blind, and I could not conceive of a more persuasive testimony to the rapid success of our efforts for the promotion of higher studies and research than the fact you have all witnessed, namely, that during the last twelve months as many as five candidates have been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Science and four for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. These Degrees can be obtained only by original research of unquestionable merit, and when we look at the subjects comprehended within the scope of enquiry undertaken by our investigators, we realise the diversity of the training they have received, the tastes they have developed and the culture they have acquired. Dr. Surendramohan Ganguli has taken a peep into the mysterious regions of hyper spaces ; Dr. Brajendranath Chakrabarti has studied the colours of tempered steel ; Dr. Bidhubhushan Ray has investigated the theory of coronas, glories and irridiscent clouds ; Dr. Nripendranath Sen has successfully tackled many an unsolved problem in the motion of fluids ; Dr. Nalinimohan Bose has attacked problems on the diffraction of light ; Dr. Sahayram Bose has prepared a monograph on the fungi of Bengal ; Dr. Sitanath Pradhan has constructed a chronology of ancient Indian History down to the age of Alexander the Great ; Dr. Upendranath Ghoshal has composed a history of Hindu Political theories from the earliest times to the commencement of the seventeenth century of the Christian era ; and Dr. Narendranath Law has elucidated the growth of ancient Indian polity. Be it remembered that the labours of these distinguished scholars have been appraised by investigators of the first rank, mostly connected in no way with this University ;

in the majority of instances, the Boards of Examiners were composed of men of the highest eminence in their respective subjects in British seats of learning.

What has just been mentioned furnishes only one illustration of the incontestable claim of this University to occupy the foremost position amongst the Universities of the Indian Empire as an organisation for the promotion of higher teaching and original research in many a department of knowledge in Letters as well as in Science. This has been manifest for some time past to all impartial persons interested in the progress of education here and elsewhere. Take at random recent volumes of recognised media for the publication of original research, such as, the *Philosophical Magazine*, the *Astro-physical Journal*, the *Physical Review*, the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, the *Bulletin of the Mathematical Society*, the *Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science*, the *Journal of the Chemical Society of London*, the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, the *American Mathematical Journal*, the *Transactions of the Tohoku Mathematical Society*, the *Transactions of the Faraday Society*, and last but not least, the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, you repeatedly come across contribution after contribution by our University teachers or by our University research students who have utilised in the fullest measure such opportunities as are afforded by an unreformed University. It is of paramount importance to emphasise that this steady output of original work, rapidly increasing in volume and improving in quality, emanates, not from one or two extraordinarily isolated or exceptionally gifted workers blessed with special advantages and facilities, but from a large body of able and devoted scholars, who have received inspiration from less favoured teachers. Their imagination has been fired by a keen desire to wipe out the familiar reproach that graduates of an Indian University are, by their training, if not by their very

constitution, as a rule incapable of participation in the task of extension of the bounds of knowledge.

While on this topic it is indeed refreshing to note that there is no immediate danger that the supply will be exhausted, for there are abundant signs that as the front ranks advance, their places will be taken up by men of the younger generation. This will be patent to all whose minds have not been petrified by green-eyed jealousy and who have generosity left to appreciate the full significance of the persistent increase in the number of well-qualified candidates for the Premchand Roychand Studentships. When these studentships, originally awarded on the result of written examinations, were restricted to candidates who had given evidence of capacity for research, it was feared that suitable competitors might not be forthcoming, in view of the extremely limited facilities for original investigation available at that period. Experience has proved that the apprehension was groundless; on the other hand, Boards of Examiners are now embarrassed by the high quality of the work, submitted in a variety of subjects whose relative value for purposes of comparison cannot be expressed in terms of the same denomination. Only a few weeks ago, the Boards of Examiners found it incumbent upon them to award the studentships to seven distinguished graduates, who had submitted creditable theses on such diverse subjects as Town-planning in Ancient India, History of Indian Alphabets, Indian Psychology of Perception, the Colours of Tarnished Metal Surfaces, Tidal Oscillations, the researches of Martin Freund and the Properties of Cubic Curves.

Distinguished workers of the older generation, whose mental elasticity has not yet been impaired by lapse of time, should not be slow to recognise that a new race of labourers has entered the field, fully qualified to maintain and continue the tradition they have so worthily created. Let me dwell on one instance only by way of illustration. It was my pleasant duty to mention here last year that through the liberality of

Kumar Saratkumar Ray of Dighapatiya, supplemented by a generous grant from Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, we then hoped to be placed in a position to undertake excavation work in classic Varendra land, in conjunction with the famous Research Society, so ably directed by one of our acutest writers on History, Mr. Akshaykumar Maitra. Notwithstanding all our embarrassments, the scheme has taken shape, and at the present moment the work of excavation is in progress. To me it is a hopeful sign that, in the accomplishment of a task of this nature, veterans like Professor Bhandarkar and Mr. Maitra should be able to enlist the cordial co-operation of three of our University Lecturers, Mr. Banerjee, Mr. Majumdar and Mr. Ray, brilliant young men of promise still in the threshold of their careers. It is only by a constant supply of men and money that historical research may be carried on in this style, so that we may aspire to tread in the footsteps, though at a respectful distance, of the founders of the British School at Athens and the British School at Rome.

My optimism as to the possibilities of the future refuses to desert me, when I consider the solid work which has already been silently accomplished under the most adverse circumstances and in spite of distressing embarrassments. The Journal of the Department of Letters which has now reached its tenth volume and the Journal of the Department of Science which has reached the fifth volume contain original papers by University teachers and students, whose value as contributions to the progress of knowledge has been frankly recognised in many a seat of learning in Europe and America. Within the last twelve months, our University Press has published not a few notable works, such as the Molecular Diffraction of Light by Prof. Raman, the Geometry of Hyper-spaces by Dr. Ganguli, the Prakrita Dhammapada by Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra, the History of Indian Medicine by Dr. Mookerjee, the English version of the classical commentary

of Medhatithi on the Institutes of Manu by Dr. Jha, the Life and Times of Socrates by Mr. Guha, the Administrative History of the Mahrattas by Dr. Sen, and the Economic Condition of Ancient India by Mr. Samaddar, which, in most instances, have already attracted respectful attention in centres of culture far beyond the limits of India. The work of Professor Cullis on the supremely recondite subject of Matrices and Determinoids and the treatise of Professor Banerjee on the highly controversial topic of Indian Fiscal Policy do not stand in need of more than a bare mention. Add to these the truly monumental work on the History of Indian Logic, ancient, mediæval and modern, by the late lamented Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, which has just been published and cannot fail to be recognised as one of the most important events of the year in the field of oriental scholarship.

I shall not venture to tire your patience with a detailed enumeration of our publications in the department of Indian Vernaculars which has been organised on a scale not hitherto attempted in any other Indian University. The volume of selections from Zend and Old Persian prepared by Prof. Taraporewala has already been published. The scheme for a comparative study of Indian Vernaculars continues to make satisfactory progress, and fresh volumes of typical selections from Hindi by Lala Sita Ram and from Uriya by Mr. Majumdar have been brought out, while the typical selections from Assamese and from Gujrathi are still in the Press. A start has been made in the way of publication of carefully edited and annotated ancient texts of our mother tongue with editions of Kabikankan Chandi and Gopichandra. The University Press has, however, failed to keep pace with the publication of the lectures delivered by Dr. Dineschandra Sen as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow, specially of his great work on Mymensingh Ballads which have never before been reduced to writing and still largely exist in the mouths and memories of

the people. They will throw a flood of light on the social, religious and economic history of Bengal, though they are, liable to be scanned by scholars chiefly from the linguistic standpoint as a contribution to the history of the Bengali language in one of the most attractive periods of its development.

The inestimable value of what is thus nothing short of a memorable achievement in unexplored regions of scholarship has long been realised by masterworkers in this domain. I still hear ringing in my ears the exhortation, pregnant with eloquence and wisdom, uttered in this hall thirty-six years ago by one of the most cultured of my predecessors, who, though a foreigner, felt far more genuine appreciation of the transcendent beauties of our vernacular literature than many a latter-day countryman of mine, made insolent by the superficial vincer of the western culture they claim to have acquired. Sir William Wilson Hunter, with the prophetic vision of a seer, saw in his mind's eye graduates of this University who would discover new Americas in the world of Mediæval Bengali literature and stand forth as its interpreter to the western world, with a nobler pride in their labours than in the richest material success or the highest official distinctions which might reward more lucrative careers. I must not, however, detain you longer with an exhaustive description of all the work which has been accomplished in this University during the last twelve months; but I feel it is incumbent on me to emphasise that intellectual achievements of this description, in the most diverse fields of activity, by scholars of the most varied types, working under widely dissimilar conditions, cannot justly be regarded as casual or accidental. The true scope and character of the work, produced by our teachers and students as members of the foremost seat of higher learning in India, are apparently unknown in many quarters, while in others it is often deliberately ignored that we occupy a

unique position as an active, a living centre of research in an everwidening domain of knowledge.

Let me assure you at this stage that this imperfect review of the successful efforts of our workers in the field of academic activities has not been placed before you with a view to create the impression that we have achieved sufficient eminence and that no further progress is needed. Far be it from me and all my colleagues to lend even the vestige of support to such a ruinous theory of self-complacency. On the other hand, we cordially look forward to helpful advice and criticism from enlightened men who realise that the troubles of mankind come from ignorance, that ignorance which consists less in not knowing things than in ignoring the things already known. We have accorded serious consideration towards criticisms of all types to such an extent that we have had to undertake the preparation of as many as ten comprehensive statements in the course of one academic session, not indeed with a hope to revive the traditions of the pamphleteers of the Augustan Age of English literature, but rather to help our critics to appreciate the true position with regard to many a vital point in our activities. Our defects, it may be conceded, are manifold; but no wonder that this is so, for we all know how adverse have been the circumstances which have affected our endeavours to lay the foundation of a Teaching and Research University. Let unfriendly and prejudiced critics magnify our deficiencies, if they choose, but let them not overlook the good that has been accomplished. I am moved to indulge in these observations because we have no desire to conceal our disappointment at the attitude of critics who regard charity, justice and fairness as lost virtues. We cannot shut our eyes to the lamentable fact that there have been abundant indications in recent times of the existence of what looks like a determined conspiracy to bring this University into disesteem and discredit. A satirist, gifted with an uncommon sense of

humour, recently classified the members of this confederacy as political adventurers, academic impostors and sanctimonious hypocrites. I cannot vouch for the logical accuracy of this classification, much less for its completeness; this at any rate is plain that critics of this type, if they exist, neither ascertain the facts for themselves nor act upon them when they have been investigated by others. They appear to have discovered from the depths of their inner consciousness and without adequate knowledge of academic affairs in other parts of the civilised world, that our activities have been developed on an extravagant scale and that we are actually guilty of the crime of duplication. The truth, on the other hand, is, I earnestly maintain, that this University was the first to organise special facilities for higher instruction and original research. We have passed through the four successive stages of development which so often accompany all new movements in this country. Were not our efforts at first completely ignored? Were not they next mercilessly ridiculed and then vigorously attacked? When victory for our aims and ideals was complete, were they not readily appropriated even by our opponents and that without acknowledgment? In such circumstances, I feel that the wisest of men can by no intellectual subtlety establish the charge of duplication against our institution. The charge of extravagance will be found equally groundless to all who are familiar with the strenuous endeavours which have been made to establish new seats of learning throughout this country as also to widen the sphere of influence of the most renowned Universities in the West. They have set the standard of a University and its functions, which we may cheerfully accept as our ideal. For years past we have unflinchingly maintained the fundamental position that a University can only flourish if it is a seat of learning as well as a school for undergraduates. We must not only have adequate arrangements for the effective instruction of

students by the best known methods, tutorial or otherwise, but we must also provide adequate arrangements for advanced teaching and research. The teachers of the University must be men of learning; they will no doubt absorb and utilise the new material which constantly becomes available throughout the field of knowledge; they must at the same time, by steady research, themselves contribute in the fullest measure to the increase and supply of such material. Within our limited resources we claim to have made provision for research and investigation without which higher teaching itself must inevitably lose both solidity and freshness and must become fatally impoverished in all its branches. If the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are deemed not yet to have done enough in the way of provision for advanced teaching and research, would it not be an error of the first order to assume that our arrangements are sufficient to meet the rapidly growing needs of the community? If it is apprehended that without further provision Oxford and Cambridge are likely to find their position as centres of intellectual life seriously imperilled before long, is not there grave danger to our future progress as a nation, should our growth be atrophied at what is but the commencement of our career?

The view I have just indicated receives weighty support from the opinion expressed in a valuable report on the conditions of Indian student life in the United Kingdom, drawn up by a Committee over whose deliberations Your Excellency presided. The Commissioners boldly outlined the policy that as India had been set on the road to self-government and autonomy, her sons and daughters should obviously be able to receive their education within her own borders. No Government in India, whatever its constitution, should be satisfied until the Universities of the country are staffed with the teachers and equipped with the material, necessary to ensure the best education which any Indian could require. When that has been accomplished, no

Indian will be under the necessity, which now exists, to seek his education abroad. Here in Calcutta we have for years past striven resolutely for the realisation of this ideal. The obstacles and difficulties have been numerous and powerful. We confidently claim reconstruction and development on the basis of a sound and generous educational policy, not destruction or curtailment according to the desire of administrators; for it must not be forgotten that we have been first in the field, we have achieved a large measure of success, we have set the example to others, and though we have found imitators, ours is still the one University in India whose name is familiar in western seats of learning as an institution devoted to teaching and research. We do not, while we maintain this, ignore the often undeserved cavil at our standards. Notwithstanding the defects of our methods and the deficiencies of our implements, our graduates and undergraduates have distinguished themselves in every rank of the public services and the learned professions where they have irresistibly penetrated in ever-increasing numbers. Finally, the significance of the patent fact cannot be overlooked that it has now become well-nigh impracticable to retain in our employ our University teachers, as they are constantly exposed to the temptation of higher emoluments offered by the authorities of reformed or newly constituted Universities, who have discovered that, after all, men imbued with our traditions may also help them in the realisation of their new ideals. We feel that however inconvenient it may be to have our ranks depleted in this fashion by our wealthier and more fortunate compeers, it is by no means a matter for legitimate regret that we are thus in a position imperceptibly to permeate new institutions with our influence and our traditions.

Let me pass on now to the burning topic of the hour, the problem of reconstruction of this University. You will not expect me to embark upon an analysis of all the

prophylactics which have been manufactured as sovereign remedies for the radical cure of our ailments. What has stirred us most is the confidence and readiness displayed by the physicians who have offered us the benefit of their remedial restoratives. We cannot overlook, however, that the magnitude and complexity of the task so impressed the Government of India that more than five years ago they were led to appoint a Commission to enquire into the conditions and prospects of this University and to frame a constructive policy in relation thereto. The members of the Commission were chosen with anxious care, and the majority consisted of four distinguished educationists of experience who had taken a prominent part in the administration and reconstruction of four different British Universities. The Commissioners visited educational institutions throughout India and received an enormous mass of evidence, oral and documentary, representing all shades of opinion in this country. They next framed their elaborate report and supported their recommendations by detailed references to the evidence they had received as also by an exposition of the reasons which carried weight with them. The plan outlined by the Commission has already been adopted in the reconstruction of other Indian Universities and in the establishment of new Universities. Bold, indeed, must be the reformers who, whatever their status and attainments, determine to set aside the recommendations of the Commission in respect of the very University with reference to whose special needs they reported. It is clearly incumbent upon such reformers to submit to the bar of public opinion a full and reasoned statement in justification of the action they advocate. To take an illustration, we have not yet heard of a vestige of a reason for a departure from the fundamental proposal of the Commission that the administration of a large University such as ours requires for its most effective conduct two bodies of men which should have largely different functions and for the

most part a different personnel. They must at the same time be, however, bound to co-operation for the welfare of the University, by regularly appointed and trustworthy means of understanding each other's views and necessities, and by a system of checks that will operate in guarded ways to make each responsible for its initiative to the other. One arm of the University should thus be chiefly responsible for what may be called its material affairs; the other arm, equally strong, self-respecting and independent within its appropriate sphere, must be wielded for the accomplishment of the academic functions. The Court of the University should be so constituted as to represent every important element in the public opinion of the areas specially served by the University and every kind of expert judgment whose criticisms on the University policy would be of perennial value. This supreme body will be vested with extensive legislative and financial functions in the administration of the University. Such a body should be so constituted as to consist largely of elected members so as to satisfy the legitimate demands of the democratic principle. On the other hand, the duty of the Academic Council to be introduced into the structure of the University would be to direct and review all the academic work and to be responsible for the standards of instruction and examination. The connecting link between the Court and the Academic Council will be furnished by an Executive Council and a Committee of Reference whose powers and duties need not be described here. It would be lamentable if a plan of this character, carefully worked out by a special body of experts, were to be discarded in favour of an unknown type of constitution. Such a course is full of grave dangers and may aggravate what the Commissioners described as some of the greatest defects of the existing system, which was forced on the country by the Indian Universities Act of 1904 notwithstanding the emphatic and unanimous protest of the educated public. Let us not repeat,

much less accentuate, the errors of the enthusiastic reformers of the generation now about to pass away.

We cannot further conceal our anxiety that schemes of reform should be matured without full enquiry into their financial aspect and apparently regardless of possible financial arrangements. It is a truism that education of all grades has hitherto suffered in this country by reason of inadequate financial assistance from the State. Let us not forget that education is the one subject for which no people has ever yet paid too much. The more they pay, the richer they become, for nothing is so costly as ignorance, nothing is so cheap as knowledge. Explore the history of civilisation, ancient and modern, you will find that the people who provided the greatest educational opportunities were always the most wealthy, the most respected, the most secure in the enjoyment of every right of person and property. This truth will be a hundredfold more manifest in the future than it has ever been in the past, as the struggle for existence grows keener and keener, and the very right arm of all future national power comes to rest in the education of the people. Yet, in these strenuous times, when Governments and Institutions of all descriptions are beset with financial peril, notwithstanding unlimited powers of taxation which have been exercised to the utmost limit, we are reproached as bankrupt, because we have exhausted our resources in the fullest measure for the spread of high education and advancement of research. Those who admonish us forget that education is a necessary preparation for the discharge of civic functions in a progressive age and that the indifference or hostility to the spread of education is liable to be attributed to the fear that knowledge and intelligence might create a wish for freedom.

Contrast what has happened quite recently in the British Isles when all their Universities, even such ancient and wealthy seats of learning as Oxford and Cambridge, were

threatened with imminent financial disaster. The British Parliament came forward with an interim grant of £30,000 a year to each of these two Universities for general purposes, and a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the position of Oxford and Cambridge, their special value to the nation and the dangers that must inevitably arise from want of funds. The Commission consisted, not of politicians or amateurs who clamoured to destroy the autonomy and liberty of the institutions, but of understanding people, who were University men themselves, who had attained eminence in many a department of Letters and Science, who were aware of University sentiment and tradition, who were prepared to respect them and were even concerned to preserve them. The Report of this Royal Commission which was based upon a large body of evidence is one of the most valuable documents in recent educational literature. We may affirm without hesitation that the Publicity Officer who will arrange for its distribution throughout the length and breadth of the country in its original form as also in vernacular version, will have justified his existence, if not earned the gratitude of the community. Meanwhile, we earnestly commend the report to all reformers who are sincerely anxious to embark upon so perilous a venture as the reconstruction of an institution which is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. Let them imbibe that breadth of vision and freedom of spirit which characterised the members of the Royal Commission as is abundantly evidenced by the nature of their recommendations. Far-sighted as they were, the Commissioners did not decry the activities of the Universities; they did not advocate curtailments, on the other hand, they earnestly pleaded for expansion. They recommended the grant of public money on an extensive scale—one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year to each University—for such purposes as proper salaries and pensions for University teachers, the adequate maintenance of University libraries and

museums, the endowment of research and advanced teaching, the increase in the number of Professors, Readers and Lecturers, the establishment of additional research studentships for young graduates, and the maintenance of laboratories and departmental libraries as an integral part of the apparatus of teaching and research. At the same time, the Commissioners boldly proclaimed that if there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion and tendency in the Universities, it would be the less of the two evils that they should decline in efficiency rather than lose their independence in order to secure adequate means. They resolutely rejected the proposal for the presence of outside representatives on the University Council whom they characterised as occasional disturbers of policy and originators of inconsistencies. They were equally firm in their condemnation of the proposal to include in the Council representatives specially nominated by the Government. They emphasised that the addition of such nominated representatives would assuredly be not in the interests either of the Universities or of the Government and that it was most undesirable that the autonomy of the Universities should be limited by continuous administrative pressure from without. It is refreshing to find that even on the Board of Finance the Commissioners did not consider it right to provide for direct representation either of the Government or of Parliament, and only recommended the inclusion of two additional members, who might or might not be members of the University, to be nominated by the University Council to represent Finance generally. I have been moved to press this point home with perfect candour in order to controvert what is assumed even by cultured people as a universal truth that with Government money must go Government control. That, I maintain, is a radically wrong ideal. As the Royal Commission pointed out, incalculable are the dangers due to centralisation of higher education under Government influence, and the

right progress of University education can only be secured if the authorities of the University themselves remain responsible for its conduct. The University should, on the one hand, be treated as the trustees of a great national concern who are able to appreciate their duties and responsibilities. The Government, on the other hand, should realise the paramount need of a great and progressive University for the people and the duty which it owes to the growth of such an autonomous institution.

The opinion I have ventured to place before you as to the paramount need for autonomy in a University is the result of experience of University administration for a long series of years and has been publicly set forth from time to time ever since the stormy days of the debates over the Indian Universities Bill of 1904 in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. I find myself in full agreement with men of the highest repute and ripest judgment in academic circles, when I maintain that the University must be free from external control over range of subjects of study and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from trammels in other directions—political fetters from the State, ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community, and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate repressive action of the University itself. The University must have the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. There need be no anxiety as to the future of the University, if a constitution is wisely planned on these principles, and the exercise of power is entrusted to academic bodies composed of qualified persons—not so large in size as to lose in efficiency, yet large enough to prevent degeneration into intellectual cliques; neither eternally unchangeable so as to resist all progress, nor so rapidly changing as to destroy continuity, yet varying sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of

personal policies ; and, finally, representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past, the needs of the present and the aspirations of the future. The strength of our convictions is not unnaturally intensified when they are found to harmonise with the deliberate judgment even of accomplished administrators who have been called upon to occupy exalted offices under the crown. We find, for instance, that Sir Harcourt Butler, in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Allahabad and later on as Chancellor of the University of Rangoon, expressed with perfect candour his apprehension of the tendency to interfere with the freedom and initiative of the University from outside. He emphasised the necessity for freedom of the Universities on the authority of the great Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and unreservedly associated himself with the warning pronounced by that distinguished body against Government interference, which was equally applicable to external interference in this country. In the same way, Sir Reginald Craddock was emphatic in his disapprobation of any invasion by the State of the independence of the University. In his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Rangoon, he observed that the Minister and the Legislative Council might endeavour, though such action would be quite unconstitutional, to make the grant of supplies conditional on the University, surrendering its principles to conform to some other educational theories of the Minister or the Legislative Council. Any such pressure, if it ever should be brought, would have to be stoutly resisted by the University itself, as indeed by all citizens who prefer the genuine to the sham, and are not to be imposed upon by fallacious ideals of national welfare. A University so enchained, he did not hesitate to assert, would be a body without a soul.

I cannot but deem it a singular coincidence that similar sentiments should have animated the leaders of thought in far distant lands in relation to their own Universities. I can

never forget the eloquent words employed by one of the noblest sons of Scotland, a Scot among Scots, while he described the probable dangers incidental to an endeavour, even if made from the best of intentions, to bring a Government and a University into the closest possible connection and co-operation.

The Earl of Rosebery, in the memorable address which he delivered as Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, described the situation in terms of unsurpassed vividness. "We do not take much or even ask much from the State. But the State invites us every day to lean upon it. I seem to hear the wheedling and alluring whisper—'Sound you may be, we bid you be a cripple. Do you see? Be blind. Do you hear? Be deaf. Do you walk? Be not so venturesome. Here is a crutch for one arm; when you get accustomed to it, you will soon want another—the sooner the better.' The strongest man, if encouraged, may soon accustom himself to the methods of an invalid; he may train himself to totter or to be fed with a spoon. The ancient sculptors represent Hercules leaning on his club; our modern Hercules would have his club elongated and duplicated and resting under his arms. The lesson of our teaching was Level up. The cry of modern civilisation is—Level down; let the Government have a finger in every pie, probing, popping and disturbing."

If opinions of this character could be deliberately maintained, in the very home of freedom, by one who had occupied the highest place attainable in the British Empire, there is no reason for surprise that we in this land should feel timid of the bearers of gifts from the public treasury. No arguments are needed to convince you, who are familiar with our travails during the last twelve months, that such a situation is full of untold possibilities of mutual suspicion and resentment, surrounded by a thick atmosphere of doubts difficult to dispel. The custodians of the public funds may not have the fullest confidence in the worldly wisdom of

those entrusted with the management of the University, and they may seek as, indeed, they did in our case, to annex unacceptable conditions; these, even when wisely abandoned, cannot but leave traces of an attempt to interfere with that limited autonomy which the University now enjoys. Conditions of this description, whenever imposed, in whatever form or shape, must be stoutly resisted by a University, anxious to realise that full measure of autonomy which, when attained, would be its priceless possession.

The application of these principles to present-day problems is so obvious that but for a recent event which must be fresh in the minds of all the members of this assembly, I would not have felt myself called upon to dwell on the subject further. It would however be idle for me to ignore the announcement made by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal before the Legislative Council that his Government was determined to press on with its projected legislation for what is called the reform of the University at the earliest possible opportunity. His Excellency further intimated with sufficient clearness that the plans of the Government had not up to this stage commended themselves to the members of the University. It may be explained here that the Government of Bengal had not responded to the request of the Senate that the proposed legislative measures might be communicated to them, and I do not feel myself free at present to discuss their provisions, as they were forwarded by His Excellency in his capacity as Chancellor for the ascertainment of the views of our Members, with an injunction that the contents might be treated as confidential. I earnestly hope that in view of the acknowledged divergence of opinion between the Government and the University, on what I consider as root questions of principle and policy, the authorities will not hesitate to make accessible to the public of Bengal and Assam all the documents and correspondence on the subject, so as to lay bare the full development of the scheme

in all the successive stages. Thus and thus alone can the people, who will be most seriously affected by the results of legislation, form an independent judgment as to the soundness or otherwise of the position adopted respectively by the Senate and the Government. No one, however, I take it, will venture to maintain that the Senate should not have recorded their opinion, with the utmost frankness and sincerity, when they came to the conclusion, after protracted deliberation and anxious examination, that the intended measures were detrimental to the spread and development of education among our people on the right lines. We have never made secret of our deep-rooted conviction that the best interests of the nation imperiously demand an autonomous University, disentangled from the meshes of a political organisation of a new type, which has not yet had time to establish a regular tradition and whose future growth and possibilities cannot be predicted with certainty by the wisest of prophets. Surely, it can not be for the welfare of an educational institution of the highest grade that it should be liable to be blown about by every wind of fashionable dogma in political circles, or that its principles and policies should be dependent upon every rise or fall in the political barometer. We stand unreservedly by the doctrine that if education is to be our policy as a nation, it must not be our politics; freedom is its very life-blood, the condition of its growth, the secret of its success. We do not hesitate to avow that we, as members of a University, are naturally distrustful of external control, and we are consequently pleased when we are assured that the authorities have no intention to place the University under the control of the Government. At the same time, this may be borne in mind that the members of the Senate have, in the expression of their views, been guided by the elementary principle that under normal conditions men may be presumed to intend the probable consequences of the course of action they pursue or

the plans they devise. We as practical men are, however, concerned, not so much with the philosophy of motives and intentions, as with probable effects and consequences, and that will be the touchstone which we shall apply to test the character of such measures as may hereafter be brought forward for the reconstruction of this University.

Far be it from me to bring this address of mine to a close on a note of gloom and despair. I do not forget that we have passed through anxious times and that we are still in the midst of what is likely to prove an era of the greatest crisis in the history of this institution. Supremely gifted must be that friend of the University who can see gladsome light through darkness visible, and predict with confidence the result of this clash and conflict of ideals. But when all is said and done, there stands forth unshaken the conviction that our insistent claim for the freedom of the University is a fight for a righteous cause, a fight for the most sacred and impalpable of national privileges. We have this consolation that when we look at the history of the growth and development of seats of learning in the West, the land of Liberty, we find that the cause of freedom and progress has invariably triumphed in the end. We feel consequently encouraged in our tenacious adherence to our ideal, in the belief that determined fight for the Truth is the noblest sport the world affords. Plans for reconstruction, if they are calculated to secure the realisation of our ideal, will meet with an enthusiastic welcome; if they are destructive of our cherished aim, they are bound to provoke strenuous opposition. It is superfluous for me to emphasise that what is at stake in the reconstitution of the University, is the education of all our people within our jurisdiction, and nothing can be more unwise than to force so momentous a measure without full opportunity afforded to them to express their considered opinion, when they have been awakened to a knowledge and care of their own interests. It is a truism

to assert that a democratic Government rests on the people and not on the few, on free public opinion and not on authority. There may be those who may scoff at the suggestion that the opinion of the whole is to be preferred to the judgment of the enlightened few. But who will seriously dispute, in these days of reformed constitution, that while individuals are of limited sagacity, the common mind is infinite in its experience? Truth is not to be ascertained by the impulse of an individual; it emerges above the strifes of parties and the conflicts of sects. It acknowledges as its only faithful interpreter the dictates of reason proclaimed by the general voice of mankind. He is the truest friend of the Government, who urges it to proceed with caution and circumspection and with sole regard to the good of the people whose welfare should be its supreme care. For, have we not witnessed that legislative measures, triumphantly placed on the Statute Book, notwithstanding the deliberate opposition of the people, have been ruthlessly swept away into the limbo of oblivion during the very lifetime of their distinguished framers?

Let it be remembered that there is some subtle salt or secret that keeps Universities alive, that makes them indifferent to fortune or time. No human institution is so permanent as a University. Dynasties may come and go, political parties may rise and fall, the influences of men may change, but the Universities go on for ever as seats of trust and power, as free fountains of living waters and as undefiled altars of inviolate Truth. Have not Oxford and Cambridge outlasted changes of party and of policy? Have not Paris and Berlin valiantly withstood revolutions that have transformed the facts of their nations, and do they not still exist, stronger than ever before? Have not Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Columbia outlasted illustrious Presidents of the American Republic? Have not Benares and Navadwip survived aggressive onslaughts of foreign invasions and

devastating floods of foreign culture and do they not still stand forth pre-eminent as monuments of Indian scholarship and civilisation? Generations of men have lived and died, but Universities have gone on their way, and well-founded they will go on for ever, for no human activity is so permanent as their influence for the betterment of human society and the good of mankind.

Fellow Graduates, you speak of this University as your *Alma Mater*. Do you always realise the nobility of this commonplace expression? What a singular endearment it voices—our fostering mother—what fine relation is that for a great institution of learning to bear to all those who throughout the years have learned wisdom at her feet and have gone out into the world, sustained by her strength and inspired by her lofty example. Those amongst you who have just been admitted to your degrees, will now enter into the great arena of the world, into the thick of the smoke and dust of its conflict, into the toil and moil of its labours, into the stress and storm of its passions, into the fierce crucible of eternal forces—the mighty touchstone of the Almighty for His creatures by which He puts them to the test. There you will walk into the shadow sometimes, but if you are worthy, just as often in the light. There you will feel the sting of defeat sometimes, but if you are strong, just as often the elation of victory. There you will see with unclouded eyes the weakness, the depravity, the imperfections of human kind, all the naked wretchedness which under the wise decree of Providence is a necessary part of human lot; but oftener, if you are true, will you look upon, in all their splendid proportion, the charity, the kindness and the goodness in human kind—those unconquerable virtues which redeem it, preserve the balance of human happiness and make of human life a broad and stately highway, marked by the milestones of exalted action and reaching into the throne of Heaven. But in whatever sphere

your lot may be cast, whatever your hopes and fears, turn back to your *Alma Mater* with filial piety and attachment. Councils will come and go; Ministries will blossom and perish; parties will develop and disappear or change their nature and survive. But your University, my University, will live on for ever, if her children by thousands and ten thousands stand by her with stedfast loyalty and devotion, alike in her days of triumph and affliction. Unalterable is my faith as to her bright future, because I feel she must be a national organisation, self-reliant though bound in service to the nation, adapting herself to the manifold and varying wants of the community, from generation to generation. I call upon you, Fellow Graduates, to join with me, in the words of the warrior poet, in a solemn pledge of eternal devotion to the Spirit of our Motherland, the protecting divinity of our *Alma Mater*.

স্বদেশ আমার ! তোমার সেবায় এ ব্রত লইনু আজি—
 পূজিতে তোমারে আনিব খুঁজিয়া ধরণীর ধনরাজি ।
 তুমি যদি চাও প্রাণপ্রিয়ধন—দ্বিধা না জাগিবে মনে
 স্ত্রধাব না কথা, প্রফুল্লবদনে এনে দেব ও চরণে ।
 আমার প্রাণের প্রীতি হবে দেবি ! তব পূজা-উপচার
 অবাধে সকলি সঁপিয়া তোমায়, লইব সেবার ভার ।

"I vow to thee, my country—

all earthly things above—

Entire and whole and perfect,

the service of my love—

The love that asks no question ;

the love that stands the test,

That lays upon the altar

the dearest and the best :

The love that never falters,

the love that pays the price,

The love that makes undaunted

the final sacrifice."

Two remarkable addresses by Sir Reginald Craddock.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My first and pleasing duty to-day is to make fitting reference to the two gentlemen upon whom the degrees of the Doctor of Letters and Doctor of Science *honoris causa* have respectively been conferred in recognition of their eminent services to education in Burma.

To Dr. Mark Hunter, Director of Public Instruction in this province, who has also thrice acted as Pro-Vice-Chancellor, before all others is credit due for the timely institution of this University, and for the sound foundation upon which it is laid. For so long as the University continues his name should be held in honour and grateful recollection. (Applause.)

Dr. Matthew Hunter is not only eminent in Science, but has for many years been the Principal of the College, now known as University College, of which indeed since the change in its designation and status he has been the first Principal. The students past and present of this valuable institution owe him gratitude in no small degree, and I doubt not that his name will continue to be held by them in great respect and affectionate regard to the end of their lives. (Applause.)

Both these gentlemen will before long be leaving Rangoon and Burma, but the work that they have done will leave after them, and it is most right and proper that the University which owes them so much should confer upon them the highest degrees *honoris causa* which are in its power to bestow.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I should also like to take this, the first opportunity, of publicly congratulating you upon the honour conferred upon you by His Majesty the King-Emperor since we last met in this place. (Applause.)

Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., First Chancellor of the University of Rangoon at the Convocation of the University held at the Jubilee Hall, Rangoon, on Friday, 1st December, 1922.

Last year, ladies and gentlemen, was the first Convocation of our University, and I discoursed to you of the cultural aspects of University life. I quoted eminent authorities, old and new, who had laid down in felicitous language the great principles which should govern a seat of learning, and guide its *alumni*. Of the formation of character, not only in the lecture room, but in the hostel and in the playing fields, of the lessons to be learned not only from the Professor, the tutor and the lecturer but by each undergraduate from the society of his fellows, of the search for truth, and the discrimination of what is true from what is false or only half-true,—of all these I discoursed, quoting not merely the observations of my own official experience but the deliberate judgment of many great thinkers who had devoted their minds to the problems of education. I trust that the truths and principles which these great men enunciated will never be forgotten, either by teacher or by learner, here and throughout their lives. But to-day I will rather dwell upon other topics. If our University were to concentrate all its energies upon literary culture and pure science, it would still be incomplete : learning might tend towards pedantry and the practical side of life be overshadowed by the academic. Cultural courses are the starting points of all University activities and it is from them that the University tone and atmosphere proceed, but a modern University which does not make suitable provision for higher vocational studies, and for training for the higher professions, is an incomplete and one-sided University. The ambitions of all must not be confined to a literary field or to a few cognate careers. We cannot all be Magistrates, and revenue officers, or all follow the profession of the law. If you try to overcrowd these walks in life, honourable though they are, there may be prizes for a few but disappointments for many. Burma wants higher vocational training for her young men, and it is the University that must give it to them. Take the great departments of Government other than the

Civil Services proper, the Medical, the Forests, the Public Works. Whence do we get the men for the higher ranks? From Europe and from India; and Burma herself has lagged behind. Why is this? There are two reasons. First, the want of higher training institutions within the province itself, and secondly, the disinclination of young Burma for what is called in colloquial language a "job of work." The first want the University will have to supply, the second deficiency you must remedy yourselves.

I had always hoped that a Forest College, a Medical College and an Engineering College would form integral parts of our University in Rangoon, but I confess that I regarded these desirable aims as somewhat distant, and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I am able to say that the obstacles in the way of this progress are proving far less formidable than I had anticipated. The authorities of the University have found most valuable allies in the Heads of these great Departments who have shown marked enthusiasm for securing that the Services which are under their control shall be manned by a far greater proportion of Burmese students than has hitherto been found possible. Through the collaboration of the chief officers of the Government Services concerned, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Service of Engineers, and the Indian Forest Service, with non-official experts, and the University authorities, and with the ready co-operation and support of other leading officers in those Services, Boards of Studies have been constituted, courses and examinations have been arranged or are in process of arrangement, and provision for staff and temporary buildings will be made before long. The needs of Forestry, Engineering, Medicine, and I may add, the Fine Arts, will be provided for in the plans for the permanent University buildings, the drawing of which will be on view on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone to-morrow. The proposal to include the Fine Arts as a branch of the University's activities has its source in the Burma Art Club,

and it is probable that this will be brought into the University scheme as a department of University College. This subject has been examined by a special Committee appointed by the Senate. Their report is of great interest and shows that in Burma there is a great need for the institution of a University Arts School. The Committee enlarge upon the need for better art training in Normal schools to provide a supply of competent art teachers in the province. They also enlarge upon the growing need for Burmese architects trained in Burma. They look forward to the addition to the school of the Fine Arts organised by the University, of workshops for the development of the indigenous arts of the province. They go on to say "These older Burmese arts, deprived of royal patronage and exposed to competition with the world market, machine-made goods and all the dangers of commercialism, are rapidly disappearing or becoming degraded. Yet in them lies the artistic traditions of the race, reaching back for more than a thousand years. It is desirable to introduce new life and vigour into these traditions, but it is important not to break them."

I will not now go into further details of the Committee's scheme, but will only say that I am sure that it will receive sympathetic consideration both by the University and by the Local Government. There is good reason to believe that in the Fine Arts, with right training and guidance the Burmans may attain special distinction. It is most encouraging to hear of the high promise shown by the two Burman students, members of the Art Club, who are now Government Art scholars in England. While the older Universities have faculties of medicine and engineering, by the inclusion of Forestry and the Fine Arts in their regular scheme of studies, the University of Rangoon will make a new departure. And, if we look to the great importance of forests in this country and to the special artistic tastes to be found in the people, it is a departure for which there is the most ample justification. The early realization of these schemes, earlier than was ever

expected when the University was established two years ago, will confer immense benefits upon the youth of Burma. Hitherto aspirants for higher training in these various faculties have had to take themselves either to Europe or America, or to institutions where such training is imparted in India proper. It will still be possible for a few whose means permit, or whose talents are specially marked, to seek higher studies in the West, but this is possible only for a few; for the many it is essential that training facilities should be available within their own country. There is no attraction in Indian institutions for the Burmese student, the demand for admission into these institutions among Indians proper is ever on the increase and we have already received a warning from some of these to which students from Burma had hitherto resorted that there will very soon be no room for applicants from Burma. The University is doing what it can, and as rapidly as it can, to supply these deficiencies. I feel sure that their activities will meet with unanimous approval in Burma and I hope that they will also attract the liberality of private benefactors.

I now come to the second deficiency I mentioned above, the disinclination of the youth of Burma to do a "job of work." I do not wish my audience to misunderstand me. I am far from saying that there are no hard-workers among Burmans. Our Provincial and Subordinate Services give evidence to the contrary. What I want to emphasise is the disinclination to adopt the more arduous professions, the professions which involve exposure, the professions which involve hardship, the professions which involve isolation in distant places; the preference for occupations which carry with them special dignity and a more or less sedentary life over professions which necessitate hard travel in the forest or in the field. It is this disinclination for arduous work of which the Burmese must shake themselves free if they are to hold their own in competition with other races. It is the races with most perseverance and endurance that make their mark

most in the world. The races that, prefer—again to use a colloquialism—"a soft job" are the races which remain soft.

And here I would specially say a few words regarding the necessity for Burmans, old or young—but my remarks are perhaps specially addressed to the young—to avail themselves to the full of every opportunity that offers.

I ask you, students, whether you do not wish to see your beloved country rising in status among the nations of the world. If you do, do not neglect your opportunities, do not be too proud to follow your guides. To me it has always seemed as if the goal of self-government in Burma—to use the language of imagery—was like a lofty and distant peak illuminated by the rays of the rising sun. Between us here on the plains below and that peak there are foothills and intermediate ranges which have to be surmounted before the summit of that peak can be reached, and a great deal of the intermediate and rugged, country is shrouded in mist. Those who are now guiding the destinies of Burma are anxious and willing to guide and lead you on your way up this rough and difficult ascent. Your national aspirations to reach that summit are also natural aspirations, but you will want help by those who know more about mountain climbing than you do, and can better appreciate the difficulties of the long journey. Do not reject their help any more than you have rejected it in the studies by means of which you have passed through your University career.

You, students, who are just about to enter upon your several walks in life, must be well aware that the ascent of the foothills is now about to begin and that when you have climbed them, you will be some stages further on your journey and in a better position to judge from there the lines of your onward route. There are some, a good many perhaps, who urge you to reject the proffered help of these guides, and to sulk and skulk in the Terai below in the expectation that without any effort on your part, save a surly refusal to grasp the

proffered hand you will be by some magic transported from this Terai to the top of that far off summit to which you all aspire. Which will you follow? Those who help or those who hinder? The positive or the negative? So far, students, you have taken the hand that offers. Continue in that course, but if your days here have not been ill-spent, you will know that as time goes on, and as you gain wisdom and experience you will need to rely less and less upon your guides and more and more upon yourselves. As in your school and University career you have passed from dependent childhood to more independent adolescence, so in your career through life and in seeking the uplift to your country you must go through all those before stages you can arrive at complete maturity.

You, students, upon whom University degrees have just been conferred, I exhort you to conduct yourselves suitably unto the positions to which by the degrees conferred upon you, you have attained. See to it that the lessons that you have learned here remain with you in your after lives, that the promises that you have made to-day are not vain promises. If you seek after ease, you will most likely lose it. If you seek after hard work and the performance of duty you will gain ease of mind which is worth much more than the mere physical ease of luxury and idleness. I like also to address to you a few words about your responsibilities. It is probable that a good many of you will find your way into Government Service. Many of you have no doubt heard or read of the prevalence of corruption in the Government Services. I know what I am saying when I state that higher education has been the greatest foe to corruption in the public service. But whether you are in the public service or outside it you will have learned lessons here if you have properly heeded them, which will keep you from the taint of conduct which besmirches the character of him who takes and corrupts the morals of the society in which he lives, thereby retarding the course

of national progress. There will be temptations but these must be stoutly resisted, each man remembering that whatever he may see around him, it is for him to set the example by faithfully adhering to the high standards which he has learned at this University, and which are both expressed and implied in the promises given to-day.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, there are other topics upon which I might have addressed you, but in which I will reserve my remarks for to-morrow's ceremony.

This will be the last Convocation during my Chancellorship of this University. Before long you will have as your new Chancellor, the first Governor of Burma under the reformed constitution. In Sir Harcourt Butler you will possess a Chancellor who has founded, or assisted in the founding of, more Universities than any man in India, and who has made University administration his special study. And there is nothing that is more satisfactory to me than to know that the principles upon which this University has been constituted are identical with the principles which he has so eloquently enunciated in recent University addresses.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall always be proud to have been the first Chancellor of the Rangoon University. I have witnessed its birth and its early struggles, and I leave it with great regret, but in the confident belief that it is now firmly established as a University which is going to hold its own with any of the Universities in India, whether older or younger. I shall, in my retirement, peruse reports of its progress with the greatest interest, and I believe that even those who scoffed at its inception will come to regard it not only with pride, but with national pride, as it grows from strength to strength (Loud applause).

II

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

If some complete stranger were suddenly to hover just a little above us in the sky without any knowledge of the locality, he would I think imagine that we were a company of persons apparently engaged in some form of religious ceremony to establish a pioneer colony in the middle of a primeval forest, though dressed perhaps in costumes which were singularly ill-adapted to the work of such pioneers, and I think that he would require several guesses before he arrived at a correct conclusion. Nevertheless, his first guess would be much nearer the truth than one might at first suppose.

The ceremonial of laying a foundation stone for an institution of such interest and importance is not far from being a *quasi*-religious one, for there is no one amongst this company, whatever his race or creed, who would not wish to invoke a divine blessing upon this great undertaking. And if, as we all pray, the buildings of which I have just laid the foundation stone are duly erected, and we accomplish the great objects that we have in mind, they will throw the effulgence of their rays over dark places where the light of the sun of knowledge has not yet fully penetrated, and where there are still many forests of ignorance requiring clearance.

Some of you may have seen, others may presently see, the interesting and beautiful drawings which Mr. Foster has prepared. These plans will have to be worked out in great detail and thoroughly examined. The architect himself may after his examination desire to make modifications, but he has spent much time and labour on the production of these drawings, so that they might be ready for inspection on the occasion of this ceremony, and the thanks of the University and of the

Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., First Chancellor of the University of Rangoon at the ceremony in connection with the laying of the Foundation Stone on the New University Buildings held at the University Estate on Saturday, the 2nd December, 1922, at 4.30 P.M.

public are due to him for the great exertions that he has made to produce before us a presentation of his conception of the buildings to be erected on this spot. *The responsibility on the architect for buildings such as these is very heavy, for it is not enough to conform to the technical canon of his craft, and not enough to satisfy the aesthetic tastes of connoisseurs of architecture; they are must carry with them into the practical line of the generations of students who will inhabit or seek instruction in these buildings that spirit of affection and reverence—I might indeed say awe—which all students should feel for their *alma mater* throughout their lives. They must be the concrete embodiment of all those sentiments and ideals of University life, on which I enlarged to you at the first Convocation of the Rangoon University.

If one sees in the eye of imagination, ladies and gentlemen, these buildings by the lake and tries to think how they will look in the days to come when they are inhabited by a throng of eager undergraduates in their studies and their sports, when one thinks of the dignity and solemnity of our University celebrations that will take place here in the future, one can realise the difficulty of the architect's task. All of us can perhaps think the thoughts but how few would know how they should be expressed in brick and stone.

The great feature of our University is residential and teaching and not merely an examining University. It is only if it is both residential and teaching that it can achieve all the results that we desire. There are still persons in Burma who call for the affiliating type of University, under the mistaken idea that in this way the benefit of learning can be better diffused over the province. Upon this subject I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Harcourt Butler, who in his recent speech at the Convocation of the Allahabad University remarked.—

“The dangers of an affiliating University are many—the determination of the curricula by examination instead of the

determination of the Examination by curricula, the multiplication of subjects without much educational articulation, the lowering of standards by having to cater for weak institutions and backward areas, and the clash of rival interests in the University itself."

These are the words of one who has long experience of University problems and knows both types.

Let us concentrate, ladies and gentlemen, concentrate, I say and again concentrate all our efforts in order that the benefits which can be diffused from this centre are of the highest value that it is possible to produce. If we spend the money available in dotting third rate colleges over the length and breadth of Burma we shall scatter our resources instead of concentrating them; we may diffuse more education of a sort, but the learning so diffused would be most indifferent. How are Burmans to compete with other races if they are going to be content with the second or third rate?

As years go on, and perhaps before very long we shall be able to introduce a system by which the early University courses shall be given at college classes attached to the schools, or, as they may be termed, intermediate colleges, and as further time passes and as local resources largely increase one or other of these intermediate colleges may in turn rise to acquire itself University status. But it would be the extreme of shortsightedness if we were to spoil our brilliant prospects by so diffusing our energies. We should be sacrificing the substance for the shadow.

I have also seen stated, ladies and gentlemen, in some quarters that as the University under the new Reforms will be a transferred subject, the new Government can at its pleasure alter the law or otherwise disturb the University system now in process of development. But whatever the constitutional changes that may come about, the Government of Burma will still be the Government of Burma, and the Rangoon University, will still be the Rangoon University, each exercising

its separate functions and I cannot imagine any responsible Minister for Education or any responsible legislature seeking to dig up the foundation upon which we have built, or want only to undo the great work that has already been accomplished. I am quite sure that my successor in the office of Chancellor is not likely to look upon any invasion by the State upon the independence of the University with greater favour than I do myself. In the same speech from which I have just quoted Sir Harcourt Butler said :

“There is one matter which causes me some little apprehension, namely a tendency to interfere with the freedom and initiative of the University from outside. The great Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which has recently published its report, the last word on university education, while recommending an increase of the annual Government grants to each University from £30,000 to £100,000 largely for the extension of research, entered a solemn warning against Government interference, which is applicable to other external interference in this country.” He went on to read from the report the following words :

“That the attempt of the State to control opinion in the University and College broke down in 1688, and was never resumed is a great fact that has distinguished our University system from that of France and Germany. It is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. If there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion in the Universities it might be the lesser of two evils—that they should decline in efficiency rather than lose their independence in order to obtain adequate means. But the ways of thought and feeling of the modern British community are hostile to any development in the direction of State control of academic spirit, and the public grants already enjoyed by old Scottish and new English Universities have not led to State interference with opinion and tendency in those institutions.”

I do not deny of course that it would be within the power of the Government to invade the independence of the Senate, the Council and the Chancellor of our University, but they could only do so by a radical alteration of the provisions of the University Act. It is true also that the Minister and the Legislative Council might if they pleased starve the University and the constituent colleges and if the University and the colleges were still dependent for their finances on the State, then the University and the colleges would cease to exist. Or the Minister and the Legislative Council might endeavour, though such action would be quite unconstitutional, to make the grant of supplies conditional on the University surrendering its principles to conform to some other educational theories of the Minister or the Legislative Council. Any such pressure, if it ever should be brought, and I do not for a moment think that it will ever be brought, would have to be stoutly resisted by the University itself, as indeed by all citizens in Burma who prefer the genuine to the sham, and are not to be imposed upon by fallacious ideals of national welfare. A University so enchained would be a body without a soul.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been my happy lot to lay two foundation stones in Burma, that of the Agricultural College in Mandalay in August last year and that of our new University buildings here to-day—the one to benefit the toiling millions who till the soil, the other to mould the character of the leaders of the Barmese people to whom the welfare of those toiling millions will more and more be committed. The former building is well advanced, and there should be no risk now of any hitch. But with this greater project the problem of ways and means has yet to be fully worked out. The plans and estimates have yet to be prepared in full detail, and we do not yet know the cost. Mr. Foster's plans are for simplicity and beauty, but simple as he may make them, in these days even a lot of money goes only a little way. The resources of the University are limited, and the Government has upon it many urgent

demands, but I have every confidence that my successor in the Chancellorship will solve our difficulties. Here is an opportunity also for those citizens whom Providence has blessed with ample wealth to play their part. The pious founders and benefactors of such institutions in Europe are numbered by the score and by the hundred. Opportunities for generous benefactors to build the halls and to provide other liberal endowments are many and great. We are to build upon this foundation not for to-day or to-morrow but for generations to come. The benefactions that are made will be for objects that are not evanescent or ephemeral, but that will endure as long as civilization lasts in this our country of promise.

In this hope, and the strong faith in the goodness of this cause, and in the purity of our design for the true welfare of Burma, her sons and her daughters, I pray that the blessing of the Almighty may rest upon this noble enterprise.

Address by Sir Harcourt Butler.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

It has been a source of great pride and pleasure to me to confer on Sir Reginald Craddock, my distinguished predecessor, our First Chancellor, *in absentia*, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. It is very fitting that we should so honour him, and in honouring him we honour the University. During his term of office many far-reaching reforms were carried out in the educational field, some of which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have enumerated. On elementary, secondary, advanced, cultural and vocational education he left his mark. But he will be remembered for all time as the father of this University, and it falls to us to complete his work and to carry it forward.

¹ Speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Chancellor, University of Rangoon, at the Special Convocation, held on the 2nd February, 1923.

I understand that the University will mature proposals for a policy of building and finance which will be laid before my Hon'ble Colleague, U Maung Gye, the Minister for Education. We shall have to consider the exigencies of the financial situation, but one thing is quite certain that a University without its own buildings is a homeless thing which cannot be called a University at all. The first step has been taken, and a series of really beautiful buildings has been designed by my friend Mr. Tom Forster. I commend to you his drawings which are here this evening for inspection.

In expressing our gratitude to Sir Reginald Craddock, I ought to mention the debt which both he and the University owe to Sir Mark Hunter, who is shortly leaving us. His large knowledge and love of high educational ideals will long be missed in the deliberations of the University.

I have been asked to address you on general topics and I should like to say something to you on the position of the University in national life. I have elsewhere described Universities as "Power Houses of Freedom." They are also powerful influences in nation building. Not only do they stand and point a way from the past to the future, they set their stamp upon, and take their tone from, the younger generation. They bring together different mentalities and weld them together to a common end. Their direct influence is great, but their indirect influence is still greater. Why did Mr. Cecil Rhodes, a man of great imaginative power, endow a magnificent series of scholarships at Oxford? He realised the power of the University, which he himself had felt, to bring the Empire together. Why did the wealthy citizens of America endow Universities with a generosity that is the envy of the world? It is because they see consciously or unconsciously that the Universities in America are developing that national spirit which for a long time was wanting in that great continent, which drew to itself those who wished to better their condition from the many nations of the West. What is the

great force at work in India to-day to harmonise and make some thing like a nation of that congeries of gifted peoples of different origins, ideals, language, and social usages? It is the Indian Universities. You know what Universities have done in fashioning the nations of Europe. And I want you to look on this University of Rangoon as the national University of Burma, on which your future prosperity will largely depend.

In my address at Allahabad I emphasised the necessity for freedom of the Universities in words which I will repeat to you now, words which apply, with the necessary alterations, to the Rangoon University.

“There is one matter which causes me some little apprehension, namely a tendency to interfere with the freedom and initiative of the University from outside. The great Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which has recently published its report—the last word on University education—while recommending the increase of annual Government grants to each University from £30,000 to £110,000 sterling, largely for extension of research, entered a solemn warning against Government interference, which is applicable to other external interference in this country. Let me read to you their words:—

‘That the attempt of the State to control opinion in the Universities and Colleges broke down in 1698, and was never revived, is a great fact that has distinguished our University system from that of France and Germany. It is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. If there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion in the Universities, it might be the loss of two evils that they should decline in efficiency rather than lose their independence in order to obtain adequate means. But the ways of thought and feeling of the modern British community are hostile to any development in the direction of State control of the academic spirit, and the public grants already enjoyed by the old Scottish and new

English Universities have not led to State interference with opinion and tendency in those institutions.

I trust that in this province the same thought and feeling may grow up. The decision of academic questions should undoubtedly be left to the academic body, which is doubly susceptible to University tradition and to public opinion. I am impressed by the consideration that we are at a stage when any undue interference with the University will militate against the future development not only of the University but also of the province."

There is no room at present in Burma for other Universities, but they may arise in the future. We must contemplate on all sides an expansion of educational activity. There is room for all workers in the educational field to provide education up to a given standard of efficiency. Here, as in India, so-called national schools have sprung up. In India they have languished, and I am told that they are languishing here. I welcome any expenditure by private individuals on education, and I hope that the so-called national schools will be absorbed into the educational system in some form or another; and I would remind you that the educational system is now and will be in future a national system. Education is a transferred subject, and it will be presided over by a Minister chosen from among the elected representatives of the people, and the policy will be dictated by him and the Legislative council. I think that if once you get fixed in your mind that the Government is now mainly your own Government, and that you will have a large voice, and even a predominant voice, in the management of affairs, some sources of friction which may have existed in the past here or elsewhere, will exist no longer. You can all, I think, be confident that my Hon'ble Colleague U Maung Gye will not be indifferent to the claims of education.

I will not detain you longer, gentlemen, at this late hour. I shall have other opportunity of addressing you, but I did

not like to miss this occasion to impress upon you the great truth that the Government is now largely your Government, and that the University will be your University, and that you must look to the University, by maintaining sound and high ideals of University teaching, to play its part, its great and beneficent part in the unravelling of your future as a nation. Let us cultivate imaginative power while we work on the task immediately before us.

~ Lord Lytton at the Dacca University.¹

GENTLEMEN,

This is the first occasion which I have had of meeting you as your Chancellor, and of all the duties which devolve upon me in that office, the ones I appreciate the most are those which bring me into personal touch with the students of the University. Most of my duties are concerned only with the shell of the University, its body so to speak and its material welfare—its buildings, its finances, its relations with the Government and the public, its curriculum, its legislation and so forth. To-day I am able to deal with its soul—with you its students, who are the true expression of its life and purpose. I have already stated in public that in my opinion this University is Dacca's greatest possession, and will do more than anything else to increase and spread the fame of Dacca beyond the limits of Bengal or even of India itself. I want this institution, therefore, to be a source of special pride to the people of Dacca and I want to see it take a big step forward during my own period of office along that road to fame which I have predicted for it. It has as yet had little more than one complete year of existence and

¹ His Excellency's Address at the Convocation of the Dacca University, on 22nd February, 1923.

already its progress has been very encouraging to those who are specially interested in its welfare. The University system in Bengal was pronounced by Sir Michael Sadler's Commission to be "fundamentally defective." "It squanders," they declared, "her most valuable asset, which is the brain power and moral vigour of her sons. In a grave degree it fails to turn their great abilities towards the most socially useful ends; it does little to train their powers of initiative and to inculcate independence of mind and judgment. A change which will help in getting rid of these shortcomings in the present system of education and which will give a stimulus to the capacity for public service in new careers will in the long run be an economy, as well as in other ways a boon to Bengal; and through Bengal to India and the world."

The first step which has been taken in Bengal to effect this change so eloquently demanded by the Commission has been taken here where a tutorial system has been established and an attempt made to free the teaching of the University from the bonds of that examination system which the Commission so rightly condemned. Each student is now trained to think for himself instead of merely remembering by heart what he has read in books or been told in lectures. This system is already established; it is already apparent after only 18 months' experience as the distinguishing feature of the teaching of this University. I hope it will be further developed and improved. Its value, I am told, is already appreciated by the students, and before long it will become recognized outside the walls of the University, because it will be found that the Dacca trained student is a superior man. It matters little in life how much a man can remember of the books he read or the lectures he listened to at college. What does matter is that he should have a good brain, a well-trained mind, that he should be able to think for himself and show discrimination and judgment in unfamiliar situations. Your professors here are trying to enable you to establish hereafter

a reputation of that kind and thus to ensure your success—no matter what subjects you may be studying. It is not the subjects which you are studying, but the way you are studying them which will mainly determine your future success.

This University is only at the very beginning of its life—its reputation is still all to make. I want to assure the teaching staff of my deep personal interest in their work and of my high appreciation of the good beginning which has been made. I realize how discouraged they must feel at this moment by the criticisms which have been raised against them and at the suggestion of the Retrenchment Committee that they are extravagant and overpaid. I beg them not to lose heart nor faith. As a Government we have obvious difficulties, because our needs are great and our resources are small. We cannot afford, therefore, to squander or waste, but let it not be thought that we cannot afford to pay our teachers or maintain our Universities. You have but to prove your value, and I can promise you the encouragement and support of Government. This splendid institution, with its unique opportunities and its promise of a brilliant future, is not going to be starved out of existence in the first few years of its life. Criticism you cannot escape any more than I can. It is not desirable that you should, for criticism should act as a stimulant to a healthy body, but do not let any criticism lead you to doubt the appreciation and gratitude of those who know the true character of your work.

As your Chancellor, you will always find me ready to champion your interests. But, gentlemen, it is not the Chancellor nor even the Vice-Chancellor, who can make this University famous. The fruits by which it will be judged are the students whom it trains, their academic attainments, and the reputation which they can establish in the field of learning and in the public life of India. I want, therefore, in the very first speech that I address to you, as your Chancellor, to appeal to you to help to make my prediction come

true, to ask you to share my ambitions for this University, and to suggest to you some of the ways in which you can either make or destroy its reputation.

First and foremost then, I would ask you to remember, that in coming here you have something more to do than merely to get a degree or to improve your chances of getting employment in life. I don't suggest that this University cannot and will not help you in this way. It can, and you will do well, to get out of it as much as you can. Indeed, I regard it as the main duty of the Governing Body to study how the University may best help its students, to arrange its courses, and to fix the subjects of study in such a way as to give to the students the mental equipment and training which will be of most service to them in after-life. As Chancellor, I shall give my closest attention to this problem. I have already discussed it with the Vice-Chancellor and I hope before long to set up a Committee to act as a permanent Advisory Body to Government in our higher educational policy. We have two great Universities in this province. At the moment they are both suffering from the recent political changes which have withdrawn them from the charge of the Government of India and left them to the care of a Provincial Government, with financial resources wholly inadequate to their great needs. It is no good wringing our hands over these changes ; it is no good looking back to the days when the Sadler Commission did its great work and recommended reforms of Calcutta University, which it expected the Government of India to carry out. It is no use recalling the days when Dacca had just ceased to be the capital of Eastern Bengal and when the late Sir Robert Nathan and his committee of experts were busy designing the University of Dacca as a splendid Imperial compensation. Those days are gone beyond recall and the Act of 1919 is now an established fact which we must all recognize and accept. It has left the Government of Bengal with an almost impossible burden of responsibility—

with an unreformed University of Calcutta, with a new University here at Dacca designed on an ambitious scale, and with the Meston settlement, which, with a population equal to that of Madras, has assigned to us only the revenue of the Punjab!

Well, might we say that the task was an impossible one. But we have got to do the best we can in these difficult circumstances, and with our limited resources it is all the more important to see that nothing is wasted, that there is no duplication and overlapping, and that such money, as we can afford to spend on higher education, is wisely and equitably distributed between the two Universities. I do not suggest, of course, that no subject should be taught at both Universities. They serve different districts and will necessarily include similar courses of study; but each University should have one or two special features, and it is in special studies that overlapping should be avoided. Dacca is already marked out as a Residential University which Calcutta can never become, and situated as it is in Eastern Bengal, Dacca will naturally become the chief centre of Muhammadan learning and devote special attention to higher Islamic studies. The important thing is that both the needs and the advantages of each should be carefully and impartially studied. If there is jealousy between Calcutta and Dacca, if they become rivals rather than collaborators, and if the energies of either of them is dissipated in controversies with the Government or the Legislative Council, then our task will be rendered quite impossible, these two great institutions will suffer, and irreparable damage will be done to the present and future generations of students. We must all work together and co-operate with each other to make the very most of our resources and our opportunities. It is to help us to achieve this end that I propose to seek the advice of a committee of educational experts on which I shall ask the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities to serve.

You will see from this that I hope to concentrate the efforts both of the Government and the University authorities

upon the problem of making this University as valuable as possible to you and of securing the best possible teaching in those subjects which you most desire to study. Dacca University has been much criticised of late for being too cultural and academic in its teaching, and demands have been made that it should become more technical and provide an education that would be more definitely vocational. That is a criticism which may be justly directed against all our educational methods. We turn out each year a large number of men whose degrees are little esteemed and for whose services there is no demand. This is due, as I have already suggested, as much to the way they have been taught as to the subjects they have studied but it is a defect for which we have got to find a remedy. The problem is not so simple as some people imagine, and it would be just as easy to produce a superfluity of engineers or scientists as of lawyers and clerks. What is required, I think, is to study carefully the needs of the country, to find out what are our requirements in man power for agriculture, commerce, industry, medicine, law, scientific research, and public life, and then to provide such training as will produce the most highly-educated men in all these departments. But the choice of a career and of a course of study must always rest with the individual student.

This brings me back to the main purpose of my address to you to-day, namely, the part which the students must play is the reputation of our Universities is to be established and maintained. I have admitted that you are fully justified in trying to get out of your studies here as much material advantage as you can, but the point I want to emphasize is that if it is the main purpose of University to give to you what you most require, it should be your main purpose not merely to take, but to give something in return. I mean by that, that you should not be content merely to come here and get a degree with the least possible trouble to yourselves, but that you should regard it as your main object to bring credit

to the University, to study less with the object of securing a job in life than with the object of doing credit to Dacca University. If you look upon this place as a mere technical high school and ask no more of it than that it should give you the letters B. A. or B. Sc. to improve your chances of employment, then it will never rise above the level you have set, and the ambitions I have expressed for it will never be fulfilled. If this place is to become a great and famous University, you must recognize that a University is a seat of learning and not a mere employment agency ; you must desire that the standard of its examinations should be as high and not as low as possible ; and you must regard it as a point of honour to establish the fact and get it recognized by the whole world that a degree at Dacca University represents a high standard of learning and is in fact equivalent to a degree in any other University.

Now the essential difference between a University and a technical school in this, that at a University every course of study is provided and should be undertaken with the sole purpose of producing the highest standard of achievement in that branch of study. It may be necessary for the purposes of your career that you should have no more than an elementary knowledge of languages or literature or history or mathematics or science, and it may be that to get a degree, a superficial knowledge of a few of these subjects will suffice, but if we study them at a University, you should study them as if your object were to become a scholar, an historian, a mathematician or a scientist, and you should be content not with the mere standard of an examination, but with nothing less than the standard of your professors. Only, if you study in this spirit, will you derive the full advantage which this place can give you ; only so, will you be able to repay what has been given you by adding distinction to the University of which you are members.

And this is true not only in the field of learning, but in the social life of the University. Most of you, I hope,

have political ambitions and whether or not you ever become active politicians, you are probably anxious to see the development of the political consciousness of your country. We hear much of the desire of India to govern itself. But India has to be created before it can govern itself or defend itself or have a self with which to do anything. To build up the Indian nation is the problem of the day, the object of us all. It is my object as much as yours. I am here not to prevent or to retard, but to accelerate the creation of an Indian nationality. But a nation is not an abstraction, a political theory, a form of Government; it is a unit, a community, and it can only exist if the individuals and the smaller communities are prepared to subordinate their lesser interests to its service and its defence. A community consciousness is the first essential of nationhood, and here in a University like this, that community consciousness can be and should be developed. Unless you can conceive of your University as a unit and learn to serve it, you cannot serve Bengal, still less India. In India at present the strongest communities are those of caste and creed. I do not criticise them or suggest that they are inconsistent with nationhood. On the contrary, they are indispensable links in the chain, but, until you have found some other common interest, which can dominate caste and unite rival creeds, an Indian nation cannot become a reality. I suggest to you, then, and this is the last thing I desire to say to you, that here in your University life you should try and build up among yourselves a University consciousness, a community membership, which will override all other considerations. Try and conceive of Dacca University as an *Alma Mater* in whose service the Muhammadan and the Hindu can find a common bond unity, and whose credit and reputation shall stand to you for something greater than personal ambition or worldly advancement. If you can learn this while you are students, you will have qualified yourselves for the service of a still greater Mother hereafter.

Impressions of the last Convocation.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30th March, 1923.

The long expected Convocation came off at last on the 24th instant after having been postponed once. It was a unique gathering—unique in many respects, in point of number that attended, in enthusiasm that it created or the expectations that it raised. Long before the appointed hour the Senate Hall was packed to over-flowing and by 2 P.M. there was no standing space. Convocation is looked upon, and rightly so, by the University public as a great occasion when weighty announcement in the policy and working of the University is often made and the effect was greatly enhanced by the sequence of events of the last few months. Expectation was on tiptoe when the procession of the Chancellor entered the Hall. People speculated if the Hon'ble Minister for Education would grace the occasion but he came and though given a seat in the third row in the dias effectively screened from public gaze. One notable feature was the presence of a large number of M.L.C.'s who were assigned to a special block. The Chancellor having declared the Convocation open the customary process of awarding degrees was speedily gone through and with the solitary exception of two lady Bachelors of Medicine no greet was offered ; indeed, people cared to come there not for it but for the two speeches that were to be delivered by the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor.

Lord Lytton was the recipient of customary mild applause when he began and when he finished. He made a good delivery and it is not difficult to imagine what impression he made when he unceremoniously announced his determination to press the University Legislation in the teeth of public opposition supporting his argument by a feeble quotation from the Sadler Commission Report. There was a ring of sincerity in the latter portion of his speech exhorting

the graduates to be men but it was completely marred by the effect of the first part of his speech. Then rose Sir Asutosh and it was a signal for frantic outburst of loud applauses which continued for minutes together and was in marked contrast to that received by the Chancellor who just retired. If the Government has eyes to see and ears to hear this single instance would convince in which way the wind blows. Thoroughly conscious of his position "the Great Bengal Tiger" went on delivering his great speech. He went on recounting the performance of the much-maligned University during the last year and the self-sacrifices made by the professors and made special reference to Dr. P. C. Roy, that prince among men, which was lustily cheered. The bellicose nature of the speech was gradually apparent and when he spoke of the achievements of the unreformed University with a stress on the word "Unreformed" a suppressed titter went through the Hall and one of the M.L.C.'s, an aspiring reformer of the University, made a poor attempt to laugh. He made repeated reference to the independence of the University administration in other countries and how that right was religiously guarded against Government intervention. And when he declared in unmistakable terms his determination to fight for freedom loud applause greeted him from all round.

It was a hammering speech all through that was the concensus of opinion and he used his hammer rightly and effectively. I cannot guarantee if the "confederator's" against the University as His Excellency chose to call it became alternately black and blue on hearing the speech but it is certain that it damped their misguided zeal for the University reforms very much. It was a very happy idea on the part of Sir Asutosh to address the new graduates as "my fellow graduates" by which they considered themselves much flattered.... The speech was magnificently closed by the quotation of a Bengali poem which breathed high

patriotism and noble sentiments to serve the mother country. The speech ended and there was silence for a moment only to be broken immediately by continued cheers and loud applauses which made Sir Asutosh the unrivalled hero of the hour.

The Capital, 28th March, 1923.

A Convocation speech by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is not an accident or an episode, but an event in the educational development and progress of India. In the present crisis through which Calcutta University is passing one looks to him for a diagnosis of unimpeachable accuracy ; for a prognosis of confident reliability. He did not disappoint us on Saturday ; on the contrary he exceeded our expectation. He stood up four-square in moral and intellectual grandeur to answer the criticism concentrated upon him, as on a *corpus rite*, in the past twelvemonth, and only the intellectually dishonest could fail to be wholly responsive to his candour of soul and plenary vision of life. He was master of his theme, and he gave us no mere record of achievement but the culmination of an experience both profound and unique. The effectiveness of his deliverance was heightened by contrast with the taradiddles of the Chancellor who preceded him. Taking the most charitable view of it Lord Lytton's address was an otiose appendix to the apologies made by himself and his Minister of Education to the Bengal Legislative Council for their share in baiting the bull.

One quotation from Lord Lytton's address will suffice to prove this contention. He said :—

“ I wish to say that I can only serve with any advantage in this dual capacity (of Governor of Bengal and Chancellor

of Calcutta University) if the University is either quite independent of the Government or else associated with the Government in an intimate and friendly relationship. I fear that the first of these alternatives, though ideally the best, is unattainable in India." Why? His Lordship gave no reason for this illogical view, but drew a redherring across the scent by quoting a paragraph from the report of the Sadler Commission to show that Government interference, in the administration of Calcutta University is no new thing, which is a sufficient excuse for its perpetuation by statute. Thoba! It required not supreme skill as a dialectician to smash into smithereens this pitiful *petitio principii*. Sir Asutosh had anticipated it and opposed to it an overwhelming body of expert testimony of the reactionary malice of the proposition. The most piquant witness was Sir Reginald Craddock, the last Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, in the estimation of Indian revolutionaries the most tyrannical of Home Members.

"Sir Reginald Craddock," said the Vice-Chancellor with an unmistakable twinkle in his eye, "was emphatic in his disapprobation of any invasion by the State of the independence of the University. In his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Rangoon, he observed that the Minister and the Legislative Council might endeavour, though such action would be quite unconstitutional, to make the grant of supplies conditional on the University surrendering its principles to conform to some other educational theories of the Minister or the Legislative Council. Any such pressure, if it ever should be brought, would have to be stoutly resisted by the University itself, as indeed by all citizens who prefer the genuine to the sham, and are not to be imposed upon by fallacious ideals of national welfare. A University so enchained, he did not hesitate to assert, would be a body without a soul." That is what our American friends would call a sockdologer. I commend the testimony which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has

gathered with a complete knowledge of experience to the Government of India which will sooner or later be called upon to consider the fetters the Government of Bengal in unholy alliance with a "confederacy of political adventurers, academic impostors and sanctimonious hypocrites" would forge to hold in thrall the one institution in Bengal which has striven and is striving still, in spite of detraction and calumny, to sow the seed of nationality so that it will germinate with vigour and opulent self-respect.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in clarion tones states the attitude of the Senate towards the legislative thinkers of every degree who would try their hand at maiming the noble fabric which is largely the work of his indomitable genius. I will quote his message :

"We have never made a secret of our deep-rooted conviction that the best interests of the nation imperiously demand an autonomous University, disentangled from the meshes of a political organisation of a new type, which has not yet had time to establish a regular tradition and whose future growth and possibilities cannot be predicted with certainty by the wisest of prophets. Surely, it cannot be for the welfare of an educational institution of the highest grade that it should be liable to be blown about by every wind of fashionable dogma in political circles, or that its principles and policies should be dependent upon every rise or fall in the political barometer. We stand unreservedly by the doctrine that if education is to be our policy as a nation, it must not be our politics; freedom is its very life-blood, the condition of its growth, the secret of its success. We do not hesitate to avow that we, as members of a University, are naturally distrustful of external control, and we are consequently pleased when we are assured that the authorities have no intention to place the University under the control of the Government. At the same time, this may be borne in mind that the members of the Senate have, in the expression of their views, been guided

by the elementary principle that under normal conditions men may be presumed to intend the probable consequences of the course of action they pursue or the plans they devise. We as practical men are, however, concerned, not so much with the philosophy of motives and intentions, as with probable effects and consequences, and that will be the touchstone which we shall apply to test the character of such measures as may hereafter be brought forward for the reconstruction of this University."

Thus is the meteor standard of Calcutta University unfurled upon the Himalayas whence as *Alma Mater* she "looks from her throne of clouds o'er half the world" of India. Learn from this great speech of her most famous son what she has already done to make true scholarship racy of the soil, and what she hopes still to achieve if she is only let to work out her salvation, and your endorsement of her mission will be ready and wholehearted. The echo of Sir Asutosh's words, proceeding from a sheer compulsive force, is reverberant with accumulated purpose, and it is inconceivable that there are Bengalees so base as to try to hinder it by petifoggery and chicane of the most sordid kind. To hesitate about giving Calcutta University in the straits to which she has been reduced by a villainous policy of hyperborean envy and malice the assistance which is her right would show a total extinction of gratitude and self-esteem.

Deserted in her utmost need,

By those her former bounty fed.

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The Indian Daily News, 27th March, 1923.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was at his best when addressing the Convocation on Saturday. It was a fighting speech he made but he could not help it. The University or rather his Vice-Chancellorship has been assailed on all sides and he owed it to himself to defend it. And he defended it with all the strength and skill of which he alone is capable. Even his worst enemies cannot deny that under his guidance the University has expanded enormously. To take one example, he has made it possible for Sir William Hunter's dream to be realised. The University now confers the Master's degree in Bengalee literature and thus accords it a recognition which gives it an abiding place among the languages of the world. The workers in this domain have got no longer to be ashamed of themselves as humble devotees to the vernacular of the Province—as an inferior set of men who toil for the masses and are looked down upon by the classes. The stigma is now gone and they have come into their own. In the other departments of the University, the same record of expansion is shown—of post-graduate and research work unknown in the past. The idea may be Lord Curzon's but its expansion is due solely to Sir Asutosh's energy and initiative. And the result has been that the Calcutta University occupies the premier place among the Universities of India with a reputation which extends beyond the seas. It is a feat of which Sir Asutosh can be justly proud and he is not at all to blame if he rather severely cudgels his ill-informed and malicious critics and detractors—"the political adventurers, academic impostors and sanctimonious hypocrites." They have been buzzing about his ears with a senseless persistency and it is well he has made a last attempt at chasing them away. But the best portion of his speech is where he claims freedom, full and unalloyed for the University. That is the latest western idea, which his critics apparently have so far failed to

assimilate, and on Saturday, he was at considerable pains explaining it to them. There must not be any State control over the University, although the State may contribute to its funds. It may sound as somewhat incongruous—the payer having no control over the payee—yet that is the arrangement that prevails in the West to-day—quite in keeping by the way with the traditions of ancient India—the Pandits of old outstaring royalty itself and accepting its gifts with condescension. But Sir Asutosh is not, at the same time, for irresponsibility. He is ready to place University finance—why its very curriculum and educational activities—under the control of University men—of the Court and the Academic Council, manned by educational experts and not “politicians” having their own axes to grind. In other words, he is ready to reconstruct the University, if reconstruction is at all needed, on the lines of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. It was a Commission of experts who turned the University upside down and examined it from every possible point of view. Its recommendations have stood the other Indian Universities in good stead in re-shaping themselves and it is a pity the University for whose benefit it was called into being finds itself drifting away day by day from its recommendations and is actually face to face to-day with destruction. The “Reformers” are out with their implements but their methods are so very crude that Sir Asutosh has not been a moment too soon in warning the Bengalee public against the harm that must befall their premier educational institution if the amateur builders are allowed full rope. It is party politics that is at the bottom of all this “reforming” zeal—a stupid blunder Bengal’s new-fledged “democrats” are making of plastering this stately edifice with mud. Lord Lytton tells the country that a Government Bill has been taking shape somewhere with a view solely to establishing harmony between the Government and the University. If that is so, the Bill ought to be made public without a moment’s delay. It requires the

closest possible scrutiny and if it is found that it aims at emasculating the University and placing it under the thumb of the Minister, the public will be fully entitled to demand its immediate recall. Officialisation of the University in 1923 is an anachronism. The public won't tolerate it. Never.

The Statesman, 27th March, 1923.

The controversy over the University of Calcutta threatens to develop into a typical Bengali faction fight, and when once the spirit and methods of *daladuli* have prevailed, we may bid goodbye to peace for half a century. It is the intrusion of the personal element which explains why Mr. P. C. Mitter, Minister for Education, and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, are at variance, though at times, they profess to hold the same principles, or at least to mean the same thing, even when they expose opposite sides of the shield. Mr. P. C. Mitter rightly insists that when public money is granted to a University or any other institution it is the duty of the Government to see that the grant is expended in a way which the Finance Department can justify in the Legislative Council. The Minister disclaims any intention of interfering in the academic autonomy of the University; his business is solely with the proper use of public funds. On the other hand, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee agrees that the University must render a full account of its expenditure, and only contends that Government must not interfere with the liberty of a learned body in the exercise of its academic functions. Since both sides have so much in common there ought to be no difficulty in harmonious working, nor would there have been any if the Minister and the Vice-Chancellor were on good terms with each other. Unfortunately this essential link is wanting. The Minister, when he announced the other day that the University had accepted the conditions attached to the Government grant, could not forbear from claiming a victory for himself and his

department. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has retorted by asserting in his lengthy and contentious Convocation address that the fight for independence has not been lost and will be continued. In his zeal for liberty he even went so far as to "controvert what is assumed even by cultured people as a universal truth, that with Government money must go Government control." That, he maintained, is a radically wrong idea. In support of his views he pointed triumphantly to the report of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and ingeniously conveyed the impression that the Commissioners recommended a grant of £110,000 a year to each University without imposing any conditions of any kind. If that was the intention of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, it would be difficult to conceive a more flagrant misrepresentation of the nature of the Commission's report. There is scarcely a detail of University life which the Commission failed to examine, and its recommendations cover the whole range of University activities, from the most advanced studies to the catering for the colleges. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Commission recommended the establishment of a Finance Board. There can be no doubt, moreover, that where the report of the Commission lays down conditions these will be fulfilled, and the fact that the plan of appointing Government representatives on the various boards was not approved has no great significance. The really material point is that, before a grant of public money was recommended there was a minute enquiry into the state of the two Universities, and that associated with the grant were proposals or conditions affecting the whole scope of University life. If, therefore, Mr. P. C. Mitter had followed the precedent of the Royal Commission over which Mr. Asquith presided, he would have given no grant to the University of Calcutta without a specific inquiry into its need of assistance. He has, however, dispensed with any investigation except that of the Accountant-General, and the only condition which he has laid down is that proper accounts

should be submitted. It would appear, accordingly, that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee gains very little from his appeal to English precedents. On the contrary, he provokes a comparison which is far from being favourable to his cause. The governance of the English Universities is in the hands of boards composed of independent representatives, whereas the governing bodies of the Calcutta University sit to register the decrees of a too-powerful Vice-Chancellor. Neither in the Syndicate is any opposition to the autocrat tolerated. For much of this personal ascendancy Sir Asutosh Mookerjee can scarcely be blamed. He has great intellectual qualities of which all Bengal is or ought to be proud. He has unstintingly devoted to the affairs of the University both great abilities and immense energy. Its progress has been mainly due to his self-sacrifice. But the fact remains that, owing to the dominant influence which he has thus gained, the character of the University has suffered. Despotism, however benevolent, is always bad in its ultimate effects. It is not easy to see any way out of the present embarrassing situation. In normal conditions the proper remedy would be the introduction of a University framed on the lines recommended by the Sadler Commission. But no legislation would be of much avail in promoting real self-government in the University so long as the powerful personality of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has to be reckoned with. Nor would any change in the Vice-Chancellorship produce any new distribution of power. The strong man will always rule, whoever may be in office. Something has to be done, however, and all who are interested in the University will await with curiosity the production of the Government Bill, which Lord Lytton recently promised.

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Ideals of Vice-Chancellorship

LORD LYTTON AND SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 3rd of April, 1923, after the disposal of the business stated in the Agenda Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda addressed the Vice-Chancellor in the following terms :

"This morning on my arrival in Calcutta I read in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" a paragraph to the effect that the office of Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University for another term was offered to you with certain conditions and that you refused it. If it is not improper for me to say so, I say that I read this with great surprise and with great regret. After having spent so many years of your life in the cause of the University and after having served your motherland and your *Alma Mater* with a devotion unparalleled in the history of the University, it seems to me extraordinary that you should have taken your hands off the gearing wheel at this juncture and at this serious crisis in the history of the University and it seems to me that there must be something which needs elucidation. We desire to know if it is a fact that you were offered the office of Vice-Chancellor and that you declined it. I think the Senate has a right to get this information. Of course, it is a matter of congratulation that the Governor of Bengal has made a very happy selection in Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. But that is another matter. The Senate is most anxious to know why at this important period of the history of the University you have thought it right to decline the offer."

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor gave the following reply :

"Though the questions which have been put to me place me in a difficult position, I cannot decline to answer them. The answer to the first question is that I was invited to accept the Vice-Chancellorship for another term on certain conditions.

The answer to the second question is that I declined the offer. I felt that it would not be honourable to enter into a bargain for the office of Vice-Chancellor. I further felt that it would not be honourable for me to betray the Senate whose existence was not contemplated in the offer. To enable you to judge whether I have or have not acted in the best interests of the University I shall place the correspondence before you.

On the 24th March last on my return home after the Convocation I found a letter which had been written to me by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. The letter must have been composed before the Convocation took place ; it made no mention of the Convocation and had been delivered at my residence before the Convocation had closed. The letter was as follows :

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA.

24th March, 1923.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

With reference to the Vice-Chancellorship about which I spoke to you on Wednesday last, I am well aware that this office has entailed upon you a heavy burden of work, and that though a post of honour and responsibility, it is not coveted by you for any reason except a wish to serve the University which you love, and to the welfare of which you have devoted your life. As you know, the appointment has to be made not by the Chancellor but by the Local Government—that is to say, by the Governor and the Minister jointly, and we both wish to know to what extent we can count on your co-operation. I am anxious to retain your services in this post because I feel that your powers and your attainments are of great value to the University and to the cause of higher education in Bengal. But if those powers and attainments are used in opposition to the Government in the belief that

you are thus serving the interests of the University, your continued occupation of the post would be impossible.

You have seen our Bill, you have heard from me on more than one occasion that in framing it we are anxious to retain the largest measure of academic independence which can be secured for a University which is bound to Government in its origin and in its constitution and which is at present in need of financial assistance. I have asked for your suggestions, and I should welcome your criticism, provided it is offered as a fellow-worker and not addressed to outside bodies. The continuance of the course you have followed during the last few months would entirely preclude my favouring your reappointment. Hitherto you have given me no help; you have on the contrary used every expedient to oppose us. Your criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive; you have misrepresented our objects and motives, and instead of coming to me as your friend and Chancellor with helpful suggestions for the improvement of our Bill, you have inspired articles in the Press to discredit the Government: you have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill. All this has been the action not of a fellow-worker anxious to improve the conditions of co-operation between the Government and the University, but of an opponent of the maintenance of any connection between the two. I should not complain of this if you avowed yourself an open antagonist and said to me frankly, "in the interests of the University I am obliged to oppose your policy and cannot co-operate with you." But in that case, you could not expect the Government to retain you as a colleague and ask you to continue as Vice-Chancellor.

I invite you at this time when the Vice-Chancellor's office must be filled anew—a time which is also one of momentous consequence to the University—to assure me that you will exchange an attitude of opposition for one of whole-hearted

assistance, for in our co-operation lies the only chance of securing public funds for the University without impairing its academic freedom. If you will do this, if you will work with us as a colleague and trust to your power of persuasion to get what you consider the defects in our Bill amended, if you can give an assurance that you will not work against the Government or seek the aid of other agencies to defeat our Bill, then I am prepared to seek the concurrence of my Minister to your reappointment as Vice-Chancellor and I am confident that we can produce a Bill which will both secure the approval of the Legislative Council and be of lasting benefit to the University. If you cannot conscientiously do this, you must make yourself free to oppose me by ceasing to be Vice-Chancellor.

I shall be glad to hear from you before Tuesday and I await your answer with the hope that whatever your decision may be, it will make the future easier for both of us.

Believe me, your sincerely,

LYTTON.

Hon. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., etc.

To this letter, I sent the following reply :

SENATE HOUSE,

CALCUTTA.

26th March, 1923.

DEAR LORD LYTTON,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 24th March which reached me on Saturday evening after I had returned home from the Convocation. I shall in my reply speak without reserve and hesitation as you have made most unjust and unmerited imputations on my conduct.

Before I record my views on your offer to re-appoint me as Vice-Chancellor and the conditions that accompany it,

I shall deal with your remarks on my attitude towards the proposed scheme of legislation. I cannot reproduce here the contents of the correspondence which has passed between you and me on this subject, but it seems clear that you could not have refreshed your memory by its perusal before you criticised my conduct. You could not possibly have forgotten that in the letter which I wrote to you on the 4th November, 1922 after I had received a copy of the University Bill from Mr. Mitter, I expressed in unmistakable terms my disapproval of its contents and the principles underlying it. That Bill came upon me as an absolute surprise. Mr. Mitter, you might remember, asked for my personal opinion. In your letter dated the 8th November, 1922, you distinctly wrote to me that Mr. Mitter had told you that the Senate of the University had been consulted officially but that my personal opinion had not been invited. This, as I intimated to you later, was the exact opposite of truth. This was followed by protracted correspondence and interviews with you in the course of which I explained to you my views upon the draft Bill. At length on the 11th January, 1923 you gave me permission to consult the Members of the Senate on the provisions of the Bill. At about the same time I received from you a copy of the Secondary Education Bill; all information regarding its contents, though repeatedly asked for, had been kept back by the Government from the University. The Senate, thus placed in possession of the two Bills, appointed a Committee to report on their provisions. Before the views of the University could be formulated and communicated to you, you adopted, in spite of my earnest protests and the remonstrance of the Senate, an absolutely indefensible course. You forwarded the Bill or Bills to the Government of India with a view to obtain its sanction to introduce them into the Legislative Council. If you refer to the correspondence, you will find that I and my colleagues on the Senate made

a desperate effort to convince you that as the Bills were open to grave objections, they should not be adopted as Government measures before full and searching enquiry. Our appeals and protests were totally disregarded. You now make a grievance that I have used every expedient to oppose your Government to arrest the progress of the measures. You complain that I have appealed to the Government of India and the Government of Assam. You will be surprised to hear that what I have done has been perfectly constitutional. In your letter dated the 11th January, 1923, you stated explicitly that I would be free to take what steps I pleased to discuss the Bill with the Members of the Senate. In my reply dated the 14th January, 1923, I stated that in view of the importance of the questions raised, I had decided to give an opportunity to every Member of the Senate to discuss the provisions of the Bills. The Senate, it may not be known to you, includes His Excellency the Governor of Assam, the Member of the Council of the Governor-General in charge of the Department of Education, the Minister for Education in Assam and the Director of Public Instruction in Assam. The papers were forwarded as confidential documents to each of these gentlemen. If I had withheld the papers from them, they would have been entitled to make legitimate grievance against me. If the result has been that they have formed an unfavourable opinion of the measures devised by your Government, and have taken such steps as they consider necessary and proper, you may regret it, but surely that is not a ground for complaint against me. You also make a grievance that I have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler. Your Government, notwithstanding my advice and the advice of the Senate, has uncereemoniously rejected the recommendations made by the Commission over whose deliberations Sir Michael Sadler presided. If I have intimated this fact to Sir Michael Sadler—a fact which has been a matter of public knowledge for many weeks past—I did it in the best interests of the University and of the country.

Again, you do not hesitate to assert that I have inspired articles in the Press to discredit your Government. This is a libel and I challenge you to produce evidence in support of this unfounded allegation.

You complain that my criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive. Yes, the criticisms have been destructive of the provisions of the Bills which appeared to me and to my colleagues on the Senate to be most objectionable, framed, as we did not hesitate to record, from a political and not an educational standpoint. You seem to regret that our criticisms have not been constructive, but you have never cared to invite the University to frame a constructive scheme for the benefit of your Government. I have on more than one occasion, as you will no doubt recollect, offered to draw up a Bill with the assistance of my colleagues on the Senate and representatives of your Government—but I have received no response. You complain that I have hitherto given you no help. I maintain that I have constantly offered you my help and advice which, for reasons best known to you alone, you have not accepted. I have written to you letter after letter—even in the midst of terrible sorrows—commenting in detail on the provisions of the Bills. You have never cared to reply to the criticisms thus expressed. On the other hand, although I found from your letter dated 11th January, 1923 that you were convinced that the proposed amendments were, as predicted by me, impossible of accomplishment in an amending Bill, I discovered much to my surprise a few days later that you were determined to push on the amending Bill and send it up to the Government of India for sanction. Again, the Report of the Committee on the two Bills (which we took great pains to prepare) minutely criticised their clauses and challenged the ideal that lay beneath them. You have never recorded your opinion on our views. You have not even given me the opportunity to discuss the report with you. On the other hand, I cannot overlook that your letter to me dated 15th February, 1923

made it quite clear that you did not realise the gravity of the issues and you did not hesitate to express your impatience at the space that our criticisms occupied. I notice that you charge me with having misrepresented your objects and motives. I most emphatically repudiate this unfounded charge. On the other hand, it would be interesting to know whether when you stated to the Legislative Council that your 'anxiety to consult the authorities of the University and to obtain their support as far as possible, was responsible for the delay,' you were already aware of the attitude taken up by the Government of India. If you have the courage to publish to the world all the documents on the subject and the entire correspondence which has passed between us, I shall cheerfully accept the judgment of an impartial public.

I shall finally consider your offer to reappoint me as Vice-Chancellor subject to a variety of conditions. There are expressions in your letter which imply that I am an applicant for the post and I am in expectation of reappointment. Let me assure you that if you and your Minister are under such an impression, you are entirely mistaken. You ask me to give you a pledge that I shall exchange an attitude of opposition for one of whole-hearted assistance. You are apparently not acquainted with the traditions of the high office which I have held for ten years. I was first called upon to accept the office of Vice-Chancellor by that God-fearing soldier, the late Earl of Minto. He did not bind me with chains but on the other hand expressly enjoined me to work in concurrence with the Senate in such manner as might appear to my judgment to be in the truest interests of the University. We had in fact many open conflicts with the views of the Government in those days; you will however be interested to know that at the Convocation on the 12th March, 1910 Lord Minto referred to me in the following words: 'Now that my high office is drawing to a close I rejoice to feel that the administration of this great University will continue

to benefit from your distinguished ability and your *fearless courage*.' During the time that Lord Hardinge was Chancellor of the University, we had many an acute difference with the Government and as Vice-Chancellor I never hesitated to express my disapproval of Government measures when they appeared to me to be injurious to the interests of the University. Lord Hardinge had the generosity repeatedly to congratulate me on the bold stand we had from time to time made against the views maintained by his Government. When two years ago at the insistent request of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Ronaldshay I accepted their invitation to hold the post of Vice-Chancellor, I stated distinctly that I would spare no efforts to devote myself to the service of the University and to promote to the best of my judgment and ability the truest interests of my *Alma Mater* which have been always dearest to me. From the conversation that I had with Lord Ronaldshay at that time, I discovered that no one appreciated more keenly than he the need and value of a thoroughly independent Vice-Chancellor. Let me assure you that this high tradition was not created by me. It was my privilege to work as a Member of the Syndicate with eight successive Vice-Chancellors during a period of seventeen years, before I was called upon to accept that post, and most, if not all of them, were eminent men imbued with the traditions of the office from the time of their predecessors. Many of the occupants, ever since the days of our first Vice-Chancellor, Sir James Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, have been men who had taken oath to administer justice in the name of their Sovereign. To them it would have been a matter of astonishment to be told that as Vice-Chancellors, they were expected to adapt themselves to the views of the Government, simply because it was the Government which had the appointment in its gift. I have, I maintain, scrupulously adhered to the cherished traditions of my office and it has never entered into my mind during the

last two years that I was seriously expected to adapt myself to the wishes of your Government. Surely, my attitude towards the policy adopted by your Government in the matter of University legislation has been quite familiar to you for some months past, and you have never before this ventured to convey a suggestion to me that my action as Vice-Chancellor has been unworthy of my office. I quite realise that I have not in the remotest degree tried to please you or your Minister. But I claim that I have acted throughout in the best interests of the University notwithstanding formidable difficulties and obstacles, and that I have uniformly tried to save your Government from the pursuit of a radically wrong course,—though my advice has not been heeded. I am not surprised that neither you nor your Minister can tolerate me. You assert that you want us to be men. You have one before you, who can speak and act fearlessly according to his convictions, and you are not able to stand the sight of him. It may not be impossible for you to secure the services of a sub-servient Vice-Chancellor, prepared always to carry out the mandates of your Government, and to act as a spy on the Senate. He may enjoy the confidence of your Government, but he will not certainly enjoy the confidence of the Senate and the public of Bengal. We shall watch with interest the performances of a Vice-Chancellor of this type, creating a new tradition for the office.

I send you without hesitation the only answer which an honourable man can send,—an answer which you and your advisers expect and desire: I decline the insulting offer you have made to me.

Yours sincerely,
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

His Excellency the Earl of Lytton, G.C.I.E."

To this letter, I received the following reply :—

“ GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA.

Merch 27th, 1923.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

Now that our official correspondence over the difficult matter of the University is, for the time at least, brought to an end by your letter of yesterday, I hope that you will experience some relief from the strain it must have caused you. I have never forgotten the burden thrown upon you by a great bereavement and by the dual nature of your work as a judge and a Vice-Chancellor, and I should not forgive myself if I had carelessly or unnecessarily added to that burden. My object has been to retain your help as Vice-Chancellor both for the sake of the University and for myself personally. But do not let me reopen a discussion you have a right to close. Let me only hope that your recent ill-health is a passing defect and that it has not been aggravated by your exertions of Saturday.

For the office of Vice-Chancellor, I must now look for an occupant who will deserve your respect and the respect of the University. I am confident that your zeal for the University and the cause of higher education which is recognised by everyone, will forbid you to be satisfied with doing less than your best for the new incumbent of the office you have so distinguished.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
LYTON.”

The Vice-Chancellor concluded as follows :

I have furnished the information which has been demanded. But you will realise that no discussion is permissible at this meeting because there is no motion to which Members can speak.

**Impressions on the correspondence between Lord Lytton and
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.**

The Bengalee, 4th April, 1923.

The correspondence that was read by Sir Asutosh Mookerji at the meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University on Tuesday afternoon tells its own tale. No comment can embellish the moral more eloquently than one or two passages from the outgoing Vice-Chancellor's reply to Lord Lytton. Sir Asutosh says :—

“ You complain that my criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive. Yes, the criticisms have been destructive of the provisions of the Bills which appeared to me and to my colleagues on the Senate to be most objectionable, framed, as we did not hesitate to record, from a political and not an educational standpoint. You seem to regret that our criticisms have not been constructive, but you have never cared to invite the University to frame a constructive scheme for the benefit of your Government. I have on more than one occasion, as you will no doubt recollect, offered to draw up a Bill with the assistance of my colleagues on the Senate and representatives of your Government—but I have received no response. You complain that I have hitherto given you no help. I maintain that I have constantly offered you my help and advice which, for reasons best known to you alone, you have not accepted. I have written to you letter after letter—even in the midst of terrible sorrows—commenting in detail on the provisions of the Bills. You have never cared to reply to the criticisms thus expressed. On the other hand, although I found from your letter dated 12th January 1923 that you were convinced that the proposed amendments were, as predicted by me, impossible of accomplishment in an amending Bill, I discovered much to my surprise a few days later that you were

determined to push on the amending Bill and sent it up to the Government of India for sanction."

Then, as to accepting an extension of his term as Vice-Chancellor under certain 'conditions,' Sir Asutosh indignantly repudiates the idea of bargaining :—

"Many of the occupants, ever since the days of our first Vice-Chancellor, Sir James Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, have been men who had taken oath, to administer justice in the name of their Sovereign. To them, it would have been a matter of astonishment to be told that, as Vice-Chancellors, they were expected to adapt themselves to the views of the Government, simply because it was the Government which had the appointment in its gift. I have, I maintain, scrupulously adhered to the cherished traditions of my office and it has never entered into my mind during the last two years that I was seriously expected to adapt myself to the wishes of your Government."

And, lastly :

"You assert that you want us to be men. You have one before you, who can speak and act fearlessly according to his convictions, and you are not able to stand the sight of him. It may not be impossible for you to secure the services of a sub-servient Vice-Chancellor, prepared always to carry out the mandates of your Government, and to act as a spy on the Senate. He may enjoy the confidence of your Government, but he will not certainly enjoy the confidence of the Senate and the public of Bengal. We shall watch with interest the performance of a Vice-Chancellor of the type creating a new tradition for the office."

The whole of India will anxiously watch, after this, the attitude which Mr. Bhupendranath Basu will take of his new office. There must be some resignations forthcoming—but it is not safe to be too previous in such a matter at this stage. Sir Asutosh has not only scored immensely in this

controversy, but he stands to-day as the proudest man in all India, having floored Governors and Ministers as no other Indian has had the courage to do before.

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The Bengalee, April 5, 1923.

We feel that Sir Asutosh Mukerjee ought to be at the helm of the University when it is likely to undergo a process of reconstruction, but if the Government of Bengal had really felt, as Lord Lytton has said in so many definite words, that Sir Asutosh was not a help, but a hindrance to them, they need not at all have offered the Vice-Chancellorship to him under any circumstance. However, as His Excellency chose to express himself freely to Sir Asutosh, and as the latter has given a fitting reply to him, we think they may regard themselves as 'quits' now.

We have no doubt that the letters of His Excellency and Sir Asutosh will form the chief centre of discussion in every educated home in this country for some time to come, but, to us, their principal interest lies in the fact that they make certain revelations in connection with Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter's University Bill. It appears from Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's letter to His Excellency that both the Government of India and the Government of Assam have taken exception to this Bill. His Excellency the Governor brought a charge against Sir Asutosh that the latter had appealed to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose the Bill in question. To this, Sir Asutosh has given the following rejoinder :—

" You complain that I have appealed to the Government of India and the Government of Assam. You will be surprised to hear that what I have done has been perfectly constitutional. In your letter dated the 11th January, 1923, you

stated explicitly that I would be free to take what steps I pleased to discuss the Bill with the members of the Senate. In my reply dated the 14th January, 1923, I stated that, in view of the importance of the questions raised, I had decided to give an opportunity to every member of the Senate to discuss the provisions of the Bill. The Senate, it may not be known to you, includes His Excellency the Governor of Assam, the Member of the Council of the Governor General in charge of the Department of Education, and the Director of Public Instruction in Assam. The papers were forwarded as confidential documents to each of these gentlemen. If I had withheld the papers from them, they would have been entitled to make a legitimate grievance against me. If the result has been that they have formed an unfavourable opinion of the measures devised by your Government, and have taken such steps as they consider necessary and proper, you may regret it, but, surely, that is not a ground for complaint against me. On the other hand, it would be interesting to know whether, when you stated to the Legislative Council that your anxiety to consult the authorities of the University, and to obtain their support as far as possible, was responsible for the delay, you were already aware of the attitude taken up by the Government of India."

This seems to leave no doubt that both the Government of India and the Government of Assam have taken exception to Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter's University Bill; and, if this be true, we are emphatically of opinion that Mr. Mitter is no longer justified in concealing from us the exact attitude of the Government of India and the Government of Assam towards the Bill. It is only fair and proper that the whole correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the Government of India and the Government of Assam should see the light of day without delay. If there has been no direct correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the Government of Assam, the former must have been

informed of the opinion of the latter by the Government of India. Whatever may be the fact, it is absolutely necessary, in the interest of the University, that the public should at once have the privilege of looking into the opinions of the Government of India and the Government of Assam. Will Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter see his way to publish them without the least possible delay?

It appears from Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's letter that there has been a prolonged correspondence between him and His Excellency the Governor on the subject of the University Bill. We see no reason why the whole of this correspondence should not also be published immediately. His Excellency charged Sir Asutosh with having misrepresented the objects and motives of the Government, and Sir Asutosh has, in reply, challenged His Excellency to publish the correspondence. "If you have the courage," says Sir Asutosh, "to publish to the world all the documents on the subject, and the entire correspondence which has passed between us, I shall cheerfully accept the judgment of an impartial public." His Excellency should have no hesitation in accepting the challenge, if he meant what he wrote. The public have a right to know why the Government of Bengal have taken so strong an exception to the attitude of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee towards the University Bill.

Then, again, Sir Asutosh writes :—

"You could not have possibly forgotten that, in the letter which I wrote to you on the 4th November, 1922, after I had received a copy of the University Bill from Mr. Mitter, I expressed in unmistakable terms my disapproval of its contents and the principles underlying it. That Bill came upon me as an absolute surprise. Mr. Mitter, you might remember, asked for my personal opinion. In your letter dated the 8th November, 1922, you distinctly wrote to me that Mr. Mitter had told you that the Senate of the University had been consulted officially, but that my personal opinion had not been

invited. This, as I intimated to you later, was the exact opposite of truth."

This is clearly a charge of misrepresentation against the Hon. the Minister of Education and it is in the interest of both Mr. Mitter and Sir Asutosh that the public should be allowed to know the whole truth of the matter. If the opinions of the Government of India and the Government of Assam, and the correspondence between His Excellency and Sir Asutosh, are published, it need hardly be added that the Bill itself should also be published along with them for the knowledge of the public. We would also like to know how many Bills have so far been drafted by Mr. Mitter's Department, and what transformation they have undergone from time to time.

"A HAPPY WARRIOR."

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has always been a great and clean fighter, but it seldom falls to the lot of good fighters to go down in history with immortal records. In his recent controversy with the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he has not only come out with flying and triumphant colours, but he vindicated, without a scratch on his escutcheon, the noble cause of righteousness, truth and justice, and above all, national honour and national interest. There is no living Indian who stands in a prouder position before his countrymen to-day than Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He has fought and won, and won against tremendous odds, raising with him the character of the entire Bengalee people in the estimation of the world. While Sir Asutosh's vindication of his conduct as the Vice-Chancellor of the University has been unassailable, our contemporary of Hare Street has been tearing its hair and grinding its teeth over the complete discomfiture of Dalhousie Square and the vile intrigues behind it. The

"Englishman" characterises Sir Asutosh's vindication of his conduct as 'discourteous,' 'unmannerly,' 'indecent' and 'intolerable.' It does not stop there. It accuses Sir Asutosh of 'malice' and wants his head to be sent to Hare Street on a charger. "We must ask," cries Hare Street in a moment of tearing passion, "how is it possible to allow a judge of the High Court to continue to remain empowered to exercise his high functions when he writes in such terms to the representative of the King-Emperor?" How indeed! The "Englishman's" memory must be very short, for, about forty years ago in collusion with Branson and Keswick, it promoted a conspiracy not only to write most insulting letters to a much greater representative of the Queen-Empress, but to remove him straightaway, by physical force, from the Viceregal throne. We shall not labour this point further at present, for the imputation of malice to a judge of His Majesty's High Court may be the subject of legal proceedings. In the meantime, it is interesting to note that Hare Street has not a word to say in defence of Lord Lytton's unwarranted strictures or against the outgoing Vice-Chancellor's dignified and eloquent castigation.

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In connection with the correspondence which passed between His Excellency the Governor and Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, prior to the appointment of new Vice-Chancellor, a representative of the "Bengalee" called on some of the distinguished educationists and leading public men of the city to obtain their opinion on the letters.

SIR P. C. ROY.

Sir P. C. Roy told our interviewer:—

It is very undignified on the part of a responsible ruler of a province to have penned such a letter bringing grave charges against the Vice-Chancellor, which are not at all grounded on facts. It appears that His Excellency forgot his exalted

position and was betrayed into pettiness. Needless to say that the whole country will rally round Sir Asutosh Mukerjee who has shown that he is made of stern stuff and does not care for the frowns or the smiles of the powers that be. I wish a veil were drawn over this dismal episode.

PRINCIPAL G. C. BOSE.

Mr. G. C. Bose, Principal of the Bangabasi College, said:—

I consider the letter of H. E. Lord Lytton to be most extraordinary and inopportune. In my long experience I have never seen such a letter addressed by a Chancellor to any Vice-Chancellor. As regards the Vice-Chancellor's reply, I think there was no escape for the Vice-Chancellor from the reply which His Excellency's letter provoked. I wish Lord Lytton had not addressed such a letter. In that case Sir Asutosh would have no need for entering into recriminations. I regret the whole episode.

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal said:—The first thought that came to my mind upon reading the correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, was "Is all Bengal dead, or is it still living." I look upon the Governor's letter as an insult not merely to Sir Asutosh, but to the whole Bengalee people. His Excellency must have formed a very low opinion of Bengalee character to have dared to bribe Sir Asutosh. Lord Lytton in his Convocation address tried to repudiate the charge, to quote his own words, that "he was engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the autonomy of the University." But his present letter convicts him of this conspiracy out of his own mouth. What he practically asked Sir Asutosh was to go behind the Senate and the Syndicate and carry on with the Governor and his Minister to secure what

he wanted to be done in regard to the University. Sir Asutosh has his limitations, but I have no doubt about it that educated public opinion in Bengal will overlook these in view of the larger issues which this correspondence has raised. Sir Asutosh's spirited reply has raised him very considerably in public estimation and it is up to Bengal to support him in this fight and convince His Excellency the Governor of the impossibility of carrying things with a high hand among the Bengalee people. I hope and trust there will be an agitation almost similar to what we had seventeen years ago, to save the University from being officialised and protect the honour and self-respect of the Bengalee race.

I understand that the Government of India has not as yet sanctioned the introduction of the new Bill. If Bengal does its duty this sanction, I am confident, will never come. What we want is that there shall be no interference with the Calcutta University until the Government is in a position to consider and incorporate in a new bill the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Bengal should speak out on this subject with no uncertain voice and if we do so, I have not the least doubt that Delhi or Simla will not be encouraged to face the music of another agitation in Bengal over this matter.

MR. SATYANANDA BOSE.

Mr. Satyananda Bose, for a long time the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and one of the Secretaries of the National Council of Education of Bengal, said to our interviewer :—

I have read with feelings of considerable surprise the letter of His Excellency the Governor to Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. It is couched in highly provocative and undignified language and one is at his wit's end to imagine how a person occupying the responsible position of the Governor of a

province, could have addressed it to another who fills a very high and responsible office. Lord Lytton seems to think that co-operation is subservience, and that the Vice-Chancellor is bound, by his office, to render "whole-hearted assistance" to the Local Government and its policy. He might have acquired this strange notion by the conduct of the present members of the Local Government. The University may be bound to Government by a spirit of allegiance to its constitution. But it is not, therefore, necessarily bound to any policy that emanates from this Government. His Excellency might as well have said that the Legislative Council, having come into existence by an Act of Government, should support the Government in all its measures. The University Act has vested the management of the affairs of the University in a body corporate consisting of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows for the time being, and the Act nowhere enjoins that this body should always work in subordination to the dictates of the Government or what is euphemistically called, in co-operation with the Government. Besides, Lord Lytton has used Sir Asutosh and the University as convertible terms. Whatever the fact of the matter may be, he should not have done so in a semi-official letter, and he cannot possibly do so without stigmatising himself, he being as Chancellor, an important limb of the University. The letter of His Excellency is almost puerile, and gives the public a good insight into the mental equipment of Lord Lytton and his advisers. The reply of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee will live in the annals of our country—a country full of place-seekers, title-hunters and sycophants. We are proud to find that there is, at any rate, one amongst the holders of office, who can take courage in both hands and call a spade a spade. Into the merits of the controversy raised in the correspondence, I do not mean to enter nor do I feel myself competent now to pronounce an opinion on it.

MR. BASANTA KUMAR BOSE.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Bose, late President of the Vakils' Association of the Calcutta High Court, and for a long time Secretary to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, said: I went into raptures when I read this morning the reply of the Vice-Chancellor. I have rarely in my long life met with such bold and outspoken utterances as those of the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor's offer was very objectionable. As he finds in his entourage some mean and time-serving people, he thought the Vice-Chancellor would be mean enough to accept his ignominious offer. The Chancellor's letter was of a kind which no gentleman should write to another gentleman. It gives me great pleasure to find that Indians have lost the dread of the bureaucracy which tongue-tied our people, and now we can call a spade a spade without fear.

DR. P. N. BANERJEA.

Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C., Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, said: -

We are all proud of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee for the manly stand he has taken in this matter. The course he has taken is the only one open to an honourable man. The letter breathes in every line of it a sincere solicitude for the welfare of the University and a spirit of righteous indignation at attempts to interfere with the freedom of the great institution.

PROF. LALIT KUMAR BANERJEA.

Prof. Lalit Kumar Banerjea, a distinguished educationist, and a literary man of great eminence, connected with the Bangabasi College, said;—

There are two historical letters in English literature, one addressed by Dr. Johnson to Lord Chesterfield, and the other addressed by Burke to a noble Lord. I think Sir Asutosh's

letter to the Chancellor is a good third to these two letters of historic fame.

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The Bengalee, April 6, 1923.

SIR ASUTOSH AND CHOWRINGHEE.

For sheer impudence, commend us to the Chowringhee oracle. Speaking of Sir Asutosh, it says :—

“ In the history of the Calcutta University there have been few spectacles more ludicrous than that of the irate Sir Asutosh brandishing in the Governor’s face the chits which he had received from his former employers, “ that God-fearing soldier, that late Earl of Minto,” Lord Hardinge, and the rest. But the Vice-Chancellor’s unconscious absurdity does not excuse his deliberate rudeness to the head of the Province, which may well be held to place in jeopardy not only his position as a Fellow of the University, but also his seat on the bench of the High Court.”

For cheeky impertinence, it is hard to beat the above. No one will believe that Messrs. J. A. Jones and Priyanath Guha, the present editors of the “ Statesman,” do not know that the relation between the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University is not of the same type as that exists between them and the Knight Brothers. “ Chits from his employers ” is a vulgar libel which can only pass muster in a society of cads. As for Sir Asutosh’s seat in the Senate of the Calcutta University, any election among registered graduates would place him at the head of a poll as a Fellow ; the seat does not, therefore depend on the wishes of any particular individual, however highly placed he may be. Regarding his position in the Bench of the High Court,—well, one can excuse Chowringhee for not knowing that the Local High Court continues to remain under the jurisdiction of the Central Government, and no local authority can touch

it. At the top of this, Priyanath Guha and his Welsh colleague in Chowringhee conveniently forget that, before another few months, the 'Bengal Tiger' will himself get divested of a position of greater responsibility and lesser freedom.

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THE UNIVERSITY CONTROVERSY.

The fact that both Chowringhee and Hare Street consider that Lord Lytton's letter to Sir Asutosh Mukerji ought to have been treated as a confidential document and should not have been given out to the world shows the inherent weakness of the Chancellor's case. If Lord Lytton made an exhibition of his temper and cast unmerited insinuations against Sir Asutosh, they could not be passed over under the cover of "decencies of public life." A thing which is inherently bad and out-rageously wrong must be so, whether it is allowed to see the light of day or not. If Sir Asutosh violated any ordinary "decencies of public life," His Excellency the Governor has evidently violated them more outrageously than the outgoing Vice-Chancellor. That the Governor could have addressed such a letter to a judge of His Majesty's High Court and the high custodian of the academic interests of such an advanced province as Bengal is unthinkable in these days. The second argument of the Anglo-Indian Press is that Sir Asutosh should not have used the strong language that he did in a letter addressed to the King's representative. When Lord Ripon was practically hounded out of India, the Anglo-Indian Press did not pay much respect to the authority and dignity of the Queen's representative. When Calcutta was abandoned as an Imperial capital and Delhi was raised into the position of an Imperial enclave, the Anglo-Indian Press did not seem to have paid much respect to the King's representative in India at that time. When Lord Hardinge described the European traders and merchants as "boxwallahs," the Anglo-Indian Press was not slow to pay him back in his own coin. When Sir Thomas Holland was compelled to resign his office

in the Government of India, then also the Anglo-Indian Press did not spare many uncomplimentary references to the representatives of the King-Emperor. And as for Mr. Montagu, for a long time His Majesty's Secretary of State for India—we hope that is not yet a forgotten chapter of contemporary History. It is only when Indians want to put themselves right and, in doing so, offend authority that the convenient cover of “decencies of public life” is set up at once. However, it is no good labouring this point at length. It is consoling to find that, amidst a column and a half of inchoate and incoherent verbiage, the “Statesman” had deviated into some sane observations in its leader of Thursday. After discanting at considerable length on the “decencies of public life,” our Chowringhee contemporary proceeds to observe :

“When we turn from the manner to the matter of his (Sir Asutosh's arguments), there is much to be said for the position which he has taken up. Briefly, the facts seem to be that the Bengal Government, without consulting the Vice-Chancellor, drafted a Bill for the reform of the University. When the Bill had been framed, it was sent to the Senate, for criticism, and the Vice-Chancellor at once condemned the proposals as ignoring the recommendations made after an exhaustive inquiry by the Sadler Commission. Despite this protest, which *prima facie* appears to be justifiable, the Government Bill and two private Bills were forwarded to the Government of India for sanction. Such a proceeding can hardly be defended, for if the Bills received the approval of the Central Government the difficulty of amending them would be greatly increased, and would be insuperable if the whole framework of the proposed legislation was faulty. In the circumstances, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, who is wanting neither in courage nor in resource, took the steps best suited to induce the Government of India to reject the Bills. He enlisted the support of Sir Michael Sadler, of the Governor of Assam, and of other influential persons. Lord Lytton evidently takes the

view that this opposition on the part of the Vice-Chancellor was disloyal. Much depends on the precise facts. If Sir Asutosh Mukerji was treated by the Governor and Minister as a "colleague," backstairs intrigue was plainly indefensible. But if a Bill, prepared without his co-operation, and regarded by him as mischievous, is hurried to Delhi for sanction, it would be unreasonable to expect the chief figure of the University to acquiesce in proposals which he believed to be bad. Sir Asutosh's case appears to be that he has not been consulted as a colleague and that he was therefore entitled to act independently on behalf of the University which owes so much to his abilities and energies. If he has fairly stated the course of events, his action, though technically incorrect, was excusable. The Vice-Chancellor, though appointed by Government, ought not to be looked upon as a Government officer but as the head of the University and the exponent of its views."

"Search Light." April 6, 1923.

We invite the attention of the readers to the very interesting and instructive correspondence published elsewhere, that passed between Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, and our illustrious countryman, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, *agent* the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University. The correspondence is of absorbing interest and we have no doubt that every Indian will read Sir Asutosh's crushing reply to Lord Lytton with a thrill of pride and gratification. Sir Asutosh's greatness, his intellectual eminence and his unique services, have proved too much for sundry folks, whose pettiness has been manifest throughout the recent controversy between the University and the Bengal Government. Lord Lytton, we have no doubt, must now feel that he has got a tartar in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

who has shown that he would neither be cajoled nor brow-beaten. Sir Asutosh's letter shows the stuff of which he is made of. Bureaucrats might envy his grandeur but there is scarcely any among them who can approach him even within a reasonable distance. The readers will doubtless pity Lord Lytton for the sorry figure he has cut.

The Bengalee, April 7, 1923.

I

(“*Sivaramaya*.”)

When the A. P. I. wired the cryptic announcement that Mr. B. N. Basu was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in succession to Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, few people could have suspected the existence of a stormy controversy between the retiring Vice-Chancellor and the Governor of Bengal. Differences of view between them had long existed, but the statement of Sir Asutosh in the Senate explaining why he refused to continue in his high office will come as a veritable bombshell. The immediate reason of the crisis seems to have been the opposition of the Vice-Chancellor to the New University Bill. The sinister attempt to tamper with the independence of the premier Indian University and to get Sir Asutosh to be a willing tool in the hands of the executive certainly deserved this thorough exposure. Sir Asutosh took the only course open to a man of honour and treated with contempt the Governor's insulting offer. He refuted the unfounded charges levelled against him by the Governor, and even challenged the latter to substantiate his statements. Sir Asutosh's spirited letter will for ever remain a document of the highest importance deserving to rank with the great epistles of all time like Johnson's letter to Chesterfield and Raj Sinha's letter to the Emperor Aurangzebe.

III

Syngal writes in the "Indian Daily Telegraph":—Lord Lytton has come out in brutal reality. He has insulted a great Indian in Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. And he has insulted him in a manner that must send up the blood of every Indian except of Babu Bhupendranath Basu who has gladly offered to fill the position of Vice-Chancellor after this studied insult accorded to his predecessor. I have never come across an example of a Governor of a province behaving with such revolting political despotism. Every word that he has said against the independence of Sir Asutosh will be resented by India. What a fall that Bhupen Babu should be ready at hand to take up a job and swear allegiance to such a Governor!

IV

Excepting the "Englishman," "Statesman" and the "Nayak" and one or two insignificant vernacular rags all the leading newspapers both daily and weekly, have strongly condemned the attitude of the Chancellor and his letter to the Vice-Chancellor over this matter.

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The Serrant, April 5, 1923.

IN BLACK AND WHITE.

Practically the sole topic of conversation in the town yesterday was the exchange of letters between the Governor and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the text of which appeared in all the morning papers. Apart from all consideration of the merits of the controversy every Indian ought to feel proud of the bold, dignified and manly attitude which Sir Asutosh has taken in his reply to Lord Lytton's cajolings. We have no hesitation in saying that there are very few men in India who would have had the courage and grit to speak out their minds

with such unsparing, almost ruthless, candour. Although we have differed fundamentally from Sir Asutosh on questions of University ideals and methods, we cannot withhold our admiration of his rare strength in rising equal to this occasion.

The very fact that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has taken courage in both hands in publishing the correspondence has been made an excuse for an attack on "his innate sense of breeding." In form the letters appear to be personal but Lord Lytton has himself described them as "official correspondence." Whatever the character of the letters, Sir Asutosh certainly owed it to the Senate and to the public to reveal the true attitude of the Government towards the University. We daresay his position would have been stronger, if he had asked the Governor for permission to publish the letters, a permission that would have never been granted. Of course, the discomfiture occasioned by the revelation must find expression somewhere, but it is hardly worth while to take notice of it.

Lord Lytton's letter is a study in bureaucratic ways ; it only confirms what the non-co-operators have all along urged, *viz.*, that co-operation will be tolerated only on the Government's own terms. It is the Vice-Chancellor who was called upon to "exchange his attitude of opposition for one of whole-hearted assistance." The Local Government cannot conceivably be wrong so that any one who dares think otherwise must first adopt the standardized bureaucratic conscience before he can be deemed worthy of official grace. Again His Excellency held out the hope that what Sir Asutosh considers defects in the Government Bill might have been remedied but the preliminary condition of becoming a "colleague" is total surrender to the will of the Governor and his Minister. In other words, Sir Asutosh must rely "on his powers of persuasion" to get his terms fulfilled, while Lord Lytton cannot rest satisfied with anything short of a

definite undertaking given in advance, that the Vice-Chancellor would not use his "powers and attainments" against the Government. In this connexion, we cannot help drawing the attention of our sane and sober countrymen to this candid avowal of the conditions of co-operation and to the advance in nation-building which would be made by converting the University into a department of the Government. To the non-co-operators they are only instances to the point; and it is only a Reformed Minister, "responsible to the people," who could have lent countenance to the doctrine that "the University is bound to Government in its origin and in its constitution" or to the preposterous contention that, because the University is in financial difficulties, it must be placed under official tutelage.

But we must nevertheless repeat the note of warning which was sounded in these columns a week ago. The talk of "independence" to which Sir Asutosh's recent utterances have given rise is apt to be misleading. There is the personal independence which Ashu Babu has now shown in so high a degree and which the professors, research workers, and graduates of his University would do well to ponder over; perhaps the best subject of research on which the University can launch is an investigation into the causes of the almost total extinction of this spirit among its *alumni*. The utter lack of back-bone in educated Bengalees, whether in Government employment, or in the professions, or engaged in trade, shows what University training both produces and fails to extirpate; and if the tree is to be judged by its fruits, the University can hardly take any credit for the moral stamina of the hundreds of graduates whom it dumps on society every year. Again, the "independence" which Sir Asutosh so insistently demands for the University is only a formal kind of independence, an independence only of certain administrative trammels. But he has not yet exhibited any desire for the real type of independence, that independence which would

enable the University to stand out as the champion and foster-mother of national aims and aspirations and to train up students in those habits of mind and character whose reaction on and through society would make of the province a community of manly men. We have yet to know that the intellectual dilettantism to which the University devotes all its energies gives any promise of leading up to a broadening of outlook and deepening of character, such as are indispensable in the struggle of life. Life is, in the University system, still a far-off divine event ; how far, its supporters dare not seek to explore.

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Anent the announcement of the *Bengalee* regarding the publication of the letters of which it must have known nearly twenty-four hours beforehand, why did Mr. Chanda try to make out that he did not know anything till he had read something in the *Patrika*? Was it merely a peg to hang a story upon when the step was already decided upon? But why did Mr. Chanda forget to ask for the production of the letters before the Senate, for the action of the Vice-Chancellor went beyond the requirements of Mr. Chanda's questions? Sir Asutosh has boldly asserted that he has all along acted constitutionally. Will some one justify the questions and answers given on Tuesday's meeting by referring to the Sections of the Regulations regarding the transaction of business in Senate meetings? Is there any provision for interpellations according to law?

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Sir Asutosh Mukerjee says that it was a matter of astonishment to be told that as Vice-Chancellor he was expected to adapt himself to the views of Government and wants to maintain that he has scrupulously adhered to the cherished traditions of his office. Any one who knows anything of Sir Asutosh's antecedents will rub his eyes to read this amazing statement. Who conformed to the wishes of the Government

in supporting Lord Curzon's University Bill, in enforcing the Risley circular, in taking the wind out of the sails of the national educational movement of 1906, in having Sjts. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Lalitmohan Das, Jitendra Lal Benerjee removed from Calcutta colleges under official pressure of the Government, in swallowing the dismissal of Seven University professors by the Government of India and in trying to crush the non-co-operation movement at the request of the Government. Public memory in Bengal is presupposed to be very short.

The Servant, April 6, 1923.

Praise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and his achievements is liable to assume curious forms ; and it is not surprising that one of our contemporaries writes :—" His (Sir Asutosh's) was a desperate struggle to turn a State-controlled University into a national institution." Perhaps this is the reason why even so late as the 24th of last month, when all but the very last stage in the desperate struggle for "nationalizing" the University had been over, Lord Lytton, the head of the Bengal bureaucracy, was so overpoweringly anxious to retain the services of Sir Asutosh as chief of the University. Perhaps "turning into a national institution" means manning with an Indian staff, wherever possible. For instance, we may in a sense speak of the Provincial Judicial Service having been turned into a national institution, of the control of the Education Department having passed into national hands, of the Advocate-General having become a national Officer, and so on.

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Or it may be that the additional arrangements made for the study of and "research" into Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Tibetan and the vernaculars are conclusive evidence of the "desperate struggle" led by Sir Asutosh. In this view of nationalism, the transfer to Delhi of a few learned societies from Berlin,

London, Paris, Vienna, Harvard, and Tokio ought to give us a surfeit of Swaraj on the easiest of terms. While the study of vernacular history, philosophy, and literature has doubtless a value of its own, intellectual refinement as a whole sells very cheap as a recipe for national regeneration. If intellectual subtlety could intensify, keep alive or resuscitate national sentiment, neither would the Greece of philosophers have fallen a prey to the Roman invader nor the Rome of culturists lain prostrate beneath the heel of the barbarian.

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National institutions have no meaning for a subject people, if they do not help to stimulate national consciousness, make each individual realize to the full the share of humiliation and disgrace that is his by reason of his membership of an enslaved society, and rouse in all both a burning desire and a deathless determination to shake off the stigma of slavery, at the earliest possible moment and at the sacrifice of all else that they may hold dear. If the spirit which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has recently shown in his dealings with the Government had been the spirit which actuated the Syndics and Senators of the Calcutta University in their dealings with Sir Asutosh himself, if that spirit or something akin to it had been brought to bear on the interpretation of the public duties of the educated community, if graduates who blossom into ministers, magistrates, or mohurrirs cherished that high regard for the sanctity of personal convictions, if research workers did not hesitate to plagiarize without acknowledgment, and if academic blue ribbons had been free from the contamination of "grace" marks of various descriptions, something might have been said in favour of the contention that there was an attempt to turn the University into a national institution. But, if we look at the facts, where do we stand? We need not answer the question. But we can hope and pray that the good example will spread by contagion.

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The Servant, April 7, 1923.

SIR ASUTOSH.

Sir Asutosh, you are now the much-admired and much-criticized man. But the moral elevation you have reached places you for the time being beyond the darts of calculating criticism. Those who happen to be deep students of human affairs know it perfectly well that every man is not destined to further the ends of Providence by a constructive, consistent, and synthetic series of activities. These great men are not unoften revealed to us in freaks and flashes. Nobody remembers what Cardinal Wolsey was all his life to Henry VIII; but the sentiments with which he received his dismissal from his King required a Shakespeare to do full justice to them and still furnish a familiar text to those who redeem all their past lapses by one great act of loyalty to truth and honour. Engaged all our life in training the intellect and will of young Bengal and possessed of an intimate knowledge of the adverse effect produced on them by the current system of high education, we have only cursed and criticized you as its greatest champion. But the way in which you have shone forth in your recent tussle with the powers that be, is calculated to ring the curtain down on everything that you may have done to neutralize the beneficent effects of high education by your studied efforts to secure its diffusion amongst the community at the expense of quality. This one example that you have placed before educated Bengal is apt to drown all the demoralizing tendencies of the past in the healthy contagion that it is bound to spread. Thousands of books cannot teach us what the crowning act of one moment of glorious life can impart to the spirit of the people. We are after all not made by Universities, or for the matter of that, by the routine activities of the centres of culture and thought, however great and catholic, but by the historic acts of heroic men. We do

not care to inquire whether what you have done is in conformity with etiquette or good form ; such minor points do not at all exercise us when higher issues should engage the attention of the nation. Educated India has long lost the power of what they call speaking up. The vile prudence and dehumanizing sanity that have taught the very flower of the country expediency and unmanly acquiescence as the very pith of character have at last been shown up in all their abomination by the very man who is said to have sedulously fostered these debasing qualities amongst our so-called educated countrymen. He alone is really educated and intrinsically great who knows how to rise to the height of an occasion. No man, however great, can always treat us to dramatic situations in all that he does in life. He is always a man and divine only at times ; otherwise, he is only artificial and not natural. We have now no hesitation in believing that you were only the victim of a fixed set of ideas and convictions in moulding the University in the way in which you have done. But even your weakness and littleness must have had its complement of strength and largeness which has so endeared you at least to a certain section of our countrymen. Be that as it may, all's well that ends well. Our heart goes out in sincere sympathy to you, while you are being subjected to unmerited insult and ignominy from quarters which have so long tried to placate and oblige. In conclusion, our sentiment, so far as your affairs are concerned, is like that of the Vaishnava poet who has expressed it so beautifully—"all your faults are now forgotten and your excellences alone have awaked to prominence."

The Statesman, April 5, 1923.

In considering the remarkable correspondence which has passed between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee it is useful to distinguish between the matter at issue and the

manner in which it has been presented. Judged by the ordinary standards of etiquette the behaviour of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been deplorable. The opening letter from Lord Lytton was manifestly of a private character, and its style and contents would have debarred any man of average delicacy from giving it publicity. It is even possible that the letter was endorsed "Confidential"—if so, Lord Lytton will do well to remember that for some correspondents the words "Strictly confidential" are necessary. In any case, the letter was clearly of an informal and personal nature, as one passage is in itself sufficient to show. Referring to the opposition organised by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to the Government's University Bill, Lord Lytton writes:—"I should not complain of this if you avowed yourself an open antagonist and said to me frankly: 'In the interests of the University I am obliged to oppose your policy and cannot co-operate with you.'" Can anyone suppose that a letter couched in this intimate language was meant for publication? Again, Lord Lytton charges Sir Asutosh with inspiring articles in the Press to discredit the Government. His Excellency is much too experienced a politician to desire to make public an accusation which obviously does not admit of proof. Hence when Sir Asutosh describes this charge as a "libel" he is guilty not only of using insulting language to the King-Emperor's representative but also of bad law. He has aggravated his offence by publishing his own laboured and violent reply. The writer of a private and friendly remonstrance is, as it were, off his guard, and it was a defenceless antagonist whom Sir Asutosh chose to belabour with his heavy bludgeon. Happily the diatribes of an angry man seldom cause much damage, and the fury of the Vice-Chancellor is largely neutralised by its comic aspects. In the history of the Calcutta University there have been few spectacles more ludicrous than that of the irate Sir Asutosh brandishing in the Governor's face the *chits* which he had received from

his former employers, "that God-fearing soldier, the late Earl of Minto," Lord Hardinge, and the rest. But the Vice-Chancellor's unconscious absurdity does not excuse his deliberate rudeness to the head of the Province, which may well be held to place in jeopardy not only his position as a Fellow of the University but also his seat on the bench of the High Court. It is most unfortunate that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee seems unable to resist vengeful impulses, for when we turn from the manner to the matter of his arguments, there is much to be said for the position which he has taken up. Briefly, the facts seem to be that the Bengal Government, without consulting the Vice-Chancellor, drafted a Bill for the reform of the University. When the Bill had been framed, it was sent to the Senate for criticism, and the Vice-Chancellor at once condemned the proposals as ignoring the recommendations made after an exhaustive inquiry by the Sadler Commission. Despite this protest, which *primâ facie* appears to be justifiable, the Government Bill and two private Bills were forwarded to the Government of India for sanction. Such a proceeding can hardly be defended, for if the Bills received the approval of the Central Government the difficulty of amending them would be greatly increased, and would be insuperable if the whole framework of the proposed legislation was faulty. In the circumstance, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who is wanting neither in courage nor in resource, took the steps best suited to induce the Government of India to reject the Bills. He enlisted the support of Sir Michael Sadler, of the Governor of Assam, and of other influential persons. Lord Lytton, evidently, takes the view that this opposition on the part of the Vice-Chancellor was disloyal. Much depends on the precise facts. If Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was treated by the Governor and Minister as a "colleague," backstairs intrigue was plainly indefensible. But if a Bill, prepared without his co-operation, and regarded by him as mischievous, is

hurried to Delhi for sanction, it would be unreasonable to expect the chief figure of the University to acquiesce in proposals which he believed to be bad. Sir Asutosh's case appears to be that he was not consulted as a colleague and that he was therefore entitled to act independently on behalf of the University which owes so much to his abilities and energies. If he has fairly stated the course of events, his action, though technically incorrect, was excusable. The Vice-Chancellor, though appointed by Government, ought not to be looked upon as a Government officer but as the head of the University and the exponent of its views. The pity of it is that in attempting to assert a sound doctrine, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has violated the decencies of public life.

The Englishman, 4th April, 1923.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S DISCOURTESY.

We had occasion the other day to refer to the many services which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had rendered to the University of Calcutta. It is with deep regret that we must now record the considered opinion that the disservice he has rendered it by the concluding act of his Vice-Chancellorate will, by reason of the angry passions which his unmannerly and uncalled-for valedictory must evoke, outweigh all his long years of valuable service. What has Sir Asutosh seen fit to do? He received from His Excellency, the Governor, who wrote in his capacity as Sir Asutosh's chief, a letter, which, if it was not actually marked "confidential" was obviously of a private character. This letter, be it noted, was couched in friendly terms and spoke with appreciation of "the powers and attainments" of the Vice-Chancellor. Sir Asutosh replied not merely by politely declining His Excellency's offer, but by a series of what can only be described as studied insults. Not content

with being privately rude to Lord Lytton, in his pique that another appointment had been rendered necessary, thanks to his dictatorial and intransigent attitude, he sought for an occasion of repeating his offensive remarks in public.

The suitable occasion which commended itself to Sir Asutosh's innate sense of breeding was at a meeting of the Senate of the University. Without placing on the agenda the fact that he intended to unveil the sanctities of private correspondence, in answer to an obviously inspired question—no other assumption is tenable in view of the fact that the correspondence was already printed and was issued to the Press at the close of the meeting—he read the letters which will be found in another column. We will leave out of consideration the indecency of reading the correspondence without first having apprised Lord Lytton of his intention—an indecency which is in fact intolerable. But we must ask how is it possible to allow a Judge of the High Court to continue to remain empowered to exercise his high functions when he writes in such terms to the representative of the King-Emperor?

Rumour credits the departing Vice-Chancellor with aspirations of a political career. He has made an ignominious debut and has shown his unfitness to be other than an obstructionist and agitator in political life. We have no space to-day to deal in detail with a controversy which Sir Asutosh has revivied in a manner that cannot but militate against the proper development of that University, the interests of which he professes to have so dearly at heart except to remark that Sir Asutosh tries in his letter to conceal the fact that the Bill as first drafted had in effect been dropped and that some of the provisions to which he reasonably took exception had been omitted from the revised Bill.

No one could have blamed Lord Lytton had he declined to answer Sir Asutosh's letter and have decided for the future to ignore a man who, whether from wounded vanity, from a

mistaken belief in his own indispensability, or from a maliciously ignorant desire to play off upon the Governor the scores which he would have liked to inflict on one of his Ministers, could write in such a strain. Lord Lytton, however, has shown a truly Christian forbearance and a kindly tolerance in assuming that the tone of Sir Asutosh's deplorable outburst was due to what he charitably characterises as "your recent ill-health." We can only hope that Sir Asutosh will now be satisfied and will not endeavour to make more difficult the task of his successor. Despite the remark of a prominent educationist to one of our representatives yesterday to the effect that Sir Asutosh welcomed the appointment of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and would do all in his power to help him, we fear that the retiring Vice-Chancellor is more than ever to be numbered with the obstructionists. His outburst does not suggest that he has the magnanimity to accept that challenge to his personal dominance and the unfettered autocracy he desired to impose on the University, which his own action has rendered inevitable.

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The literary encounter between Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the Governor reminds a correspondent of the even more lively encounter that occurred some years ago between the head of a Calcutta College and a member of the Executive Council. On that occasion Calcutta was startled one evening by the issue of a *communiqué* to the following effect: "Mr. James is hereby relieved of the principalship of the Presidency College, he having this afternoon, offered a gross insult to the Hon. Mr. Lyon." The nature of the insult did not transpire but Mr. James had the grace afterwards to apologise. It is astonishing, however, how men of learning seem to forget their manners.

The Englishman, 6th April, 1923.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE'S ADMIRERS.

The comments of *The Serrant* on Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's conduct are appropriately headed: "In black and white." To begin with, his actions are painted in the purest white. The chief organ of the non-co-operators is proud of his "bold, dignified and manly attitude." *The Serrant* has a strange idea of dignity, but it simply cannot withhold its admiration. In fact it has no hesitation in saying that there are very few men in India who would have shown such "courage and grit." The reader is almost prepared to hear that Sir Asutosh is the right model for non-co-operators. But having used up all the white, *The Serrant* takes up its "blacks" and declares that, although Sir Asutosh has given so fine an example of "personal" independence, he has not yet exhibited any desire for the real type of independence. Alas! this fine idol has feet of clay, and in another column we are reminded—"Bengal's memory is presupposed to be very short"—that for the past twenty years he has always conformed to the wishes of the Government and done his best to ruin the cause of national education. It is hard to believe, therefore, that Sir Asutosh was "astonished" when told that he was expected to adapt himself to the views of the Government.

The Serrant does not even believe the Vice-Chancellor when he asserts that he has been acting constitutionally. The question in the Senate which led to Sir Asutosh reading the correspondence was not permissible by the University regulations and Sir Asutosh's reply was not justified by the question. *The Serrant* is not sure, indeed, that Lord Lytton was not right when he charged the ex-Vice-Chancellor with inspiring the press. How did the *Bengalee* come to know so much of Sir Asutosh's intentions, even to his intention of

divulging letters? Here *The Servant* turns aside to torture its contemporary, which Mr. Chanda apparently does not read. Otherwise of course he would have asked for the production of those letters. Mr. Chanda apparently prefers the *Patrika*. Our contemporary does not say as much, but that is the nasty inference. And yet the *Bengalee*, which has no faith in non-co-operation, has also given Sir Asutosh a testimonial. Which of course is the worst thing it could have done in view of *The Servant's* insinuations.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 4th April, 1923.

The "Englishman" pretends to read in the address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mukerjee before the Convocation as Vice-Chancellor a veiled personal attack on Lord Lytton. The "Statesman" characterises the address as "offensive political effusion." But both agree that in view of the nature of the Address the Governor and Chancellor had no other alternative than what he did. Both these papers insinuate that had Sir Asutosh been not so thoroughly oblivious of the gubernatorial presence at the Convocation, had he observed the "usual amenities" he would have had his term extended.

Nobody who cares to read the address in an unprejudiced mind will find in it any attack on Lord Lytton. Nor could anybody discover in it any "offensive political effusion" which has of late become the monopoly of the insolent hyphenated Calcutta journals. But strange to say, the "Statesman" while so particular about the "usual amenities" seems to shut its eyes to the fact that the Chancellor addressed only "the ladies and gentlemen" and forgot that "Mr. Vice-Chancellor" was sitting at his left. Of course this was not meant as a personal affront. The Chancellor simply demonstrated in a practical way his determination not to be a mere "ornamental" head of the University by ignoring one who was for the last sixteen years its "real" head. To the same

cause might also be attributed the omission on the part of the Chancellor to recognise the undoubted services rendered by Sir Asutosh to the cause of Higher Education in Bengal.

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The reason why Anglo-India is angry with Sir Asutosh is not far to seek. Calcutta University is perhaps one of the very few institutions where the Indians are practically the top-dog in every department. Post-Graduate Education is in the hands of the Indians. What could be more galling to the "friends" of India than that Indian History should be taught by Indians or that Economics be taught with reference to Indian conditions by a child of the soil instead of a super-scholar being imported direct from "Home"? But the catalogue of Sir Asutosh's crime does not exhaust itself there.

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He has managed to run the University more efficiently on the whole than the University at Dacca which is rich enough to import a Vice-Chancellor from London direct on a salary of Rs. 4,000 per month. Moreover Sir Asutosh is one of the most brilliant exceptions to the host of Indians who bask in the sunshine of bureaucratic and Anglo-Indian smile because of their being gifted with more brains than backbone. In the constitution of the retiring Vice-Chancellor brain as well as backbone were prominently manifest. So it is not surprising that because Sir Asutosh allowed himself in his Address to call a spade a spade, a shriek of complaint should be raised in certain quarters for his failure to call it a gardening implement.

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The Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 5, 1923.

THE TUG OF WAR.

Sir Asutosh has resigned the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, which he could no longer honourably fulfil and we have no doubt that this loss to the University will be a gain to the country at large. Whatever might have been the nature of his University administration, there is not the shadow of a doubt that throughout his long tenure of office he had continually fought with conspicuous ability and success to free the University from official control. He refused either to be bullied or purchased, and he has paid to-day the price of his independence. His was a desperate struggle to turn a State-controlled University into a national institution; and if he has failed, it was because the odds were too many against him, it was because such an attempt was bound to fail under the present political conditions in India. But Sir Asutosh is great even in his failures, and the last heroic stand which he made to maintain the honour and the independence of the Calcutta University has added perceptibly to his stature and enhanced the esteem in which he is held by his educated countrymen.

In spite of every attempt to cloud the real issue there can be now no doubt about the nature of the difference between Sir Asutosh and the Government of Bengal. Whatever obscurity there might have been has now been dispelled by the publication of the correspondence between the Vice-Chancellor and the head of the Government who happens to be also the Chancellor of the University. Lord Lytton has no doubt that the "powers and attainments" of Sir Asutosh "are of great value to the University and to the cause of higher education in Bengal"; but it is loyalty and not ability that counts even in the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor; and Sir Asutosh's undoubted ability cannot be an adequate substitute

for his want of loyal co-operation with the head of a reactionary Government. The financial difficulties of the University were taken advantage of by the Government of Lord Lytton to forge new fetters, and he did not hesitate to remind the outgoing Vice-Chancellor that the only chance of securing public funds for the University was that the Vice-Chancellor should exchange an attitude of opposition for "one of wholehearted assistance" which is practically another name for total subservience. So it comes to this that all the talk of extension of franchise, all the solicitude about the proper administration of University funds were a mere camouflage to hide the real nature of the contest. "The University which is bound to Government in its origin and its constitution" must not be allowed to develop an undue spirit of independence, and the model Vice-Chancellor can only be one who, to borrow Sir Asutosh's language, is "always prepared to carry out the mandates of the Government and to act as a spy on the Senate."

The charges brought by Lord Lytton against Sir Asutosh point out clearly where the shoe really pinched: "You have given me no help," "you have misrepresented our objects and motives," "you have inspired articles in the Press to discredit the Government," "you have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill"—this is the burthen of the song. It is a petulant cry raised by a weak man who cannot tolerate contradiction and whose secret manœuvres will not bear the light of day. If it is a fact that the Vice-Chancellor opposed the Government in their well-meant endeavour to reform the University, honour demands that Lord Lytton's Government should accept the challenge thrown out by Sir Asutosh in this connection. Will they have the courage to publish to the world all the documents on the subject and the entire correspondence that passed between the two parties? Sir Asutosh is prepared to accept the judgment of an impartial public.

Lord Lytton has now but one course left to him ; he must either retract his insinuations or let the public draw their own inferences from his silence.

If, as Lord Lytton asserts, he was so anxious about real University reform, we fail to understand why he should have hesitated so much to take the Senate into his confidence, and why he should have been in such an indecent hurry to obtain the sanction of the Government of India to the introduction of the University Bill into the Legislative Council before the views of the University could be formulated ? The University surely has a right to be consulted in a matter of such vital importance, and no self-respecting Senate could be expected to pass over this slight in silence. The charge of inspiring articles in the Press comes with bad grace from the head of a Government of which the Publicity Officers have thought it part of their duty to send extracts from inspired articles in the " London Times " to Calcutta newspapers with requests for their publication. But Sir Asutosh has repudiated this charge, and the public will be anxiously waiting to see what evidence Lord Lytton is prepared to produce in support of his allegation.

In his Convocation speech at the Senate Hall, Lord Lytton as Chancellor of the Calcutta University claimed that he was not a mere ornamental figure-head, but the responsible head of the University and as such well-informed about University matters. It comes to us as a surprise, therefore, that he should betray such colossal ignorance about the composition of the Senate as has been pointed out in Sir Asutosh's letter. Surely, he ought to have known that the Senate of the Calcutta University counted among its members the Governor of Assam, the Education Member of the Government of India, the Education Minister and the Director of Public Instruction of Assam. Why should Lord Lytton grudge that these members of the Senate had been given an opportunity to discuss the provisions of the University Bill when he himself had given the Vice-Chancellor

permission to consult the members of the Senate? The Chancellor of the Calcutta University who is not content to be a mere figure-head ought to possess a deeper knowledge of the affairs of the University. It is not always safe to depend on Education Ministers who are not educationists, and dabbling in educational legislation is a rather dangerous game.

Whatever may be the course that Lord Lytton intends to follow in future, the publication of the correspondence between him and Sir Asutosh has certainly placed him in a very unenviable position—from which he will find it very difficult to extricate himself. We congratulate Sir Asutosh on the bold stand he has made, for he has proved that there is at least one man in Bengal who is not cowed down by official frowns.

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As was to be expected the "Englishman" has had recourse to Billingsgate for giving vent to its feelings with regard to the "discourtesy" of a Vice-Chancellor who not content with "being privately rude" to the Chancellor by "a series of what can only be described as studied insults" has the temerity to repeat "his offensive remarks in public." After exhausting its choice vocabulary and proving to its own satisfaction that Sir Asutosh committed a grave offence in publishing the correspondence, the "Englishman" shrieks out:

"But we must ask how is it possible to allow a Judge of the High Court to continue to remain empowered to exercise his high functions when he writes in such terms to the representative of the King-Emperor."

Let the "Englishman" wait for an answer to the question it addressed to nobody but in the meantime we would ask it to look at its back-files and answer to its satisfaction how was it possible that vials of wrath could be poured on Lord Hardinge—the "big" representative of the King-Emperor—from Hare Street when the capital was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

However nobody can quarrel with the "Englishman" if it derives consolation from the conclusion it draws from the episode at the Senate meeting, *viz.*, that Sir Asutosh "has made an ignominious debut and has shown his unfitness to be other than an obstructionist and agitator in political life." It would be no doubt news to Hare Street that in case his countrymen are convinced that Sir Asutosh is going to be "an obstructionist and agitator in political life" his power and hold over his people will be such as will give the fright of their life to those who venture to take up "dictatorial and intransigent attitude" because they seldom come across a "man"—whose "fearless courage" can be questioned by none.

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The "Englishman" has discovered "a truly Christian forbearance and a kindly tolerance" in Lord Lytton's letter to Sir Asutosh which tried to explain away all the damaging revelations by reference to Sir Asutosh's "recent ill-health." We wonder if these same Christian virtues were responsible for the omission of all reference to the retiring Vice-Chancellor in Lord Lytton's Convocation speech. Ever since the foundation of the University all the Convocation speeches delivered by the Chancellors have been addressed to the "Vice-Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen"; but an excess of Christian virtues must have prompted Lord Lytton to ignore the Vice-Chancellor. Then again, courtesy demanded that the Chancellor should duly recognise in appropriate terms the services of a Vice-Chancellor whose tenure of office would close before the next Convocation. But want of courtesy is evidently a Christian virtue on a par with Lord Lytton's "forbearance and toleration."

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The Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 7, 1923.

THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

The new Vice-Chancellor comes at a most awkward time to assume charge of the office, which is just at present full of many pitfalls. The publication of the correspondence that passed between the Chancellor and the retiring Vice-Chancellor only adds to his difficulties. In normal times the appointment of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu to this important though honorary office, would have been hailed with satisfaction by the public. Mr. Basu is one of the few Moderates who have never betrayed an anti-Congress bias nor has he disclosed undue eagerness to get hold of the loaves and fishes which the Reformed Government has lavishly scattered amongst its supporters. On the contrary, he struck a note of warning to his party as early as 1920 that

“money-making and public service could not go together.

The new offices, the post of Ministers should not be looked upon with greedy eyes. Those who want to make money should leave public life alone.”

By exchanging an honorary post for the one which made him stay at London—the heaven and “home” of so many of our Moderate brothers, Mr. Basu has shown that his views on public service have not changed during the last two years. It is also an open secret that Mr. Basu, while in the India Council during the period preceding the inauguration of the Reforms, opposed strongly the unwieldy composition of the Bengal “Cabinet” which, according to him, should consist of two members and two ministers.

We have said enough to indicate why Mr. Basu commands public confidence and esteem in a far greater degree than many belonging to his party in Bengal.

Naturally, therefore, it seems to the public as rather inexplicable that he should accept the office at a time when

the issue that has to be fought out between the Government and the University is the extent of freedom which the latter should have. That Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has saved the face of the Government in accepting an office which was going a-begging for sometime past would be denied by none. It is said that Mr. Basu assumes his office without being fettered by any conditions. But the letter written by Lord Lytton to Sir Asutosh leaves hardly any room for doubt as to His Excellency's opinion on the nature and function of the office of a Vice-Chancellor. If any condition has not been imposed on Mr. Basu it is presumably because he starts with a clean slate with no previous record of indulging in "destructive" criticisms, of "misrepresenting" the Government's objects and motives and finally of inspiring articles in the Press "to discredit the Government." But would he be able to give "whole-hearted" assistance to the Government and yet meet public wishes in putting the University on a more democratic and national basis? We doubt not that he has by this time, if he has not earlier, studied the Bill and therefore we think that it would be justifiable to take the view that before accepting the office he has fully convinced himself that by so doing he would be able to retain the public confidence in him while at the same time not depriving the Government of the "whole-hearted assistance" which it undoubtedly expects at his hands.

It has been said that personal esteem and friendship for the Governor as well as public considerations have induced him to accept the office. The public has a right to expect that as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University he would allow no private considerations to stand in the way of furthering the best interests of his *Alma Mater* who stands in need of the ungrudging service and unflinching devotion of all her *alumni* at this critical juncture. Whatever may be the faults of Sir Asutosh and we never spared him for these, graduates of all Indian Universities especially those of the Calcutta University are proud of him for the herculean industry and

whole-hearted devotion with which he served the University and the bold stand he has at last made for its independence. The public has a shrewd suspicion that Sir Asutosh was got rid of because he served his *Alma Mater* too well. We hope Mr. Basu would give no occasion to the public to suppose that his continuance in the office was due more to his "whole-hearted assistance" to the Government than to his all-absorbing devotion and enthusiasm for enhancing the dignity, prestige and freedom of the Premier University of India. It is not brain which the Indian needs. It is backbone which he sadly lacks. The retiring Vice-Chancellor is gifted with both. We have not yet any reason to suppose that his successor would in any way lack either of these, though in capacity for hard work he might not approach his masterful predecessor.

The Hindoo Patriot, April 4, 1923.

THE VICE-CHANCELLORSHIP.

Yesterday it was the Hare Street oracle that spoke. The cry has been taken up—to-day in Chowringhee. Do these university effusions come from a common fount of inspiration? Writes the "Statesman":

"The appointment of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University may be regarded as the appropriate commentary of the Governor upon the offensive political effusion which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered as a Convocation address. If Sir Asutosh had observed the usual amenities it is probable that he would have continued in office, but a Vice-Chancellor who defies the Chancellor and the Minister for Education is obviously impossible. Hence a successor has been appointed."

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The only appropriate commentary upon the above effusion is that it is not based on fact. Sir Asutosh may or may not be

an *impossible* Vice-Chancellor but the fact is that this *impossible* Vice-Chancellor was invited by the authorities to accept office as Vice-Chancellor *after* he had delivered "the offensive political effusion as a Convocation address." No explanation is needed as to why a new Vice-Chancellor has been appointed. The Vice-Chancellorship cannot remain vacant. But listen again to the Chowringhee paper:

"Apparently Sir Asutosh Mookerjee relied on the difficulty of finding any one fill his place. But as Lord Randolph Churchill "forgot Goschen" so Sir Asutosh forgot Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, possibly he reckoned that since Mr. Basu was likely to be placed on the Public Services Commission he would have no time or inclination to concern himself with the tangled skein of the Calcutta University. If he thus reasoned he had not sufficiently studied the facts of the situation."

Sir Asutosh, the man "with the most capacious intellect in Asia"—we quote a high English official's tribute—may be credited with intelligence enough to know that if he goes out of office, somebody will come in. Sir Asutosh was concerned with whether he should accept office, under the conditions imposed upon him or no. He declined the invitation to serve for another term. There the matter rests and ought to rest. Sir Asutosh is not a child to think or reckon in the way our contemporary would have him think or reason. The newest way of arguing out a thing is for you to put into the mouth of your opponent words which he never uttered, or thoughts he never thought and then triumphantly to expose their hollowness. Sir Asutosh is not a child; Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is not a child. We agree. But are these arguments as advanced by our contemporary those of any other than children?

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Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is one of the shrewdest of political leaders. If he will turn out a successful Vice-Chancellor remains to be tested. Though he once represented the

University in the Council, he long gave up studying University questions. Is brushing up and replenishing knowledge at this period of life quite congenial to him? But what of his appointment in Lord Peel's Council?

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The Vice-Chancellorship is an honorary office. I don't know if the new University Bill which the Education Minister has in his great coat-pocket—provides for a paid Vice-Chancellor.

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A sparrow whispers into my ears that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has sent his congrats to Sir Asutosh on his magnificent Convocation address and invited him to come in and infuse new life into the Legislative Assembly. I do not know if Sir Asutosh will listen. But if he goes, Bengal's loss would be India's gain.

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I am told, that after the Convocation, a pro-ministerial journalist went to Sir Asutosh and after venting his spleen on his patron—asked for some *jal khabbar*. As he was discomfited, out came he with a leader the next day venting his spleen this time on Sir Asutosh. Who is this double-faced man? Can the reader guess?

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Will Sir Asutosh join hands with Deshbandhu Das? In political agitation? In University re-construction or creation? I hear more than one rumour. Possibly it is not all *gup*.

The Hindoo Patriot, April 6, 1923.

THE UNIVERSITY CONTROVERSY.

The real point at issue in the matter of the correspondence between H. E. Lord Lytton and the Vice-Chancellor is not the language of Sir Asutosh's letter but whether it was the

proper thing to have the correspondence published. It should be in the first place noted that the manner of publication was *constitutional*, a senator asking for an explanation from Sir Asutosh, as to why, considering his devotion to the University, he gave up its charge at a critical moment in its history and Sir Asutosh laying the correspondence on the table as the most convincing answer he could give. In considering this matter, we have to consider if His Excellency's letter to Sir Asutosh, Sir Asutosh's reply and His Excellency's second letter are all of them—or any of them—confidential. If it is true as stated, that none of them was marked *confidential* there is no bar of social etiquette against their publication. The letters appear to be demi-official letters treating of official matters and a matter of supreme public importance—university legislation. Had not there been a demand for explanation from Sir Asutosh as to why he declined the Vice-Chancellorship, no occasion would have arisen.

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Official and demi-official letters are not ordinarily intended for publication. When Lord Lytton penned his epistle to Sir Asutosh penned his reply, nobody knew that the correspondence would see the light of day. It is but natural that the authors of the epistles were unreserved and frank or to use the phrasing of an Anglo-Indian contemporary, even *careless*. It is the common factor and must therefore be left out of count in considering the matter. We do not know if the Vice-Chancellor was addressing the Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor, who, by the way, is one of His Majesty's Judges, addressing His Majesty's representative in the province.

HARE STREET EFFUSIONS.

The Hare Street journal has followed up its salt tax writings and the virulent attack on the Legislative Assembly members with a vitriolic attack on Sir Asutosh. The paper,

which in its wild and impotent rage calls for the dismissal of Sir Asutosh from the High Court Bench on the ground, as alleged, that he has insulted His Excellency, has gone so far as to impute malice to a High Court Judge. The law is not complex on the point. A former editor of the paper in the old days had to pay the penalty for insulting another Indian High Court Judge. We do not know if history will repeat itself.

The Serrani, April 9, 1923.

LYTTON-MUKHERJEE CONTROVERSY.

The Governor of Bengal has caught a Tartar in Sir Asutosh Mukerji. The reply which the latter has given to His Excellency's conditional offer of Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University to him for another term is one that ought to live and will live in the history of the University and indeed, of the Province and the country. We do not remember any previous instance in any part of the country in which any person far less one occupying the exalted position that Sir Asutosh does in the public and official life of the country felt it his duty to write a letter to the head of a local Government, couched in language of such uncompromising dignity and independence, language in which there is not the least tendency to mince matters, to call a spade anything else than a spade. Of the hypocrisy which passes for convention in the sphere of letter-writing in high life there is not a trace in Sir Asutosh's letter. Lord Lytton had, while offering the Vice-Chancellorship to Sir Asutosh in the interests of the University, thought it fit to couple the offer with the insulting condition that if it was accepted, Sir Asutosh must give an assurance that he would exchange opposition for whole-hearted assistance and not work against the Government or seek aid of other agencies to defeat the Government Bill for reorganisation of the University. Such an offer would have

been incomprehensibly foolish if made to any man with a grain of self-respect in him. When made to a man of Sir Asutosh's transcendental gifts and reputation for independence, it was simply outrageous. No wonder that His Excellency got more than he could have bargained for. After repudiating the imputations contained in the letter as unjust and unmerited, and challenging Lord Lytton to produce evidence in support of them, Sir Asutosh said:—"I send without hesitation the only answer which an honourable man can send—an answer which you and your advisers 'expect and desire.' I decline the insulting offer you have made." We need scarcely say that the whole country will applaud Sir Asutosh's action in this matter, and especially the frank and out-spoken language in which he has couched his letter. He has raised himself immensely in the public estimation by the course he has taken. As for His Excellency we are quite certain that he is both a sadder and a wiser man to-day than he was a week ago and in his concluding letter we almost see signs of repentance. It can be confidently hoped that he will never forget his experience in this case.—"*Tribune*."

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It appears from the published correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, that the Bengal Government wanted to get rid of the latter and hence such a nasty letter was written to him which he could not swallow and which left no alternative to him but to resign. The charges made against him in Lord Lytton's letter were mostly of an untenable nature, as has been made clear by Sir Asutosh's spirited and effective reply. The true explanation for Government's attitude is to be found in the dominating and masterful personality of Sir Asutosh and the divergent and irreconcilable views he held about educational reform. The question really was as to who should regulate and control the policy of the University, the Government or Sir Asutosh. The quarrel is

of old standing and if Lord Ronaldshay could have hit upon a suitable successor he would have probably terminated the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh long ago. As soon as the services of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu became available the difficulty was solved. The new Vice-Chancellor will not, however, find his office a bed of roses with such a tenacious and formidable opponent as Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who is a man of indefatigable energy and extraordinary capacity and wields great influence as an authority on educational matters. Perhaps Lord Lytton will soon discover that it does not pay to quarrel with the 'Bengal Tiger.'—"*Leader*."

The Hindoo Patriot, April 7, 1923.

THE UNIVERSITY CONTROVERSY.

As we said in our last issue, the real point at issue is whether the publication of these letters should have been made. The rabid talk of the Anglo-Indian press about *removing* Sir Asutosh from the Bench has only the other merit of being insensate. The question of courtesy or discourtesy is in the publication. As to the tone of Sir Asutosh's letter, Sir Asutosh is, after all, human. Several charges were made against him and he met these vigorously and by a reference to facts and figures.

Hare Street has been at some pains to discover grounds for unseating Sir Asutosh from the High Court Bench. Did not its Southern India brother of the *Madras Mail* once essay to pull Mr. Montagu out of office? But what of *Keranibagan*? With a lantern in hand it seeks to discover misstatements in Sir Asutosh's refutation of the charge that "he inspired articles in the press." Whose servant is the *Serrant*? The country's? The people's?

The Bombay Chronicle, April 6, 1923.

CAUGHT A TARTAR.

Lord Lytton when he addressed his amazingly provocative epistle to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, must have little dreamt that he would "catch a Tartar" in the latter. The speeches of both the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor at the recent Convocation of the Calcutta University, no doubt, disclosed indications of the storm that was brewing behind the scenes, but the public must have been hardly prepared for the unedifying spectacle which was to be laid open to view immediately after. A dispassionate perusal of the extraordinary correspondence that has passed between the two high functionaries of the University, leaves little doubt in the mind that Lord Lytton is completely in the wrong and that Sir Asutosh is in the right. It is also fairly clear that his lordship has been grievously misled regarding the main issues of the controversy and that through his ignorance he has allowed himself to be used as a tool in the hands of designing persons who are inimical to the Vice-Chancellor. The various wholly unsubstantiated charges he has levelled most recklessly against Sir Asutosh prove conclusively that he has blundered mostly through ignorance. Otherwise how was it possible for Lord Lytton to believe that Sir Asutosh was an applicant for the post of Vice-Chancellor? As pointed out by Sir Asutosh, Lord Minto, Lord Hardinge and Lord Ronaldshay had all pressed upon him, term after term, during the past twelve years, to retain the Vice-Chancellorship. Lord Ronaldshay, in particular, implored him to remain in office and save the University from the surging wave of the Non-co-operation movement, which was threatening to engulf it. But for the stand Sir Asutosh made—and made at the risk of immense unpopularity for himself—the University would not have survived the shock it received. Lord Lytton is apparently

ignorant of the sacrifice Sir Asutosh then made and had been continuously making ever since he devoted his attention to the University. If he has heard of Sir Asutosh's previous connection with the University, he does not realise adequately the magnitude of Sir Asutosh's sacrifice for, and the splendour of his service to, the University.

It is apparent that Lord Lytton and the Minister of Education cannot tolerate an independent-spirited Vice-Chancellor however devoted he may be to the welfare of the University. Officialdom in Bengal has long been conspiring with certain official circles in Simla and Delhi to get rid of the "strong man" at the head of the Calcutta University. One has only to recall the dictatorial letter addressed a few years ago by Mr. Sharp, Secretary of the Education Department of the Government of India, to the Senate of the University, to point to the undisguised hostility in high official quarters which Sir Asutosh has had to face all along. These quarters could ill-brook the independence of the Senate and the frankness and manliness of the Vice-Chancellor. They wanted a tool who would carry out official mandates. In hounding Sir Asutosh out of the post and placing it in charge of one who will be more subservient to official dictation, Lord Lytton and his colleagues may think that they have after all succeeded in putting the halter round the neck of the University, but we are afraid they are mistaken in their view. If there is any self-respect left in the Senate, it is sure to put up a manly fight for its independence. We are confident that the Senate will not fail to rise to the occasion. Though Sir Asutosh has surrendered the reins of office, he will not, we are sure, rest on his oars but will continue to serve the University with the same zeal and independence as before. The thanks of the entire public of Bengal are due to Sir Asutosh for his unparalleled services to the cause of education. Would that the Bombay University had such a devoted and selfless worker in its cause as the illustrious Bengalee patriot

whom the bureaucracy has been trying to belittle and thwart, but whom it has only succeeded in raising still further in the estimation of the country !

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The Behar Herald, April 7, 1923.

The game of Politics is charming and fascinating so long as political opponents stick to their politics only and observe the ordinary rules of courtesy and gentle breeding. Politics assumes a sickening and nauseating aspect when principles are left to take care of themselves and the parties rush to personal vituperation and mud-slinging. The Calcutta University controversy has now reached a stage which is at once deplorable and disgraceful. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee's disclosure of the correspondence between him and Lord Lytton on the proposal to re-appoint Sir Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor has created a sensation, which in a season which is notorious for dearth of 'copy,' has supplied ample food for the party press. If the matter, however, is calmly studied, one cannot but criticize strongly the action of Lord Lytton in writing a provoking letter to the retiring Vice-Chancellor, making serious, yet unfounded charges and insinuations as regards his conduct. Sir Asutosh grasped the opportunity to apply his Nasmyth hammer to crush the feeble arguments of the Chancellor and in a vigorous letter defended his action and asked Lord Lytton to prove his statements.

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's position is unimpeachable. The points that he urges,—*viz.*, that the Government have been wrong in quietly forging a piece of legislation to secure complete control over the University without consulting the Senate and secondly that the Vice-Chancellor must bind himself to no interest except the honour of the University—are unassailable. He can boldly repudiate the charge of having inspired articles in the Press, though we do not know why he

did not refer to the Publicity Officer's canvassing for publication of anti-University articles and his tea-party to pressmen, where the Minister of Education quietly conversed on the forthcoming University Bill. But many may think that it was not necessary to use strong language where incontrovertible facts and arguments were arrayed on his side. All he need have done was to have adopted the quiet Gandhi smile of disdain and contempt and at the same time of conscious superiority. Instead he has succumbed to the temptation to use violent language—a thing which defeats its own purpose. On the other hand, many will rightly believe that the insulting letter of the Chancellor needed a telling reply and Sir Asutosh by standing by his guns has displayed courage and independence of a high order. The fact, however, remains that the controversy has become bitter and personal and this is regrettable.

The Telegraph, April 7, 1923.

The meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University held on Tuesday last, an ephemeral thing of nearly 2 hours' duration, will have a perpetual lease of life in the minds of the country. To give in to a joke that comes uppermost, it was like a dinner at which the greater part seemed to be a disappointment. The bill of fare, the agenda, was the most ordinary—*dal bhat*, and the rest. It offered no temptation to the guests, and one could hardly account for the unusually large attendance of the members as well as of the visitors. The fact that the meeting was the last under the presidency of Sir Asutosh was not in itself temptation enough for this far-out-of-the-ordinary look of the west hall of the Senate House. The Press table was over-crowded—there were two reporters from the *Englishman*, one brown and one white, besides at least one for each of the other leading papers. The *menu* was exhausted, no item being left, and the Press people

were almost on the verge of the thought that they had come in vain, when Mr. K. K. Chanda's question as to whether it was a fact that the Vice-Chancellorship was offered to Sir Asutosh, but he declined, heralded the coming in of something worth the trouble and the tedium already borne. The retiring Vice-Chancellor rose and after a spell of silence, he began his speech, looking unusually grave and speaking in a rather uncommonly deep-sounding bass voice. The introduction was soon over, and real interest grew when the recital of the circumstances preceding the delivery of the Governor's letter at Sir Asutosh's house even before the Convocation closed, was made. But nearer the bone, sweeter the flesh. The feeling of the meeting was intense when the senators and the visitors heard of the conditions on which hinged the re-appointment of Sir Asutosh. This tenseness was mollified when came the great reply thundering out the refusal to "spy" on and "subserve" Government. The feeling of relief it gave rise to, now gushed out in cheers. Bright smiles, gaping jaws, strained eyes, interjections of admiration at this heroic reply, under-toned ejaculations of surprise—these were the stuff that a journalist, who can properly use his eyes, saw on the canvass. What figure would you like to place by the side of Sir Asutosh? Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar? Verily, we Indians have a happy knack of misjudging, judging before time.

The Indian Social Reformer, April 7, 1923.

The question of relation of Indian Universities to the Education Minister under the Dyarchic dispensation, has been forced to the front by the correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mukherji, which was published last week. Lord Lytton, as Chancellor of the University *ex-officio*, addressed what can only be described as a bullying

letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukherji, stating that he, the Chancellor, was "anxious to retain his services as Vice-Chancellor" but that "if they were to be used in opposition to Government in the belief that he (Sir Asutosh) was thus serving the University, the continued occupation of that post would be impossible."

We do not know anything about Lord Lytton except that he is the son of his father, and that he occupies the position of Governor of Bengal and is *ex-officio* Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh Mukherji is the most eminent Indian in Bengal for character, learning and capacity. That Lord Lytton should have addressed him in the terms quoted above, shows how, apart from political and economic consequences, intellectual and moral values are apt to be distorted under our present topsy-turvy system. Sir Asutosh Mukherji, however, is too great a man and a scholar to be a courtier and he dealt faithfully in his reply with Lord Lytton. After disposing effectively of the peevish accusations made against him, he told the Governor that His Excellency was mistaken in thinking that he was an applicant for the post of Vice-Chancellorship.

Lord Lytton had the astonishing effrontery to suggest in his reply that a recent domestic bereavement had made Sir Asutosh's task as Vice-Chancellor a burden too great to be borne longer by him! Sir Asutosh does not want anybody's assistance to bear his grief and Lord Lytton might have refrained from intruding upon it. A Governor is not, we trust, above being a gentleman.

The Capital, April 5, 1923.

Now we know why Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is no longer Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University with which he has

been identified—"the arm and burgonet"—for more than a decade. The cat was let out of the bag at the meeting of the Senate at which he presided for the last time yesterday; and an ugly black cat it is of fateful import. Sir Asutosh was asked by a Senator why he had refused another term of office. In reply he read the correspondence which had passed between himself and Lord Lytton, the Chancellor. For the Philistine it is as amusing as the recent newspaper encounter between Mr. Arthur Jones, the dramatist, and Mr. Wells, the novelist; as edifying as Marie Corelli's showing up of Sir Arthur Yapp, who acted as Director of Food Economy during the War. For the Bengalee patriot and lover of culture it is Dead Sea fruit.

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On 24th March Lord Lytton left College Square after the Convocation of Calcutta University in high dudgeon. He was furious with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who had dared to stand up to him and his Minister for Education. The back of his hand was all he would give to the burly and boisterous Vice-Chancellor. To read the letter His Excellency addressed to his dear friend on that very day, the 24th March one would suppose it was written on his return to the security of Government House after deliberately scorning the scriptural injunction to let the sun go down on his wrath. But that would be a delusion. We learn that the ponderous missile was forged before the Convocation. A sort of "thanking you in anticipation" compliment with which we editors of newspapers are so familiar. It reminds me of a story once told by Gladstone to an Irish audience. He and some friends visited a button factory in Birmingham. Their attention was arrested by the monotonous ejaculations of an old puncher. The statesman stopped to listen and found the man was repeating with unfailing insistence the formula "Damn the man who wears this button." "Why friend?" asked the G.O.M. "Well, you see sir," replied the puncher, "these buttons are so bad that they are bound to break the first time they

are used and the wearers are sure to damn the man that made them. I am damning them in anticipation so as not to be left." Exactly the philosophy of Lord Lytton in his dealing with Sir Asutosh.

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I don't think Lord Lytton would have written his letter if he thought it would be published in the newspapers. It reveals, to use the language of Locke, an uneasiness or discomposure of mind with a present purpose of revenge ; worse than that it was wholly gratuitous and therefore a blunder in tactics. Had Sir Asutosh appealed to High Heaven like Job " that mine adversary had written a book " he could not have been better served than by this farrago of wrathful accusations. The gist is in the following quotation :

" Your criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive ; you have misrepresented our objects and motives, and instead of coming to me as your friend and Chancellor with helpful suggestions for the improvement of our Bill, you have inspired articles in the Press to discredit the Government. You have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill. All this has been the action not of a fellow-worker anxious to improve the conditions of co-operation between the Government and the University, but of an opponent of the maintenance of any connection between the two."

By making such assertions and insinuations of a learned jurist and accomplished controversialist, Lord Lytton delivered himself into the hands of the enemy to receive a trouncing almost unparalleled in the history of Bengal since the time of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis. Sir Asutosh gloried in the fact that the button was off the foil and showed his unskilful antagonist no mercy. It is best to quote his *ipsissima verba* :

" You complain that I have appealed to the Government of India and the Government of Assam. You will

be surprised to hear that what I have done has been perfectly constitutional. In your letter, dated the 11th January, 1923, you stated explicitly that I would be free to take what steps I pleased to discuss the Bill with the Members of the Senate. In my reply, dated the 14th January, 1923, I stated that in view of the importance of the questions raised, I had decided to give an opportunity to every member of the Senate to discuss the provisions of the Bill. The Senate, it may not be known to you, includes His Excellency the Governor of Assam, the Member of the Council of the Governor-General in charge of the Department of Education, the Minister for Education in Assam and the Director of Public Instruction in Assam. The papers were forwarded as confidential documents to each of these gentlemen. If I had withheld the papers from them, they would have been entitled to make a legitimate grievance against me. If the result has been that they have formed an unfavourable opinion of the measures devised by your Government, and have taken such steps as they consider necessary and proper, you may regret it, but surely that is not a ground for complaint against me. You also make a grievance that I have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler. Your Government, notwithstanding my advice and the advice of the Senate, has unceremoniously rejected the recommendations made by the Commission over whose deliberations Sir Michael Sadler presided. If I have intimated this fact to Sir Michael Sadler—a fact which has been a matter of public knowledge for many weeks past—I did it in the best interests of the University and of the country. Again, you do not hesitate to assert that I have inspired articles in the Press to discredit your Government. This is a libel and I challenge you to produce evidence in support of this unfounded allegation.

“ I notice that you charge me with having misrepresented your objects and motives. I most emphatically repudiate this unfounded charge. On the other hand, it would be interesting to know whether when you stated to the Legislative Council that your ‘anxiety to consult the authorities of the University and to obtain their support as far as possible, was responsible for the delay’ you were already aware of the attitude taken up by the Government of India. If you have the courage to publish to the world all the documents on the subject and the entire correspondence which has passed between us, I shall cheerfully accept the judgment of an impartial public.

One feels sorry for Lord Lytton, but he asked for it, even for this rankling Parthian dart :

I am not surprised that neither you nor your Minister can tolerate me. You assert that you want us to be men. You have one before you, who can speak and act fearlessly according to his convictions, and you are not able to stand the sight of him. It may not be impossible for you to secure the services of a subservient Vice-Chancellor, prepared always to carry out the mandates of your Government, and to act as a spy on the Senate. He may enjoy the confidence of your Government but he will not certainly enjoy the confidence of the Senate and the public of Bengal. We shall watch with interest the performances of a Vice-Chancellor of this type, creating a new tradition for the office. I send you without hesitation the only answer which an honourable man can send,—an answer which you and your advisers expect and desire : I decline the insulting offer you have made to me.

The only hit Lord Lytton made in the whole conflict was when he lay prone on the ground. It was the stab of a dying Fuzz Wuzzy. His Lordship wrote :

Now that our official correspondence over the difficult matter of the University is, for the time at least, brought to an end by your letter of yesterday, I hope that you will experience some relief from the strain it must have caused you. I have never forgotten the burden thrown upon you by a great bereavement and by the dual nature of your work as a Judge and a Vice-Chancellor, and I should not forgive myself if I had carelessly or unnecessarily added to that burden. My object has been to retain your help as Vice-Chancellor both for the sake of the University and for myself personally. But do not let me re-open a discussion you have a right to close. Let me only hope that your recent ill-health is a passing defect and that it has not been aggravated by your exertions of Saturday.

A cheap sneer that must have made Owen Meredith turn in his grave.

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Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Member of the India Council, has accepted the position Sir Asutosh Mookerjee spurned, on what terms we know not. He has the reputation of Silken Thomas, but if the recent policy of the Government of Bengal in regard to Calcutta University is not radically changed I am afraid Lord Lytton will find he has caught a Tartar.

"She named the child 'Ichabod' saying,
'The glory is departed.'"

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The Capital, April 12, 1923.

I have just read an interesting blue-book which gives the piquancy of irony to the conflict between the Government

of Bengal and Calcutta University. It is the report of Committee on Indian Students, 1921-22, of which Lord Lytton was the Chairman. It was signed by all the members on 14th September, 1922. The following quotation is from para. 81, Chapter V :—

“India has now been set on the road to self-government and autonomy, and it must be obvious that her sons and daughters ought to be able to receive their education within her own borders. We believe, therefore, that the only permanent solution of the problem is the development of education in India in all its branches as early as possible. This view has been pressed upon us by all the witnesses that have appeared before us. The position is perhaps best summarised thus by Sir Charles Mallet : ‘ It is, I believe, in the development of education in India that the only permanent solution of our problem lies. Hitherto the tradition has been that only men trained in England were qualified for the prizes of their profession in Indian administration, medicine, law. We have readily encouraged Indian students to come here, fit and unfit, educated or uneducated, and have taught them that a smattering at least of English education was the best recommendation for professional success. Until we frankly abandon that tradition, Indian students will inevitably flock here, and probably, as time goes on, in numbers with which British institutions will refuse to cope. We are at present manufacturing the difficulties we deplore. May it not be well to consider whether this tradition should not be given up and a new tradition substituted, namely, that India must and can provide an adequate education even for the ablest of her sons? Instead of trying to make good Indians into indifferent Englishmen, to superimpose a superficial English training in a few years at Oxford or a few years in London at the Bar, might it not be possible to develop an Indian type at least as highly educated and as competent even for administrative purposes as any hybrid? Such an undertaking would be slow and difficult and costly; but may it not be that the change has to come? It would mean raising the standards of Indian Universities, and of Indian education generally, to levels never yet attained. It would mean an Indian Bar and Judicature, trained, organised and developed on their own lines. It would mean a highly trained Medical Service, and opportunities for medical and industrial training far in advance of anything yet attempted. It would not, of course, mean, for many years at any rate less intercourse with England or less intellectual stimulus from English sources; quite

the reverse. But it would be a natural instead of an unnatural system, and its home would be in India, not here. I do not underrate the difficulties involved in adopting such a policy fully and frankly. But I submit that it may prove to be the only final remedy for the difficulties we find in the Indian student problem to-day.' The same view was expressed by Sir W. Meyer as follows : 'The great difficulty in regard to Indian students is the number of men who come over, very many of whom would much better be trained in India itself. We cannot, of course, prevent such students leaving India for study, or so-called study, in England, but a good deal might be done by the Indian Government to minimise the attractions which draw them.'

We have expressed the view that the educational side of the problem can only be solved by the improvement of conditions in India; and we desire to repeat our conviction that no Government in India, whatever its constitution should be satisfied until the Universities of that country are staffed with the teachers and equipped with the material necessary to ensure the best education which any Indian can require. When that has been done, no Indian will be under the necessity which now exists to seek his education abroad.

Recommendations in this sense have already been made by the Royal Commission on the Public Services, the Calcutta University Commission, and the Industrial Commission. Many of them, no doubt, involve considerable expenditure, and others are debatable matters of policy; but we desire to point out that these bodies which have investigated the conditions in India have indicated directions in which the object which we have in view might be accomplished."

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In his now famous Convocation Speech, his passionate swan-song, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee with conscious pride described the achievement of Calcutta University under his direction in the attainment of the ideal of Sir Charles Mallet. He then referred to the particular passages I have quoted from the Lytton Report and boldly claimed credit for the work performed. He said :—"Here in Calcutta we have for years past striven resolutely for the realisation of this ideal. The obstacles and difficulties have been numerous and powerful. We confidently claim reconstruction and development on the basis of a sound and generous educational policy, not

destruction or curtailment according to the desire of administrators; for it must not be forgotten that we have been first in the field, we have achieved a large measure of success, we have set the example to others, and though we have found imitators, ours is still the one University in India whose name is familiar in western seats of learning as an institution devoted to teaching and research. We do not, while we maintain this, ignore the often undeserved cavil at our standards. Notwithstanding the defects of our methods and the deficiencies of our implements, our graduates and undergraduates have distinguished themselves in every rank of the public services and the learned professions where they have irresistibly penetrated in ever-increasing numbers. Finally the significance of the patent fact cannot be overlooked that it has now become well nigh impracticable to retain in our employ our University teachers, as they are constantly exposed to the temptation of higher emoluments offered by the authorities of reformed or newly constituted Universities, who have discovered that, after all, men imbued with our traditions may also help them in the realisation of their new ideals."

That the Government of Bengal, of which Lord Lytton is the head, should seek to curb the beneficent activities of the only University in India which has responded to the higher call, simply because certain small men of slave mentality are jealous of the daring genius of the leader, is an irony to shake Hell with uncontrollable mirth.

The Empress, April 8, 1923.

With the exception of Chowringhee and Hare Street, there has been a genuine outburst of feeling and a chorus of congratulations all over the country at the bold attitude taken up by the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, against the bureaucratic

Government of Bengal. Indeed one cannot but come to a conclusion after reading the correspondence which passed between Sir Asutosh and Lord Lytton that his Lordship's attitude towards the distinguished educationist, who has done so much for higher education in the country, and whose services at the time of the outburst for National education as well as when the country went mad after non-co-operation were of the greatest help in saving the student population, was one of questionable character. That His Excellency has been worsted in the fight is also apparent to one and all. Lord Lytton evidently thought that Sir Asutosh was hankering after the Vice-Chancellorship and therefore he was prepared to take mildly all sorts of rebuffs and insults at the hands of the Chancellor. Evidently this was uppermost in His Excellency's mind when he referred to the dual character of the service of Sir Asutosh, but he evidently forgot that if His Imperial Majesty had the power to appoint a Governor, the same august authority also signed the letters patent for High Court Judgeships. Indeed the treatment meted out to Sir Asutosh by His Excellency and his Minister fully deserves the way in which it has been exposed and condemned by the public. Lord Lytton brought some charges against the Vice-Chancellor whose reply challenging the Chancellor to substantiate them is indeed worthy of Sir Asutosh, and we sincerely wish that for the prestige of his high office, His Excellency will take up the gloves, enter the lists and vindicate his position. Sir Asutosh distinctly means that but for the office which His Lordship holds, a case of libel would have been brought against him.

The Hare Street oracle of wisdom characterises Sir Asutosh's speech as "discourteous" and "unmanly" and questions the propriety of retaining his services as a Judge of the High Court. The Chowringhee oracle, however, has the candour to admit that as Sir Asutosh was not consulted as a colleague, he was entitled to act independently on behalf of

the University "which owes so much to his abilities and energies." Lord Lytton evidently forgot, what the *Statesman* only the other day observed, that "for much of the personal ascendancy, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee can scarcely be blamed. He has great intellectual qualities of which all Bengal is or ought to be proud. He has unstintingly devoted to the affairs of the University both great abilities and immense energy. Its progress has been mainly due to his self-sacrifice." And yet in spite of all these services, the mushroom Minister, whose catalogue of qualifications is exhausted when we say that he is a son of late Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, had the effrontery to hurl abuses at him through his Chief. There can be no question that both of them have been rightly served and that the great "Bengal Tiger" has vindicated his stripes and given the lie direct to the oft-repeated accusation of slave-mentality of the Indians. When we have in our midst such a man—he is indeed a superman—who can speak and act fearlessly according to his conviction, we feel that there is yet hope for us. Sir Asutosh has taken a manly stand—a stand of which every Indian ought to feel proud—and we have not the least doubt that it will have a very great moral and educative effect on generations yet unborn. In many respects Sir Asutosh has held before us a high ideal and here is another phase of this great man, characteristic of him and him only. Bengal, nay India, should rejoice that though it has been deprived of his services as a Vice-Chancellor, he has set an example which will inspire and cheer up his countrymen for generations to come.

The Servant, 16th April, 1923

The correspondence between Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the redoubtable Vice-Chancellor and Lord Lytton, the amiable Governor of Bengal, will be read with interest all over India. The record of the Calcutta University, in an uncompromising and on occasions, unnecessarily self-assertive defence of its

position is unique. The crushing reply that the Senate under the influence of Sir Asutosh sent to Mr. Sharp, then the Olympian God of Simla in charge of educational policy created something of a sensation even at that time. But the acrimonious controversy that has been raging for the past one year between Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter, the Minister of Education, and University authorities is something more than a personal episode. It has divided Bengal, its politics, its literature and its press into two camps. On one side is Sir Asutosh Mukherjea easily the greatest personality in modern Bengal, a host in himself. He has with him the Senate and the Professoriate of the University and a large section of the educated classes of Bengal. Opposed to him in active campaign is the Ministry, the Modern Review, with Jadunath Sarkar in the background, and a section of the press. The Governor has now openly joined his Ministers and the insulting letter accusing Sir Asutosh of high crimes and mis-demeanours is an open declaration of war. In fact Lord Lytton asks Sir Asutosh to resign his office and make himself free to fight him in the open.

Behind the personal interest always attached to the activities of such outstanding personalities as Sir Asutosh Mukherjea, there is a vital principle of educational policy involved in the fight. The chief and unavoidable fact with regard to Indian education has been the control which the Government has uniformly exercised on academic institutions. The tentacles of the bureaucratic octopus were being interminably stretched to every vital organism in our educational life. The Government has resented even the theory of academic autonomy and every attempt made to stifle any independence on the part of the University. But in Sir Asutosh the Calcutta University had a Vice-Chancellor who was able by the sheer force of his personality to withstand the encroachments of Governmental authority and convert it from an examining body into a live centre of learning

worthy of the highest traditions of scholarship. The new Calcutta University, which made such phenomenal developments as a seat of learning and scholarship, and which reared within its own walls a tradition of research and academic worth all too unique in India was also the institution which came out with flying colours after the inquisition of a Royal Commission and which scored in points in open fight with Sharp. The effort that is now made by Lytton, Mitter and others is to destroy the autonomy that the University had developed under Sir Asutosh Mukherjea and to pull down the imposing structure of post-graduate studies which was the special feature of Sir Asutosh's system. But how long the people of Bengal will tolerate a Vice-Chancellor who is a nominee of the Government House and whose position depends upon the good graces of the Governor and the Ministry remains to be seen. It is a great battle that is being fought out in Bengal to-day. It is whether education should be controlled nationally or by government authorities.

The Hindu, April 12, 1923.

The Lytton-Asutosh Mukherjee correspondence which explains why the latter was not to continue as Vice-Chancellor of the University which he had so zealously served for near a decade has been before the public for some days now. Certain insulting insinuations were made by Lord Lytton and he got a deserved trouncing from Sir Asutosh's trenchant blade. There the matter ought by all rights to have rested—as it indicates how the bureaucracy wants only subservient and fawning underlings. It is not a new truth which this has revealed. But for once the Bureaucracy found the man who could stand up against it: and there is woe and lamentation both in Chowringhee and in Hare Street, which have for the nonce forgotten their quarrel about Lord Lawrence and his frontier

policy and such other high themes in their concern that the Trimmers' and the Man Phasers' gospel has been shattered. Educated Bengal opinion which the *Bengalee* to hand to-day reproduces is pretty emphatic and in unison that Lord Lytton forgot his position and was betrayed into pettiness, and left the great Vice-Chancellor no escape from the reply which he gave. It was an undignified position for the head of a Government that he "should have dared to bribe" a Vice-Chancellor and only got a trouncing in return. That apart, our point is that the attacks in the Anglo-Indian organs of Calcutta look very like inspired. Piquaney is added by the fact that while Lord Lytton insinuated that Sir Asutosh made inspired attacks through the Press, the Publicity Officer of his Government actually sought to conduct a propaganda in the press against the University. The *Englishman* "must ask, how is it possible to allow a Judge of the High Court to continue to remain empowered to exercise his high functions when he writes in such terms to the representative of the King-Emperor?" The record of our contemporary makes this question extremely silly. The *Statesman* bases its anathemas on the ground that Lord Lytton's letter was "manifestly of a private character": and "it is even possible that the letter was endorsed 'Confidential'—if so, Lord Lytton will do well to remember that for some correspondents the words 'strictly confidential' are necessary." Our contemporary's references to what are "manifest" as well as "possible" things and its final advice to Lord Lytton look suspiciously like inspired. But alas and truly, "it was a defenceless antagonist"—because indefensible on the particular issue—"whom Sir Asutosh chose to belabour with his heavy bludgeon." If the boot were on other leg—well we dare not then even imagine our Anglo-Indian friends' Hallelujahs. Which is the measure and the meaning of this frenzied outburst.

The Sind Observer, 10th April 1923.

"AN HONORABLE MAN'S ONLY ANSWER."

The Calcutta University, under its distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukherjea, has resisted all attempts at officialisation, and has done wonderful work by way of encouragement of research. The splendid munificence of Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghose has enabled the University to forge ahead in original work. But of late the finances of the University have fallen below the former level on account of decreased receipts due to the non-co-operation movement. The Bengal Minister for Education was not willing to assist the University unless it had submitted to his dictation. Bills have been framed to curtail the independence of the University by largely officialising it. Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, as Chancellor of the University, wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh, which, to say the least, was very undignified, "of a bullying and hectoring nature." We do not think the Governor's interest in the University is larger than Sir Asutosh's, who has for years devoted his undoubted talents to the building up of a University without a parallel in India. But the whole trouble arose on account of old jealousies existing between the Bengal Ministers and the "strong man" of the University. Yet it was not necessary for a man in the position of a Governor to pen a letter unworthy of his high position. Without writing the letter His Excellency could have gazetted Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu as Vice-Chancellor and ended the matter there.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjea replied by flinging the insult back in the face of him who had offered it. One is reminded of the fierce independence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of bygone days on

reading, Sir Asutosh's reply. Verily, the traditions of the old generation of Bengalees, so fearless, so patriotic and so independent, have not yet died away in that land.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12th April 1923.

LORD LYTTON'S VAIN LAMENTATIONS.

SIR ASUTOSH DELIVERS A BROADSIDE.

Lord Lytton has paid dearly for his part in the Calcutta University drama. At the behest of the Educational Minister, Lord Lytton tried to play the part of Cæsar, but when the pigmy over-did the giant's part, the patient Colossus (of College Square) sprang upon him with both feet. All Bengal, except our toadies in ordinary, congratulates him on the severe trouncing administered. Even Europeans admit that His Excellency blundered in provoking the just chastisement from the Vice-Chancellor; only they deplore that the head of the province should have been rolled in the mud to the detriment of prestige. Not that they care a rap for anything except their pride and pocket generally; but it is comic to see the "Englishman" and the "Statesman" jointly declaring Sir Asutosh's unfitness for the High Court, on the ground that he gave the King-Emperor's deputy so severe a dressing-down. When it suits them, they abuse men like Ripon and Hardinge, but now they pipe about the divinity that doth hedge patrician placemen "reigning" abroad. Furthermore, the "Statesman" hints at the desirability of depriving Sir Asutosh of his University fellowship—a poltroonish gesture like that of the Inns of Court solemnly discharging Mahatma Gandhi from their precious society. Some mischief-maker put it in Lord Lytton's head that he was a born educationist. Was not his work on the Students' Committee in England of a monumental character? Of course it was. Lord Lytton, like Malvolio, meditates on the nobility of the soul, and mistaking the tribute of his shadow for world-appreciation, he decided to act; not

a mere ornament he, but an active guide in the University; and he came to grief.

Tuesday's Bombshell.

It was well-known that Lord Lytton had left the Convocation of 24th March in high dudgeon. He went home in a peppery fret and after him went his hooded familiar, Mr. P. C. Mitter, with a brow of thunder. Sir Asutosh Mookherjea was no longer to be the Vice-Chancellor; he talked in the open University of academic independence—in an age of rice-controls and coal-controls and oil-trusts and debenture-holds—when he should have held his peace by the side of Majesty. On Saturday came the news that Mr. Bhupendranath Basu would supplant Sir Asutosh. Mr. Basu is a member of the India Council, now here for his health and engaged to serve the Public Services Commission, and thereafter probably to serve in the Bengal Executive Council. He is, out and out, a man of the world and if only he and Sir Asutosh could be brought to deadly grips the place could be made free for rectorial pranks of minor worthies. That consummation does not seem easy, for Mr. Basu wants the integrity and freedom of the University to be un-impaired. Moreover the Vice-Chancellor does not govern the University. It is the Senate that does it; and the Senate looks up to Sir Asutosh for guidance. Mr. P. C. Mitter is mighty in the Secretariat, but he is referred to in irreverent language by the University people. But to proceed with the story. The Senate met on Tuesday evening when the retiring Vice-Chancellor was asked whether he had declined the continuance of office. He replied that an offer had been made to him, subject to certain conditions of servile good conduct. He had declined the proposition as it did not come in his line. He placed the correspondence that passed between him and the Governor on the table, and when it was published in the Press, there was a rare sensation

in Calcutta. The Anglo-Indian Press said that the correspondence was confidential; it was nothing of the kind and the lie has made sympathy for Lord Lytton really more difficult. He passed the whip, stripped himself bare and then he had the hardihood to taunt his adversary! The sad consequence has fairly doomed Lord Lytton's credit for statesmanship, a doubtful quantity at the start.

The Correspondence.

It has been remarked by a student that the Lytton-Asutosh correspondence will bear comparison with the letters of Johnson and Lord Chesterfield. On the evening of the Convocation day, a peremptory note was sent to Sir Asutosh, telling him that the Vice-Chancellorship would not be his unless he really co-operated in the law signification of the term in India. Lord Lytton said:—"I have asked for your suggestions, and I should welcome your criticism, provided it is offered as a fellow-worker and not addressed to outside bodies. The continuance of the course you have followed during the last few months would entirely preclude my favouring your re-appointment. Hitherto you have given me no help; you have on the contrary used every expedient to oppose us. Your criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive; you have misrepresented our objects and motives, and instead of coming to me as your friend and Chancellor with helpful suggestions for the improvement of our Bill, you have inspired articles in the Press to discredit the Government, you have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill." None of these are outside bodies. Sir Michael Sadler is a friend of the University; the Government of India have to sanction the Bill; Assam is a constituency of the University. But why didn't he cringingly *co-operate*, like a fellow-worker?

Tremendous Broadside.

Johnson talked of the difference between a lord among wits and a wit among lords. The airy presumption and false suggestion of the letter demanded a straight reply and it was a straight reply from a man who never once mislaid in his backbone in the stress of advancement. The whole reply is a classic of courage and telling refutation. It will not bear paraphrase and I have to take four extracts to show the quality of the reply so badly mutilated by the Associated Press :—

You complain that my criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive. Yes, the criticisms have been destructive of the provisions of the Bills which appeared to me and to my colleagues on the Senate to be most objectionable, framed, as we did not hesitate to record, from a political and not an educational standpoint. You seem to regret that our criticisms have not been constructive, but you have never cared to invite the University to frame a constructive scheme for the benefit of your Government. I have on more than one occasion, as you will no doubt recollect, offered to draw up a Bill with the assistance of my colleagues on the Senate and representatives of your Government—but I have received no response. You complain that I have hitherto given you no help. I maintain that I have constantly offered you my help and advice which, for reasons best known to you alone, you have not accepted. I have written to you letter after letter—even in the midst of terrible sorrows—commenting in detail on the provisions of the Bills. You have never cared to reply to the criticisms thus expressed.

Lord Lytton's Eloquent Silence.

In his rejoinder Lord Lytton observes eloquent silence in regard to the countercharge. He did not want more !

Sir Asutosh proceeds "I shall finally consider your offer to reappoint me as Vice-Chancellor subject to a variety of conditions. There are expressions in your letter which imply that I am an applicant for the post and I am in expectation of re-appointment. Let me assure that if you and your Minister are under such an impression you are entirely mistaken. You ask me to give you a pledge that I shall exchange an attitude of opposition for one of whole-hearted assistance."....."I quite realise that I have not in the remotest degree tried to please you or your Minister. But I claim that I have acted throughout in the best interests of the University notwithstanding formidable difficulties and obstacles, and that I have uniformly tried to save your Government from the pursuit of a radically wrong course,—though my advice has not been heeded. I am not surprised that neither you nor your Minister can tolerate me. You assert that you want us to be men. You have one before you, who can speak and act fearlessly according to his convictions, and you are not able to stand the sight of him. It may not be impossible for you to secure the services of a subservient Vice-Chancellor, prepared always to carry out the mandates of your Government, and to act as a spy on the Senate. He may enjoy the confidence of your Government, but he will not certainly enjoy the confidence of the Senate and the public of Bengal. We shall watch with interest the performances of a Vice-Chancellor of this type, creating a new tradition for the office.

I send you without hesitation the only answer which an honourable man can send,—an answer which you and your advisers expect and desire : I decline the insulting offer you have made to me.

Yours sincerely,

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

His Excellency the Earl of Lytton, G.C.I.E."

Feeble Sarcasm.

The reply was so staggering that Lord Lytton, all a-sprawl, tried a bit of sarcasm to cover his discomfiture. "Let me only hope," he weakly replied, "that your recent ill-health is a passing defect and that it has not been improved by your exertions of Saturday"!! (Saturday was the Convocation Day on which Sir Asutosh delivered his remarkable address in the tortured hearing of Lord Lytton.) What mighty retort! The incident closes, but it is to be feared that certain comedians will exploit the Governor's natural pique and urge the insensate opposition to the greatest Indian educationist of the present generation. More power to his arm!

We desire to extend a cordial and respectful welcome to our new Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is a distinguished graduate of this University and took his M.A. Degree in English in 1880. He was first elected as a Fellow of this University by the Graduates in 1895. In 1903 he succeeded the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, as he then was, as a representative of the Senate on the Bengal Legislative Council. He continued to represent the University in that capacity till 1906. He acted as a member of the Syndicate during the years 1906, 1907 and 1917.

Our readers will no doubt recall the important part taken by Mr. Basu in the public life of the country as a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council and as President of the Indian National Congress, and as a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Every person interested in the development of education on right lines in these difficult times will look forward to his wise and tactful guidance.

THE MEDICAL REGULATIONS.

It was an open secret that for sometime past that our 'friends' in England had been making desperate efforts to exaggerate the shortcoming of the Calcutta University and thereby shut out our graduates from the enjoyment of privileges so long conceded to our students. We publish the full text of the correspondence between Col. Needham, the official Inspector appointed on behalf of the General Medical Council in England in connection with Midwifery training in the Indian Universities and the authorities concerned in our University. The regulations framed by the Faculty of Medicine and sanctioned by the Senate are also set out here below. But for the sympathetic attitude of Col. Needham the problem could not have been solved with satisfaction on both sides.

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR GENERAL,
INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE;

Camp, Calcutta, the 25th February, 1923.

MY DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

During our conversation yesterday morning, you invited me to send you a letter stating quite briefly the position at the Calcutta Medical College and at the Carmichael Medical College as it appeared to me. In both the Colleges, in so far as the systematic lectures and clinical demonstrations are concerned, I found that the regulations of the General Medical Council are being complied with. As regards out-patient and in-patient practice at the hospitals, it appeared (in both cases also) that the tuition is limited to a period of three months only. This is in accordance with the University regulations, but does not quite come within the spirit of the General Medical Council's regulations. In the course of discussions with the Principals of the two Medical Colleges and on the recommendation of the Professors of Midwifery

in both the Colleges, suggestions were made for spreading out the out-patient and in-patient tuition in the department of Gynaecology and Midwifery so that the tuition would extend over a period of six months. I need not trouble you with the details of this arrangement. I am told that the new arrangements of classes will be introduced as soon as possible. This is very satisfactory and I am very much indebted to the assistance given to me by the Principals of the two Medical Colleges and the Professorial staff.

There remains the difficulty which arises owing to the large number of students admitted in recent years and the disproportion this number bears to the number of labour cases available for their tuition. Since Dr. (now Sir) Norman Walker visited the Colleges in March, 1922, the teaching staffs have been increased and more attention is being devoted to the general training and supervision of students in the department of Gynaecology and Midwifery. This is all for the good. But, so far as I can see, no effort has been made to increase the number of labour cases available for students. This makes the position rather serious as the cases at present available in Calcutta are fewer in number than in the other Medical Colleges in India. I exclude Lahore which I have not yet visited. For example, in Bombay, they have about 1,200 cases in the Hospitals and since April last year, they have developed a scheme in collaboration with the Municipal Lying-in dispensaries for utilising outdoor cases which has sent up their numbers to approximately 1,500 and is capable of more expansion as time goes on. In Bombay, they have 7 labour cases to each student even with their present numbers and even this is insufficient. In Lucknow, by utilising the Madras Maternity Hospital, they have 10 cases per student. This is because there the number of students is very strictly limited. In the final year there are only about 36 students and the number of fresh admissions in future is limited to 48 each year. At the Calcutta Medical College there are 3 to 4 labour cases per student calculated on the number of admissions in 1922 (188). In the Carmichael Medical

College, there is only one to two cases per student calculated on the number of admissions in 1922 (110). You will immediately see that the difficulties are much more serious at the Carmichael Medical College than at the Calcutta Medical College. My duties as regards the General Medical Council are merely to report on the actual state of affairs in relation to the Council's requirements. But, as you know, I am very desirous of making a recommendation to the Council for the continuation of the conditional recognition of the Calcutta University M.B. degree and I can do this if I can be assured that steps are being taken to improve the position. I understand from General Deare who has been present with me at most of the discussions, that as regards the Calcutta Medical College it is proposed to develop a scheme for extern work and it is hoped that many more cases will be made available for students. I understand also that he proposes to recommend limiting the number of students who are admitted to the College so that there will be a satisfactory ratio between the number of students and the number of labour cases available.

I attach you a copy of the Regulations of the General Medical Council. I believe a copy of this was sent to the University last year.

It seems to me that the best plan for the University would be to adopt these regulations practically *en bloc*. The Medical Colleges must then arrange to carry out the regulations. As I have said in the previous part of my letter, there will be no difficulty in this, except in so far as the number of labour cases is concerned ; and provided both the Colleges make arrangements at once for improving the position, I hope the General Medical Council will accept the recommendation I propose to make on their behalf. It may take some considerable time before the arrangements are in full working order but so long as progress is being made, I feel quite sure the General Medical Council will do all they can to assist.

The matter is somewhat urgent as I wish to send my report to London early in March and I should

like to be in a position to tell the Council what action the Faculty of Medicine and the Syndicate of the University are taking in the matter. You very kindly promised your valuable and powerful assistance as Vice-Chancellor. After all, any action that is being taken is in the direct interest of the students and of the University, and ultimately for the good of the women and children of the Presidency.

Yours sincerely,

R. A. NEEDHAM.

Midwifery and Diseases of Women.—Instruction during a period of at least two terms, comprising—

1. Courses of systematic instruction in the principles and practice of Obstetrics and Gynaecology.

2. Lectures or Demonstrations in Clinical Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and attendance on In-patient and Out-patient Gynaecological Practice.

3. Instruction in the following subjects, *viz.*:—

(a) Ante-natal conditions;

(b) Infant Hygiene.

4 Every student should, after attending the Courses of systematic instruction in the principles and practice of Surgery and of Obstetrics, given continuous attendance on Obstetrical Hospital Practice, under the supervision of a competent officer for a period of three months, during one month of which at least he should perform the duties of an intern student in a Lying-in Hospital or Ward. He should attend during the period twenty cases of Labour under adequate supervision. Extern or District Maternity work should not be taken until the student has personally delivered at least five cases in the Lying-in Hospital or Ward, to the satisfaction of his teacher.

A certificate of having attended twenty cases of Labour should state that the student has personally attended each case during the course of labour, making the necessary abdominal and other examinations, under the supervision of the certifying officer,

who should describe his official position and state how many of the twenty cases were conducted in Hospital.

* * * *

Dr. Kedarnath Das, Principal, Carmichael Medical College, wrote the following letter to the Registrar :

SIR,

I have the honour by direction of the Council of the Medical Education Society of Bengal, to forward below the resolutions of the Council of the Society passed at their meeting held on the 2nd March, 1923.

RESOLVED—

1. That in order to give effect to the recommendations of the General Medical Council, with regard to practical teaching in midwifery, consistent with the ensuring of proper tuition, the Council is of opinion that the number of labour cases that should be available for the students undergoing instruction in midwifery must not be less than three times the number of students. With a view to bring about the above condition, the Council is prepared, if required by the Calcutta University to do so, to restrict the number of new admissions to the College as and when occasion requires.

2. That arrangements be made to utilise the clinical material available in other hospitals in Calcutta or elsewhere for our students and also to develop extern maternity work.

I have, etc,
KEDARNATH DAS.

On the motion of Dr. Das seconded by Lt.-Col Leicester the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Faculty of Medicine which was duly approved by the Senate :

The Faculty recommend that the following syllabus be substituted for the syllabus on Midwifery and Gynecology in Chapter XLVI of the Regulations (p. 259).

MIDWIFERY AND DISEASES OF WOMEN.

Instruction during a period of at least two terms comprising

1. Courses of systematic instruction in the principles and practice of Obstetrics and Gynecology.

2. Lectures or Demonstrations in clinical Obstetrics and Gynæcology, and attendance on In-patient and Out-patient Gynæcological practice.

3. Instruction in the following Subjects, *viz.* :—

- (a) Ante-natal condition ;
- (b) Infant Hygiene.

4. Every student should, after attending the Courses of systematic instruction in the principles and practice of Surgery and of Obstetrics, given continuous attendance on Obstetrical Hospital practice under the supervision of a competent officer for a period of three months, during one month of which at least he should perform the duties of an intern student in a Lying-in Hospital or Ward. He should attend during the period twenty cases of labour under adequate supervision. Extern or District maternity work should not be taken until the student has personally delivered at least five cases in the Lying-in Hospital or Ward, to the satisfaction of his teacher.

A certificate of having attended twenty cases of Labour should state that the student has personally attended each case during the course of labour making the necessary abdominal and other examinations, under the supervision of the certifying officer, who should describe his official position and state how many of the twenty cases were conducted in Hospital.

* * * *

On the motion of Dr. Kedarnath Das, seconded by Lt.-Col. J. C. H. Leicester, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

"The Faculty is of opinion that it is necessary to regulate the admission of students into the Medical College affiliated to the University with reference to the facilities available for adequate training in the later stages of the course. The following facts should guide the Syndicate in framing the directions to be issued to the College authorities.

(1) Approximately three-fourths of the students initially admitted are likely to reach the stage when training in Midwifery will be required ;

(2) The number of students at such stage should not, for the present, exceed one-third of the number of labour cases likely to be available ; but endeavour should be made to increase the number of cases as early as practicable, so as to make the proportion four to one, instead of three to one."

* * * *

HARDINGE PROFESSORSHIP COMMITTEE

We reproduce here the Preliminary report of the Hardinge Professorship Committee appointed to nominate a successor

to our renowned Mathematician and erudite scholar Dr. C. E. Cullis of the Indian Educational Service who is retiring from his field of activity where he taught three generations of pupils and carried on with Mathematical researches of the first magnitude. We wish Dr. Cullis a long life, and a still brighter future.

* * * *

We, the members of the Committee appointed by the Senate to consider the question of appointment of a Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, have the honour to submit this preliminary report.

On our recommendation the following notification was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* and a copy sent to Vice-Chancellors and Registrars of all Indian Universities and also to all Heads of Colleges affiliated to an Indian University :

“The Senate will shortly proceed to make an appointment to the Hardinge Chair of Mathematics, recently vacated by Dr. C. E. Cullis. The salary is Rs. 12,000 a year and the appointment is likely to be made, in the first instance, for a term of three years. Candidates are requested to send their applications (with copies of testimonials, if any), to the Registrar, on or before 31st January, 1923; a statement of (a) Academic qualifications, (b) Teaching experience, and (c) Original contributions, should be forwarded at the same time.”

Applications have been received from five candidates, one of whom has subsequently expressed a desire to withdraw his name. We have carefully considered the statements submitted by the other gentlemen.

In view of the circumstance that the Chair of Mathematics founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose is reserved for Applied Mathematics and that there are four Chairs reserved for Physics, we are of opinion that the Hardinge Chair of Mathematics should be reserved for Pure Mathematics. Preference should obviously be given to a specialist who is eminent for his work and attainments in some department of the

rapidly extending domain of modern Pure Mathematics, and who may be expected to lay the foundation for a school of Pure Mathematics in this University. We propose accordingly to make further enquiries before we submit our final report to the Senate.

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

W. W. HORNELL.

NILRATAN SIRCAR.

C. E. CULLIS.

The 9th March, 1923.

* * * *

The vexed question of age-problem has suddenly been resurrected by the Education Department and we quote here the full text of the wonderful letter written by the Secretary to the Education Department to the Registrar of the University :

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, to the Registrar, University of Calcutta, No. 756 Edu., dated the 7th March, 1923.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with this Department letter No. 917, dated the 15th April, 1922, on the subject of a change in the University Regulations relating to the age for the Matriculation Examination.

2. It was explained that this Government agreed with the views of the University Commission as set out on page 61 of Chapter XXXI, Volume IV of their report. In consideration, however, of the fact that the Commission regarded a general re-organization of Secondary Education up to the Intermediate Standard as a necessary preliminary to the relaxation of the age limit, the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) considered that it was undesirable to modify the present regulations till the re-organization was effected.

3. *As the legislation necessary for the re-organization of Secondary Education in this province has not yet been introduced and some time is likely to elapse before it comes into operation,*¹ the Government of Bengal are prepared to sanction a modification of the regulations on the lines of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

¹ The Italics are ours—Ed. C.R.

Those behind the veil will alone be able to explain the apparent sweet reasonableness of the Ministry of Education in this important matter—the history of its origin and development having been presented before our readers in our previous issues.

* * * *

RESIGNATION OF PROFESSOR ARTHUR BROWN.

It is a matter of deep regret that the Senate has been constrained to accept the resignation tendered by Prof. Arthur Brown, University Professor of International Law. Prof. Brown's scholarship apparently would have lain buried in Assam if the University had not appointed him Professor of International Law in this University. As soon as the appointment was made, the Government of India suddenly discovered the erudition of the learned Professor and gave him a lift to the Olympic heights. We understand Professor Brown's services to the Government of India have grown so indispensable that the Government of India desire to continue to reap the benefit of his services for some time more.

* * * *

We have great pleasure in publishing the following letter which Dr. Dineschandra Sen has received from Dr. Stella Kramrisch :—

23, THEATRE ROAD,

25th March, 1923.

DEAR SIR,

I wanted to write to you the very evening when I had the great privilege of listening to your reading of the translation of "Mahua." Unfortunately I was seized with fever on my return home. All the time Mahua, Naderchand, and the gipsies were round me and kept me in a world hitherto unknown to me, where emotions are deep and yet as simple as nursery rhymes, where nature echoes the voice of the

human heart and man is spontaneous. Yet he fits into the plot as the seasons, which accompany his happiness and yearnings, fit into the course of the year.

The whole melodrama is welded together by a music of emotions and yet every character stands out by itself. Mahua's love and heroic death are not symbols of transcendental value. They have no other religion than that of the human heart in all its purity and strength. How dispassionately is Homra, the gipsy leader, Mahua's foster-father, represented. His wrath and cruelty do not appear as such, they seem to be acts of subjective justice--that is to say even his figure has so much human appeal that we are bound to feel with him. And as it is with every one of them, Palanka, the maiden, Mahua's devoted friend, redeems the stern fervour of the action by a lyrical tenderness, natural and fresh like a flower and never sentimental.

Woman plays the leading part in our drama. Homra is nothing but setting and frame for Mahua's actions and Naderchand, the youthful Brahmin lord is the object which enables her to realise her devotion and greatness.

The play—but it is ballad—only it makes me wish to see it acted in all its dramatic conciseness rushes on in one straight line from beginning to climax and there it breaks down. Characters and situations are sketched with utmost economy, that makes them so distinct and at the same time as closely interwoven as the variegated melodies of a song. Each person has a tune of his own; one need not know the name nor see the actor, yet one is bound to recognise him.

The simple intensity of composition and diction reminded me of that standard work of medieval European Literature—'Aucassin and Nicolette'; there too the narrow prejudices of society do not concern hero and heroine. And there up to now we knew of the connection and similarity of folk literature in different countries and your folk literature of Bengal furnished us with first-hand material. But we were unable to

witness the affinity of people's poetry just on the verge where folklore and art become one. Also as far as my knowledge of Indian literature goes I do not know of anything similarly fresh and immediate. Every sentence of the melodrama *Mahua* can stand by itself and is final. It needs no ornament and no explanation. Bengal must be proud to have recovered such a treasure of her own—and you told me that it is only one of many. I sincerely hope your splendid discovery will find as much appreciation in Bengal itself as it is bound to get from all *connoisseurs* of literature in Europe and I am anxiously looking forward to the publication of all the ballads of Bengal.

Thanking you once more for the great pleasure of having come to know of these unique pieces of literature.

Yours sincerely,

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

The eminent German art critic Dr. William Cohn of Berlin reviews Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India* in the well-known Oriental Journal *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (Heft ½, February, 1923, pp. 181-2) thus.—

“In this book for the first time the question of Classical Influence has been dealt with in its fullest extent. The first edition of the book has been sold out in a year—a proof of the great interest which people have shown in this subject. The Indians indeed have been told often and often that the most notable achievements of the Indians are at bottom not due to indigenous inspiration but to inspirations from the West. Banerjee relies less upon his own studies in the multifarious branches of Indian spiritual life than on the carefully considered and mature opinions hitherto given which he exhaustively marshals side by side. In contradistinction to the partiality which one often finds in the discussion of these

questions, the author has endeavoured as much as possible to treat the subject dispassionately. To me, however, it seems not yet enough. Most of the problems need indeed quite a thorough-going investigation. We must not be misled by accidental coincidences, but we must consider and judge each theme as a part of the whole problem. Mutual influences are much more frequent than one would imagine. The mentality of the cultured men bears an extraordinary resemblance throughout the whole world. Only when the indications of inward development are lacking that we need look to extraneous influences. And we must not ignore to consider the weight of the foreign influences in the course of the entire development to its proper extent. In the sphere of Indian Religion, Philosophy, and Mythology, Banerjee accepts a rule of mutual influences. Even in Drama, in the Epics, in Philosophy, in Mathematics and in Philosophy, he considers the Western influences not very serious. Much more important, however, appear to him the foreign elements in India's plastic arts, which he considers in his Second Book in 118 pages which is one-third of the whole volume. Here also he does not put forward any essentially new standpoint, "classical culture had acted as a ferment to revive the native qualities of the Indian artists without robbing them of their originality and subtlety" (p. 26), hence a mediating viewpoint. Here precisely he seems to me to overshoot the mark. If we consider the Indian art in its entirety, we shall not require to look for foreign influences, but we will comprehend its steady, spontaneous growth. Foreign influences emanating specially from the Seleucid Hellenism cannot perhaps be denied but the point is to assess them at their true value. On the whole, I should say one should not attach so much importance to these investigations specially from the Indian side but rather turn with greater zeal on to the investigation of monuments according to their essence, their contents, their dates and their connection with contemporary literature. Here there is still much to be done.

In any case, the work has an encyclopædic character on account of the many exhaustive quotations of great value from the most important literature bearing upon it. The value of this book is considerably enhanced by a rich bibliography and an exhaustive index.

* * * *

We have been requested to publish the following letter from the great Mathematician J. Hadamard :—

INSTITUTE DE FRANCE.

25, RUE HUMBOLDT,

February 23, 1923.

DEAR SIR,

I have duly received your little pack of memoirs, though not containing the note on visual representation of 4-Dimensional Space alluded to in your letter, and which I think a certainly valuable one.¹

The memoirs on osculating conics, or even non-euclidean geometry and parametric formulæ in differential geometry of curves are less in my line, though I let you know, as likely to interest you, that a young Swiss Geometer, Mr. Juref, generalised, the Serret-Frenet formulæ, starting from the relatively point of view, *i.e.*, from Riemannian Matrices.

But my interest in your *Geometry of a Plane Arc*, which I had expressed in 1909, in a (anonymous) note in the *Revue Generale des Sciences* has far from diminished since that time.

Precisely, at my Seminar of Colloquium, of the College de France, we have reviewed such subjects, and all my auditors and colleagues have been keenly interested by your way of researches, which we all consider as one of the most important roads open to Mathematical Science.

The interest of these researches has been increased by comparison with the memoirs published in a slightly different

¹ I have been mistaken in telling you that I had not got your papers on 4-dimensional space. They had been temporarily lost. I have them again and read with much interest.

line by a Dane, Mr. Juel, the list of which memoirs I send herewith, hoping that they may interest you. Indeed the conjunction of both kinds of works (Mr. Juel dealing with Straight Lines, you with Circles and Conics,) is likely, at my sense, to prove of great power and bearing for the further improvement of geometry.

With my congratulations for your beautiful results, I beg you to believe me

Yours truly,
J. HADAMARD.

Prof. Montel, who has reviewed at the College de France, Juel's memoirs, is going to deal with the subject in the *Bulletin des Sciences Mathematiques*, and intends to point out the importance of your notes.

* * * * *

DR. TARINICHARAN CHAUDHURY.

Our best congratulations to Mr. Tarinicharan Chaudhury whose thesis for the Ph.D. degree has just been approved. The Board consisted of Prof. Sir P. C. Ray, Prof. P. C. Mitter and Prof. H. K. Sen.

* * * * *

GRIFFITH PRIZE.

The Griffith Memorial Prize for 1922 has been divided equally amongst the undermentioned candidates:—

Dr. Sahayram Bose, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Carmichael Medical College.—On Bengal Polyporaceæ.

Dr. Tarinicharan Chaudhury, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Midnapur College.—On Synthesis of Boranilide and its Derivatives.

Mr. Saradakanto Ganguli, M.A., Professor, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.—On Bhaskaracharyya and a simultaneous indeterminate equations of the first degree.

M. L. EXAMINATION.

There were four candidates for the last Master of Law Examination; three of them sat for the examination. We regret to learn that none of them has come up to the prescribed standard.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

The University of Oxford has recently altered the statutes for admission of Indian students to the status of Senior and Junior Students. The effect of the changes may be briefly described as follows :—

The new status for senior and junior students at Oxford University confers junior status on Indian B.A.'s or B.Sc.'s provided that their degree includes the study of English and in addition two of the following languages :—Latin, German, Greek, French, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian and Classical Chinese; one of these languages must be either Latin, Greek, French, or German. Further provisions provide that all junior students must take an Honours School in either the First or Second Public Examination or the Schools of Agriculture and Forestry. In a like manner, senior students must have studied for three years at an Indian University and have obtained a degree with first or second class honours. Both the Degree and the University require the approval of the Hebdomadal Council but it may be taken for granted that the Universities and the Degrees which have been already approved will still be accepted. It is provided that senior students can only obtain the B.A. degree with Honours and not a pass degree.

It should be noted that as a result of this new Statute no senior student will be able to offer Forestry or Agriculture for a degree. A candidate who desires to take either of these Schools should therefore apply for Junior (and not Senior) Status.

The Syndicate recently appointed a committee consisting of Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart and Rev. Dr. G. Howells to consider the matter. Their report is set out here below :—

We regret that the University of Oxford has felt it necessary to impose a regulation for the admission of Indian University Graduates to the status of junior students, the practical effect of which is to require the previous study of four languages, *i.e.*, his own vernacular (which, from the nature of the case, is, ordinarily, compulsory in India), English, and two other languages, one of which must be either Latin, Greek, French or German. This practically ignores the cultural and academic value of Indian vernaculars in comparison with modern European languages in a way that we consider unjustifiable on the merits of the case. Moreover, Indian University regulations hardly admit of so many languages being taken for the Degree Course, and so the practical effect of the regulation will be to exclude Indian Graduates altogether from the privileges of a junior student. We cannot think that was the deliberate intention of the Oxford University authorities, or if it was so, we consider that it would have been better to say so in plain terms. On the other hand, we have to admit that if an Indian University Graduate proceeds to Oxford, he is likely to aim at an Honours Course or some specialised course such as Agriculture or Forestry. On the merits of the case, we are of opinion that an Indian Graduate holding only a Pass Degree may without injustice be debarred from enjoying the privileges of a junior student, as we do not think he could take an Honours or specialised course satisfactorily under the period of three years, in view of the fact that the subjects are so differently handled in a University like Oxford.

In regard to Honours Graduates proceeding to Oxford for the study of Agriculture or Forestry, we consider that a representation should be made to the University of Oxford authorities requesting them to modify their regulations so that it may be possible for Indian Graduates obtaining the status of a senior student in Oxford to offer Forestry or Agriculture for a degree, without having to register as a Junior Student.

We regret to find that the effect of the new Statutes is to make it practically impossible for an Indian student to obtain any concession at Oxford.

We have been asked to reproduce the following letter from Dr. Cullis :—

4/2 MIDDLETON STREET, CALCUTTA
(*March 23rd, 1923*).

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE CALCUTTA MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY.

DEAR DR. DATTA,

Will you please express to the members of the Calcutta Mathematical Society my intense regret that I shall be prevented from attending the meeting of the Society fixed for Sunday, March 25th by the alteration of the date of my embarkation from the 26th to the 21th. Will you also convey to them my very grateful thanks for the tastefully and strongly bound Volumes of the Bulletin which have been presented to me. No more acceptable present could possibly have been chosen ; and the volumes will form one of the greatest treasures in my library at home.

Besides thanking my friends and fellow members of the Calcutta Mathematical Society for this present, I desire to leave with them my most sincere wishes for their welfare individually and for the welfare of the Society as a whole. I have watched the Society grow up from an enthusiastic beginning into a sturdy adolescent challenging the attention of the world. Since it will happily continue to receive the fostering care and stimulating encouragement of our honoured President, who called it into being, it has every prospect of a glorious maturity won by the earnest labours of its members. It is needless to say that no Mathematical literature will be more keenly watched by me than the succeeding numbers of the Bulletin, and the papers of my friends which I shall see in it. Through the Bulletin these friends will be almost as near to me as if I were in Calcutta.

Any man who can call himself a member of the Calcutta Mathematical Society will have a strong claim to a share in the gratitude I owe to the Society and to the University of Calcutta.

Yours very sincerely,

C. E. CULLIS.

REPORT ON THE STUDENT WELFARE SCHEME FOR THE YEAR 1922

Health Examination Section

The medical examination of University students in connection with the Student Welfare Scheme began on 28th March, 1920. Since then the work has been going on and students have been examined in seven different institutions. At the beginning the work was undertaken by a number of voluntary workers chiefly medical men and University lecturers. The Syndicate on 23rd July, 1920 granted an amount of Rs. 50 per month to each worker as conveyance allowance. Besides the medical examiners there is an office staff for the working of the data obtained by medical examination.

Up till now we have examined 5,774 students. There are as many as 65 different items entered for each student and the total mass of material that has got to be sifted, arranged and tabulated is simply enormous. The present office staff is very much overworked and unless an extra contingent is sanctioned it would be impossible to do full justice to the valuable data that have been collected. The purely scientific side of the work, the value of which cannot be exaggerated, could not be taken up for proper consideration. The number of medical workers too will have to be increased, as the most important part of the Student Welfare work, *viz.*, the prevention and cure of defects, remains as yet undeveloped.

The work that has been done up till now gives us an insight into the health of the student community and shows the necessity for prompt action to better their condition. In certain colleges as many as 10% of the students show enlarged spleen. The defects of eye-sight are as high as 51%

in a certain institution. A very large number of these students are ignorant of the nature of the trouble they are suffering from. All this is preventible. There are many other defects such as those of teeth, tonsils, etc., which are also preventible. It is a pity that so much of useless suffering and wastage of manhood which is bound to act in a deleterious manner on the welfare of the nation is allowed to persist. A more thorough system of medical and after-care work in conjunction with the Student Welfare Scheme is imperative to put a stop to this disastrous state of affairs. Recent data show that about 71% of the students suffer from some sorts of defects and many of these are of the preventible type. The need for propaganda work amongst students for the betterment of their health is very urgent. The public should also be roused to the seriousness of the situation. It is encouraging to note that the amount of resistance which we experienced from the students and the public at first is gradually decreasing and the scheme is daily becoming more and more popular. We are continually being approached by individual students from the different colleges for a report on their health. Enquiries have been received from many different institutions about the nature of the work we have been doing and the appeal we have issued for funds has met with some response.

We find it extremely difficult to manage the medical examination with the existing scale of remuneration for the workers. The medical examiners have been doing their work ungrudgingly at the sacrifice of their time and energy, and it would be impossible for them to continue in this manner unless the amount of their remuneration be raised. A list of the staff of workers and office assistants with the remuneration mentioned against each is given below :—

Honorary Secretaries—

Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B.

Dr. A. Chatterji, M.B., B.S.

				Remuneration per month.
				Rs.
<i>Superintendents—</i>				
Mr. M. N. Banerjee, M.Sc.	...	...	...	50
„ H. Maiti, M.A.	...	...	...	50
<i>Examiners—</i>				
Dr. H. N. Bose, L.M.S.	...	...	...	50
„ A. C. Mitra, L.M.S.	...	...	...	50
„ D. P. Banerji, M.B.	...	...	...	50
„ B. N. Bose, M.B.	...	...	...	50
„ B. B. Chakravarti, M.B.	...	...	...	50
„ D. N. Banerjee, M.B.	...	...	...	50
„ H. N. Bose, H.A.	...	...	...	50
Mr. M. Ganguly, M.Sc.	...	...	...	50
„ P. Banerji, B.A. (Tabulator)	...	...	...	50
„ M. Sen (Assistant do. )	...	...	...	30
				<hr/>
				580
<i>Office Staff—</i>				
Mr. Kalidas Banerjee, M.A. (Head Assistant)	...	...	...	55
„ P. Chowdhury (Assistant)	...	...	...	55
„ Janakinath Mukherji (do. )	...	...	...	55
„ Bhabanath Bose (do. )	...	...	...	50
Durwan	...	...	...	16
				<hr/>
				231
Contingency	...	...	...	150
<i>Health Examination—</i>				
Contingency for the Rowing Club Section...	...	...	...	25
Keeper... Do. Do. Do.	...	...	...	18
				<hr/>
				1,004
				<hr/>

The above statement includes the grant for the Rowing Club Section also. Dr. A. Chatterji acts as the Honorary Secretary of this section and Mr. H. P. Maiti as the Honorary Supervisor. An account of this section will be found at the end of the report. The office section of the health examination scheme and the preparation of the statistical

data are under the charge of Mr. H. P. Maiti. An office guide for the management of the Student Welfare work has been prepared.

Age Distribution of Students

Table No. 1 shows the distribution of students according to age in the various institutions. The largest number of students examined was in the City College. When all the colleges are considered together it is found that the maximum number falls under the age group 18. Last year's report showed the maximum number under the age group 19. This is perhaps due to the fact that there are more students in the 1st and 2nd-year classes than in the 3rd and 4th-year.

TABLE NO. 1

Distribution of Students according to Age

Age	Scottish Churches College.	University Classes.	City College.	Presidency College.	Vidyasagar College.	C. M. S. College.	Bangabasi College	Total.
15	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
16	52	...	113	51	5	...	94	315
17	150	...	281	125	55	14	354	990
18	177	...	299	164	131	14	342	1127
19	220	...	269	163	148	25	265	1000
20	169	4	293	115	159	26	155	921
21	81	21	169	43	111	29	104	558
22	42	33	149	17	72	11	63	387
23	16	30	86	8	29	6	24	199
24	3	24	31	1	22	4	14	99
25	2	12	11	2	7	...	9	43
26	1	7	5	1	3	1	3	21
27	...	4	2	1	3	...	...	10
28	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	3
29	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
30	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	4
31	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	2
32	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
33	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
37	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Total	913	140	1710	692	758	133	1428	5774

The Caste Distribution of Students

Table No. 2 shows the distribution of students according to different castes. About 30% of the students are Brahmins

and 28% of the students Kayasthas. The Muhammadan students come up to only 6%. Of the rest the Vaidyas form about 8% of the total number and the Gandhabaniks who are the least numerous give a percentage of .5 only.

TABLE NO. 2

Distribution of Students according to Different Castes

Caste.	Number of Students.	Percentage.	
Radiya Brahmins	...	896	15.51
Barendra Brahmins	...	123	2.12
Bhattacharyya (mixed)	...	180	3.11
Chakravarti (mixed)	...	198	3.42
Other Brahmins (mixed)	...	374	6.5
Kulin Kayastha	...	742	12.8
" Atghara " Kayastha (Mauiic)	...	346	6.0
Other Kayasthas	...	564	9.8
Baidya	...	496	8.6
Khatriya	...	53	.9
Vaisyas	...	144	2.5
Gandhabanik	...	29	.5
Mahisya	...	156	2.7
Subarnabanik	...	103	1.8
Vaisya Saha	...	54	1.5
Christians	...	74	1.3
Mahomedans	...	343	6.0
Other castes	...	502	8.7

} 30.7%

} 28.6%

288 students have not reported their castes.

General Appearance

The general appearance of the student gives us a very fair idea of the condition of his health. We have classified the students as in the last report into four different groups A, B, C and D. A denotes good muscular development, B

stoutness without muscularity, C medium musculature and D thin bodily development. About 8% of the students are muscular (see table 3). This figure is lower than the previous year's record. The lowering of the record is traceable to the large number of thin and medium students in the Vidyasagar, C. M. S., and Bangabasi Colleges. The Bangabasi College shows the lowest figure in muscular development and the Scottish Churches College claims the highest percentage. The want of muscularity is due to insufficient feeding in poor students, and want of proper physical exercise. Both the Scottish Churches and the Presidency Colleges show comparatively high figures and in both these Colleges the students come from families which are better off than in the other Colleges. The facilities for physical exercise in these two colleges are also better. The City College, University Classes and the Bangabasi College show a high percentage of thin students. If we consider the general appearance according to age (Table 4) we find as in the last year's report that students belonging to the age group 20, 21, 22 show the best muscular development. The percentage of D class thin students steadily falls up to the age of 22 and the medium class shows a

TABLE NO. 3

College.		Muscular.	Stout.	Medium.	Thin.
Scottish Churches	...	13	9	47·8	28·9
University Classes	...	6·4	13·6	47·1	30·7
City	...	8·7	5·7	50·2	35·4
Presidency	...	10·4	6·6	55·2	27·7
Vidyasagar	...	6·99	4·61	62·0	26·25
C. M. S.	...	6·76	4·51	70·67	18·04
Bangabasi	...	5·46	5·39	59·103	29·97
General percentage	...	8·502	6·39	54·6	30·35

TABLE No. 4

General Appearance according to Age

—	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
A	6.03	6.6	7.98	8.34	9.44	9.67	8.77	10.71	12.37	25.58	19.04
B	4.13	5.5	6.48	4.87	7.43	6.81	8.77	8.16	6.18	9.302	14.28
C	46.6	51.1	53.32	57.7	56.35	58.06	58.67	53.57	54.64	48.84	38.09
D	43.14	36.65	32.209	29.26	26.6	24.55	23.5	27.55	26.8	16.279	28.57

corresponding rise up to 22, beyond which the curves tend in the opposite direction. The figures belonging to the age group 24, 25 and 26 are not very significant as the number of students is comparatively small. We are justified in assuming that the maximum development occurs under the age group 21. This supports last year's findings. The high percentage of thin students in the younger age groups demands an explanation. Not only is the percentage of thin students higher in the earlier ages but the percentage of stoop is also higher (Table 6). This shows that the younger students withstand the strain of life less resistingly about this period than their older brethren. It would be wise to relieve a certain amount of strain of college life from these younger students.

Posture.

About 47% of the students show a stoop in their posture. (Table No. 5). This is somewhat higher than the last year's figure and is due mainly to the influence of the Bangabasi and the Vidyasagar College students in whom this defect is markedly in evidence. The younger the student the more manifestly evident is the stoop (Table No. 6).

TABLE No. 5

College.					Erect.	Stooping.
Scottish Churches College ...	...	...	...	...	69.2%	29.8%
University Classes ...	...	...	...	...	78.6%	19.3%
City College ...	...	...	...	...	54.4%	45.6%
Presidency College...	...	...	...	...	52.4%	47.6%
Vidyasagar College...	...	...	...	...	45.6%	54.4%
C. M. S. College ...	...	...	...	...	53.4%	46.6%
Bangabasi College ...	...	...	...	...	41.4%	58.5%
General percentage				...	51.31%	47.1%

TABLE No. 6

Posture

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
E	46.35	43.04	47.64	50.64	57.11	56.9	63.04	58.16	67	74.416	71.33	
S	53.75	56.96	52.17	48.99	42.12	42.65	36.6	41.84	32.98	25.58	29.57	

TABLE No. 7

Skin

					Normal.	Defective.
C. M. S. College...	...	...	...	...	62.23%	37.59%
Bangabasi ...	...	...	...	...

Skin.

We have classified the skin into two groups—normal and defective. Under the latter heading are included cases suffering from skin diseases such as acne, scabies, eczema, pityriasis, etc. The tabulation of this item has been introduced only lately and comparative figures are not available. The percentage of scabies is fairly large while acne is most frequent. Most of these skin diseases are certainly preventible and are due to neglect in the care of the skin. (Table No. 7.)

Complexion.

As in the last year's report the skin complexion has been classified under four heads—A very fair, B fair, C brown and D black. (Table No. 8.) About 1·4% of the students show a very fair complexion and about 8% belong to the D class. This is not an important item so far as health is concerned, but is of great interest from anthropological point of view. If we arrange the complexion Table No. 9 under caste heading we find that amongst Hindus in the A class the Kshatriyas come first, next Radiya Kayasthas, then other Brahmins, then Radiya and Barondra Brahmins. The Mahishya class shows the highest percentage in the D class. If we add up the different sub-classes amongst Brahmins and Kayasthas we find the Brahmins as a class fairer than Kayasthas. Another very interesting feature is that while the percentage of A class students amongst Radiya Kayasthas is as high as 2 that among Atghar Kayasthas is only 28. There is no A class student amongst Chakravarty Brahmins. The distinct preponderance of A class amongst the higher classes of the Hindu society is maintained as in last year's report.

TABLE NO. 8

College.	Very fair	Fair.	Brown.	Black.
Scottish Churches	1·9%	27·5%	62%	7·3%
University Classes	0·7%	25%	62%	10%
City College	0·7%	22·5%	70%	7%
Presidency College	1·1%	17·6%	76·3%	4·9%
Vidyasagar College	2·4%	22%	70·7%	4·9%
C. M. S. College	3·7%	13·3%	75·2%	6·8%
Bangabasi College	1·1%	19·6%	67·1%	11·9%
General percentage	1·4%	21·8%	68·6%	7·8%

TABLE NO. 9

Caste.	Number of Students.	Percentage Table.			
		A	B	C	D
Radiya Brahmins ...	896	1.78	20.24	64.51	4.24
Barendra Brahmins ...	123	1.02	34.14	58.5	5.69
Bhattacharyya (mixed) ...	180	1.11	2.94	63.68	5.0
Chakravarti (mixed) ...	198	—	22.2	70.2	7.57
Other Brahmins (mixed) ...	374	1.87	24.1	69.98	4.54
Kulin Kayastha ...	742	2.02	22.37	68.5	7.14
"Atgarh" Kayastha (Maulic) ...	346	.28	17.05	71.96	9.8
Other Kayasthas ...	564	1.06	18.8	70.56	9.2
Baidya ...	496	1.2	22.38	69.76	6.66
Khatriya ...	53	3.8	35.8	54.7	3.8
Vaisyas ...	144	.7	25	70.14	4.2
Gandhabanik ...	29	—	6.9	79.3	13.79
Mahisya ...	156	—	11.5	66.6	21.15
Subarnabanik ...	103	.97	22.3	69.9	.39
Vaisya Saha ...	81	—	1.9	7.6	.48
Christians ...	74	4.05	16.2	74.3	5.4
Mahomedans ...	313	1.17	13.4	72	12.24
Other castes ...	502	.6	15.7	72.1	11.35

Height, Weight and Ponderal Index

Table No. 10 shows the height in centimetres, the weight in kilos and the ponderal index which indicates the weight per unit length of the body, *i. e.*, the comparative heaviness. The general average for height is slightly higher than the last year's figure, while the average weight has fallen a bit. The latter is due to the proportionately larger number of thin students from the Vidyasagar and Bangabasi Colleges,

whose students present the lowest figures for weight. The height figures are the lowest for the City and Vidyasagar Colleges. Table No. 11 shows the distribution of height and weight according to age. It will be noticed that the rate of growth in height is more uniform than the rate of growth in weight. The weight increases at a comparatively rapid rate in the earlier years. The height and weight figures show that the maximum development takes place in the age group 21. The figures for the age group 24 and upwards are too scanty to warrant any general deduction. As mentioned in our last report we find that the influence of age on height is less marked than on weight.

TABLE No. 10

College.	Height. c. m.	Weight. kilo.	Ponderal Index.
Scottish Churches College	165.9	52.2	2.25
University Classes	166.4	53.5	2.27
City College	162.2	50.0	2.28
Presidency College	165.5	52.4	2.25
Vidyasagar College	163.2	51.7	2.26
C. M. S. College	166.4	50.5	2.24
Bangabasi College	161.5	50.1	2.24
General Average	164.1	50.98	2.24

TABLE No. 11

Height and Weight according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Height	163.4	163.71	164.48	165.39	164.96	166.38	165.47	165.5	166.64	165.84	166.57
Weight	46.95	47.76	50.79	50.84	51.90	52.48	51.81	51.65	55.13	56.7	51.87

Chest and Vital Capacity

The chest measurement is shown in Table No. 12. It shows a decided fall as compared with the last year's report. This also is traceable to the influence of the Bangabasi and Vidyasagar College students. The vital capacity of the Bangabasi College students is comparatively low, as also their chest expansion. The chest measurements show a tendency to increase according to age (Table No. 13) whereas the vital capacity seems to attain its maximum at 21 (Table No. 14). This would support our last year's finding that the maximum efficiency of respiration is obtained at age 21. The incidence of lung disease about this age is also low.

TABLE No. 12

College.	Inspiration.	Expiration.	Expansion.	Vital Capacity.
	c. m.	c. m.	c. m.	lit.
Scottish Churches College	83.7	79.0	4.7	...
University Classes	85.6	81.6	4.0	...
City College	81.3	77.2	4.1	2.71
Presidency College	82.73	78.3	4.4	2.885
Vidyasagar College	83.71	80.25	3.71	2.842
C. M. S. College	83.17	79.0	4.43	2.73
Bangabasi College	82.33	78.85	3.4	2.35
General Average	82.35	77.22	4.1	2.60

TABLE No. 13

Chest Inspiration according to Age

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
79.8	81.0	82.5	82.8	82.8	83.5	82.7	83.72	83.97	87.5	81.6

TABLE No. 14

Vital Capacity according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Vital Capacity ...	2 55	2 62	2 72	2 72	2 79	2 87	2 75	2 83	2 98	2 87	2 82

Head Measurements.

This year also the Presidency College maintains the lowest figure for cephalic index. (Table No. 15.) An interesting feature about this measurement is that it tends to fall steadily with age (Table No. 16). This would imply that the length of the skull increases more rapidly than the breadth.

TABLE No. 15

College.	Circumference.		Cephalic Index.	
	c. m.			
Scottish Churches College	53.8	79.9
University Classes	53.9	80.3
City College	53.1	79.7
Presidency College	53.6	78.4
Vidyasagar College	53.48	79.92
C. M. S. College	51.2	87.48
Bangabasi College	51.7	80.16
General percentage	...		53.5	79.6

TABLE No. 16

Cephalic Index according to Age

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
80.1	80.16	79.86	79.5	79.5	79.41	79.06	78.7	78.4	78.5	78

Audition

The figures (Table No. 17) for audition are not all very reliable. The high figure for the C. M. S. College is due to the fact that the measurements were conducted in comparative quietness which could not be ensured in other institutions. The ratio between the right and left measurements is however reliable and it bears out the interesting feature mentioned in our last year's report that the left ear hears better than the right. The tendency for auditory acuity to diminish with age is also noticeable in this year's finding.

TABLE NO. 17

Audition

College.					Right. c. m.	Left. c. m.
Scottish Churches College	...	...	...	...	70.9	75.3
University Classes	...	...	...	...	59.2	61.2
City College	...	...	...	...	41.0	41.0
Presidency College	...	...	...	...	67.7	72.9
Vidyasagar College	...	...	...	...	72.1	73.2
C. M. S. College	...	...	...	...	117.5	122.3
Bangabasi College	...	...	...	...	82.6	88.5
General average					64.0	68.0

Average of Audition ranges for all Ages.—17A.

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Audition Right	65.5	62.3	65.8	65.7	64.0	66.2	61.6	57.2	55.8	60.2	58.5	60.0
Audition Left	69.6	70.4	68.3	70.4	67.4	67.1	64.2	60.3	59.4	63.5	63.0	65.2

Vision

About 66% of the students (Table No. 18) show normal vision. This is slightly better than the last year's figure. About 64% of the students requiring glasses do as not either use glasses at all or only use unsuitable ones. A very big percentage, *viz.*, about 45% of these defective students does not even know that they have got any eye-defect. In the Bangabasi College the percentage of such students is as high as 60%. The age distribution table No. 19 shows a progressive deterioration of vision with age.

TABLE No. 18

Defects of Refraction—Percentage Table.

College.			Defective H. C. & D.	Uncorrected Defect.	Partially corrected. Defect.
Scottish Churches College	...	...	38.7	39.3	25.5
University Classes	...	...	51.7	26.1	23.2
City College	...	...	29.3	38.2	12.0
Presidency College	...	...	47.3	23.0	26.7
Vidyasagar College	...	...	29.5	41.0	18.6
C. M. S. College	...	...	32.3	59.9	13.8
General percentage			33.6	45.5	18.9

TABLE No. 19

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Vision Normal	70.5	65.4	67.7	66.23	64.6	63.02	65.8	67.85	59.58	55.81	42.76
Teeth Normal	66.3	68.2	63.7	60.09	58.63	56.81	58.9	57.79	51.5	34.58	61.9

Teeth

About 61% of the students (Table No. 20) have got normal teeth. The teeth defect is correlated with poor physical development. The Age Distribution Table No. 19 shows the same tendency to deterioration with age as in the case of vision and audition and there seems to be a very close correlation in the figures for normal teeth and vision. The Presidency figure for caries is still the highest. The figure for caries shows a rise this year.

TABLE No. 20

College.	Percentage figures.		
	Normal.	Caries.	Defective
Scottish Churches College	58.6	2.4	32.0
University Classes	60.7	4.3	37.1
City College	70.6	2.3	17.9
Presidency College	60.2	10.8	29.5
Vidyasagar College	36.4	10.0	49.8
O. M. S. College	60.2	6.8	31.6
Bangabasi College	58.2	10.5	36.1
General percentage	61.6	6.7	31.1

TABLE No. 21

College.	Bleeding Gum.	Spongy Gum.	Pyorrhoea Gum.
Scottish Churches College	5.8	3.3	9.5
University Classes	22.8	5.0	8.6
City College	14.6	9.9	2.5
Presidency College	9.1	9.1	1.8
Vidyasagar College	6.7	2.8	3.3
O. M. S. College ... ..	...	9.0	1.5
Bangabasi College ... ..	...	1.4	4.9
General percentage ... ..	...	...	4.5

General Defects.

Under this heading have been included defects of heart, pulse, lungs, tonsils, throat, spleen, uvula, eye troubles other than those of refraction, pharyngitis, nasal troubles, liver, etc. (Table No. 22).

The percentage of heart trouble is 5.2%. (Table No. 23.) This is about the same as the last year's figure. The spleen figure shows a slight increase, as do also liver, lung and tonsil. The hernia figure remains constant. About 3% of the students show some irregularity or other abnormality in the pulse. About 8% of the students show abnormal tongue condition. The incidence of general defect is lower about the period of maximum development, *viz.*, between the ages of 19 and 23. The figures for total defectives rise higher towards the later age groups. The spleen incidence is highest in the Vidyasagar College, then comes the Bangabasi and then the City College. The Vidyasagar College also shows the highest figure for tonsils.

TABLE NO. 22

Colleges.			Number of students.	General Defectives.	Percentage
Scottish Churches College	..	..	913	145	16%
University Classes	..	..	140	50	36%
City College	...	...	1,710	353	21%
Presidency College	...	...	652	351	49%
Vidyasagar College	...	...	758	295	39%
C. M. S. College	...	...	133	54	41%
Bangabasi College	...	...	1,428	444	31%
Total			5,774	1,692	29%

TABLE No. 23
Percentage Table of General Defects

College.	Heart.	Lung.	Liver.	Spleen	Tonsil.	Hydrocele.	Orchitis	Hernia
Scottish Churches College	8.1	0.6	0.7	1.6	2.3	0.9	0.3	0.1
University Centre	10.1	0.7	2.8	2.1	5.0	2.8	5.0	0.7
City College	4.8	0.5	0.6	2.0	4.5	1.0	1.3	0.3
Presidency College	3.3	0.1	0.1	1.5	11.5	0.5	0.4	0.1
Vidyasagar College	5.9	1.0	1.8	9.6	25.8	2.6	1.6	
C. M. S. College	5.3			.7	18.0	.7	2.3	
Bangabasi College	6.0	.2	1.9	3.9	9.8	1.2	1.6	.2
General percentage	5.2	.6	.9	3.0	7.7	1.1	1.0	.2

Total Defectives.

Under this heading (Table No. 24) have been counted all those students who show some defect or other. The percentage this year is higher than in the last. About 71% of the students are defective in some way. If we exclude the figure for the Presidency College where minor defects are more common as mentioned in the last year's report we find that the Vidyasagar College shows the greatest percentage of defective students, next come University classes, then the Bangabasi and then the C. M. S. College.

TABLE No. 24
Total Defectives

Scottish Churches College	...	64%
University Classes	...	77%
City College	...	64%
Presidency College	...	91%
Vidyasagar College	...	80%
C. M. S. College	...	72%
Bangabasi College	...	75%
General Percentage	...	71%

Fecundity Index

The highest figure for the Presidency College has been maintained. (Table No. 25.) The C. M. S., the Vidyasagar and the Bangabasi Colleges show the lowest figure. Last year's assertion that poorer mothers show less fecundity than their richer sisters seems to be justified.

TABLE No. 25

College.	No of Mothers.	Fecundity Index.
Scottish Churches College ...	774	·460
University Classes ..	130	·445
City College ...	1,455	·456
Presidency College ...	636	·504
Vidyasagar College ...	628	·42
C. M. S. College ..	123	·39
Bangabasi College ...	1,332	·42
General Average ..	5,179	·41

*Percentages of Total Defectives and General Defects
according to Age.*

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Total Defectives ...	78.8	79.5	72.7	72.1	79.1	78.3	78.1	78.0	82.5	93.8	85.7
General Defects ...	34.3	36.6	35.6	30.6	35.1	35.8	28.2	32.2	48.5	46.5	61.9
Heart	4.4	6.1	6.5	4.1	5.4	3.9	2.9	4.0	7.1	7.0	
Pulse	1.3	2.8	3.3	1.7	2.9	2.9	6.2	3.0	5.1	7.0	

N.B.—Figures for total Defectives have been calculated from the totals of Vidyasagar, C. M. S., and Bangabasi Colleges. Figures for General Defects and Heart and Pulse have been calculated from the totals of all the Colleges.

Some interesting Features

Some very interesting conclusions can be deduced from a careful examination of the records. It will be found that the average Bengali student attains maximum physical efficiency about the age of 21, after which there seems to be a decline. The percentage of defects in eye, ear, teeth, as well as general defects, increases with age after 21. The defects of visual refraction, teeth and audition however show a progressive increase from 16 upwards. This would imply that a greater strain than could be normally borne is being experienced by younger students. The percentage figures for general appearance and stoop also bear this out. The incidence of disease increases after the age of 21 showing a weakening of the resistance of the body after the period of maximum efficiency.

The percentage of preventible diseases is very high indeed. We have already mentioned that the total defectives form about 71% of the student community, that is, nearly 7 out of 10 students require medical attendance. This figure is higher than the last year's finding. It is absolutely imperative that immediate steps be taken to maintain the efficiency of the health of the student community. The eye defects which could be very easily corrected mostly go untreated. Regular propaganda work among students is necessary to remove this apathy. Although we have taken steps to supply spectacles at cost prices we find only a very limited number of students taking advantage of this arrangement. The high percentage of teeth trouble with attendant dyspepsia is deplorable as this is certainly preventible. An indication of the neglect to which the student is subjected will be evident from the high percentage of spleen incidence in the Vidyasagar College. This means that one in ten students suffers from latent malarial infection and malaria is a disease which is eminently curable. All this would indicate great necessity for enlightening the

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

STUDENT WELFARE SCHEME

(Rowing Club Section)

Out of 11 boats under our charge 8 were allotted to members. The number of members on the list at present is 73. The number of boats going out daily on an average during the past year is 5. The average number of members daily attending is 35.

Five of our boats were lent to the Bengal Flood Relief Committee for their use at Santahar. As these boats have been returned only recently, the number of members daily attending during the latter part of the year fell off. Hence the low average.

We have introduced a system of special physical examination of the members. The amount of exercise is fixed according to the report of such examination. In this connection our thanks are due to Dr. Nibaranchandra Mitra, M.B., for his, kind help. Records of weight and chest measurement and their variations from time to time are kept.

A permanent boat house is extremely desirable for the proper working of the Club.

A. CHATTERJI.

HARIPADA MAITI.

Rowing Club Section

A statement of Income and Expenditure for the year
1922-23.

College.	Rs. A. P.	Expenditure.	Rs. A. P.
Admission fees	61 0 0	Paid to Mr. Maiti on a/c of loan advanced in 1921.	12 6 0
Subscription fees	68 0 0	Rowlock 2 doz.	25 0 0
University contingency grants	516 0 0	Locks and chains	21 5 0
		Petty Repairs	23 2 0
		Conveyance	16 7 3
		Contingency expenditure as per contingency bills	516 0 0
		Total	614 4 3
		Balance in hand	30 11 9
	645 0 0		645 0 0

STUDENT WELFARE FUND

Donors' List

Name of Donor.	Amount. Rs.
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11. Mr. Haridas Chatterjee	20 0 0
12. Mr. Krishnanath Sen	5 0 0
13. Dr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B., B.S.	10 0 0
14. Lodge of St. Thomas in the East	50 0 0
Total	731 0 0

Besides the above The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical works, Ltd., have supplied furniture worth Rs. 250 free of charge.

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A. CHATTERJI.

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HARIPADA MAITI.

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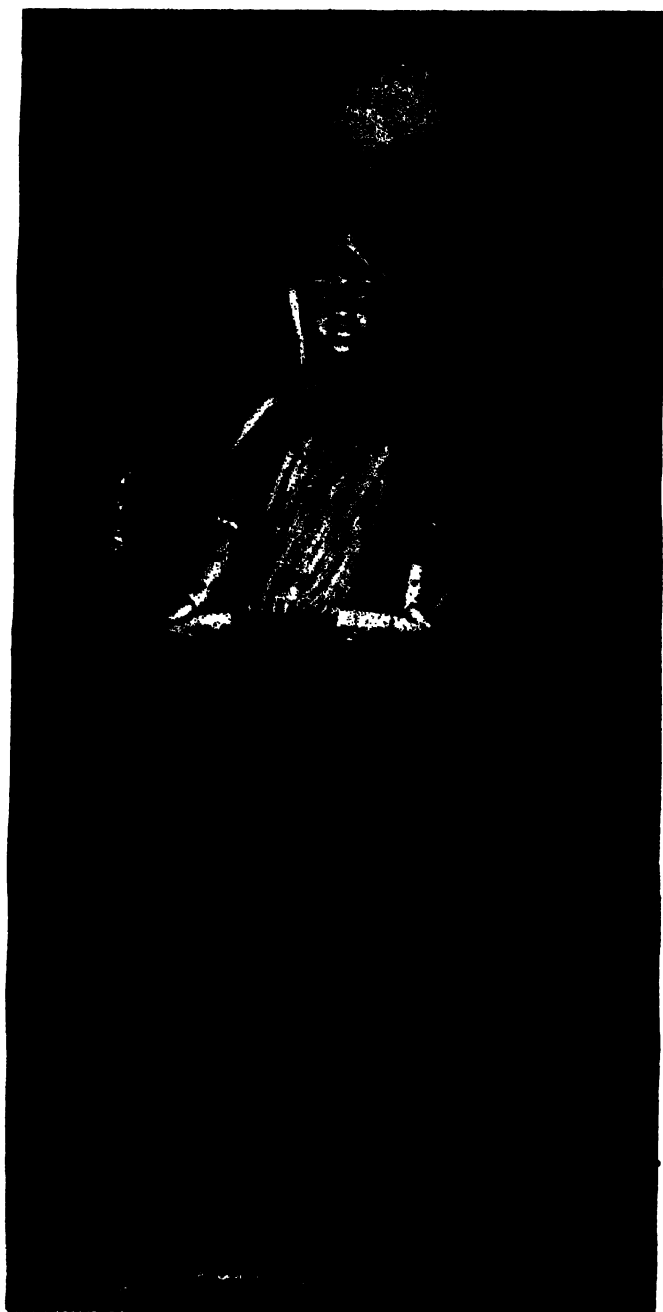
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VARAN-DALA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1923



POETRY AND CRITICISM

There are subjects, and religion and poetry are two of them, that are of such absorbing interest, that men will go on thinking and writing about them as long as there are men to think and write; and, because of the deep, inherent interest of those subjects themselves, there may be a value in the thoughts about them even of a man who, because he lives in exile, away from men and books, is imperfectly acquainted with the last things written and spoken about them. Among the questions which such a one may try to answer are, first, the eternal question, What is poetry? and then these others: How are we to tell great poetry from lesser poetry? and: Is the poetry of any day, and consequently the poetry of our own day, to be judged exactly as all other poetry, or may the nature of poetry so change, that the judging has to be by new and other rules? If we could answer these questions, then we could presumably also answer this other, and most interesting, question: Is all right with our own poetry: are our young poets on the right road? But I will not attempt to answer that question in this paper.

Matthew Arnold tried to answer the question: What is poetry? Poetry is a criticism of life; and he tried to teach us how to tell great poetry from lesser poetry. We were to have certain touchstones, and we were to judge any

poem by applying those touchstones. It may be doubted if to say that poetry is a criticism of life is not too likely merely to suggest the question : What is criticism of life ? In other words, the objection to the definition is that it does not say anything clear enough. As to the touchstones, it may be doubted if anyone who could judge a poem by applying them, could not judge it as well without (it might be by unconsciously applying them), or if, in fact, any considerable number of persons have learned to apply touchstones, or are likely ever to do so. That is not to say that Arnold's essay is not a profoundly pregnant piece of writing, but merely that it is only that for the few.

It might be helpful to defer the attempt to answer the question : What is poetry ? until we have answered the easier question : What is not poetry ? It is clear that the thing called "poem" has undergone many changes since the first one was written ; that many things that are called poems are poems only in some other sense of the word. There is seen, at the first glance, to be a world of difference between the Vedic Hymns, the Iliad, and the Book of Job and such things as "The Rape of the Lock," "Bishop Blougram's Apology," and Lockar-Lampson's "London Lyrics." Charles Lamb would have written "The Rape of the Lock" as an essay ; a different Browning would have written "Bishop Blougram's Apology" as a prose dialogue, and the "London Lyrics" might have been written as letters. These, then, in one sense at least, are seen not to be poetry, and with them whole libraries in verse are seen not to be poetry. There may be a clue in this to what poetry is.

If these writings are only prose thought in metrical form, is it not probable that poetry is something rarer, more difficult, secret ? If it is a secret, what is it the secret of ? It is the secret, I should say, of anything of perennial interest ; but it is that secret wrested with difficulty (except that genius, which alone can write poetry, does whatever it does easily).

If a man without genius may be thought of as wresting the secret (we know he could not do it), he would have wrested it, we feel sure, with labour and difficulty. . Nothing that could be got at by sheer dint of intelligent thinking, or observation of natural things, will be poetry in the highest sense of the word. If, to make the matter clearer, I go on to quote pieces of verse in which the secrets of things are revealed, the apparent ease with which the poets are seen to have reached them must not mislead people : what must be borne in mind is the difficulty, rather the impossibility, of their being reached by any merely intelligent thinking.

I have said nothing that Arnold has not said in a page of his essay on Maurice de Guérin, a page of such value, he it said in passing, that anything wrong in Arnold's having written about such a one as de Guérin should be forgiven for its sake. "It is not Linnæus," Arnold writes, "or Cavendish, or Cuvier who gives us the true sense of animals, or water, or plants, who seizes their secret for us, who makes us participate in their life ; it is Shakespeare, with his

"daffodils

That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty ;"

it is Wordsworth, with his

"voice.....heard

In spring time from the cuckoo-bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides ;"

it is Keats, with his

"moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores."

I will add two more. Collins writes :—

"Views.....hamlets brown, and dim-discovered spires ;
And hears their simple bell, and marks o'er all
Thy dewy fingers draw
The gradual dusky veil."

and Vaughan, in his poem "They are all gone into the World of Light," to make more apparent the vacancy they have made, says

"He that hath found some fledged bird's nest, may know
At first sight, if the bird be flown;
But what fair well or grove he sings in now,
That is to him unknown."

What makes all those ¹ passages belong to the greatest poetry is that a secret is revealed in each. There are no secrets revealed in the two that follow, and that is what makes them not great poetry. There is nothing in them that could not be reached by merely intelligent thinking, or by observation.

"Elaine the fair, Elaine the loveable,
Elaine the lily maid of Astolat,
• High in her chamber up a tower to the east
Guarded the sacred shield of Lancelot;
Which first she placed where morning's earliest ray
Might strike it, and awake her with the gleam;
Then fearing rust or soilage fashion'd for it
A case of silk, and braided thereupon
All the devices blazon'd on the shield
In their own tinct, and added, of her wit,
A border fantasy of branch and flower,
And yellow-throated nestling in the nest."

"They looked up to the sky, whose floating glow
Spread like a rosy ocean, vast and bright;
They gazed upon the glittering sea below
Whence the broad moon rose circling into sight;—
They heard the waves splash, and the wind so low,
And saw each other's dark eyes darting light ² .
Into each other; and beholding this
Their lips grew near and clung into a kiss."

¹ There may be a doubt whether the passage from Collins, beautiful though it is, is great enough to be put into the highest class.

² It is strange that people should have been allowed to write, "They saw each other's eyes dart light into each other," without getting into trouble. Our young men may do

To go back to the passages quoted as instances of the greatest poetry. Where, in each one, a secret is revealed, or to use Arnold's word, the true sense is given, as science could not give it, the thing is done by showing the essence of one thing in the light of another thing; and it is doubtful if it can be done fully in any other way. It is the bringing together of the daffodil and the swallow's coming that makes clear that our thought of the daffodil is not what it would be, if the daffodil had its flowers in autumn. It is the thought of beauty softening something harsh, as the beauty of child, or woman, or music might soften something harsh in a man, that brings out so much more of what the daffodil is. It is only, to pass on, if we also think of the silence, not so real as easily imagined, of the seas among the farthest Hebrides, that the secret of the appeal for us in the cuckoo's voice is revealed. So of Keats's passage: it is the bringing together the thought of water, priesthood, and ablution, that reveals the secret of the seas round the shores of the earth. The thing is seen most clearly, when Shakespeare does it again and again in one crowded passage, as in

"She should have died hereafter;
 There would have been a time for such a word.
 To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of recorded time;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
 And then is heard no more: it is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing."

very wrong things, but have they not learned something? The "yellow-throated nestling" — was it really fair to Elaine? and is there not something in "fashion'd" for "fashioned" and "blazon'd" for "blazoned" that gives a good deal away? When the older people rebuke the younger for speaking impatiently of the author of "Enoch Arden," one wonders if they read him again first, or if they rely entirely upon the remembered pleasure of years ago.

There must be something deep in the constitution of the human mind to account for this, that nothing can be thoroughly known, in such a way as will satisfy that particular craving, unless it be shown in the light of the nature of some other thing. It may be that all things are ultimately one, and that what we are striving for, and what poetry more than anything else helps us to, is the vision of them all as one.

There must, then, be a revelation of the secrets of things. Words are things, and they have their secrets too. I will not beg any question by speaking of the beauty of words, but will be content to speak simply of their secret. It is revealed wonderfully in the following verse, but, I think, no other secret is, which is what makes it not great poetry:—

“What thing unto mine ear
 Wouldst thou convey,—what secret thing,
 O wandering water ever whispering?
 Surely thy speech shall be of her,
 Thou water, O thou whispering wanderer.
 What message dost thou bring?”

So, too, in:—

“Le temps s'en va, le temps s'en va, ma dame;
 Las, le temps non, mais nous nous en-allons,”

it is doubtful to me if anything is revealed but the secret of words.

I assume, then, that the greatest poetry must reveal the secrets of things, and the secrets of words at the same time. Can that not be done in prose? Undoubtedly it can be, and one may be prepared to go with anyone who prefers to write his poetry as prose, as one is prepared to go with Milton in preferring blank verse to rhyme for its greater freedom. The addition of metre in the work of one whom it does not hamper but helps will clearly, however, be so much more. The greatest art must have a rhythm that is an echo of the rhythm of melody by which the stars are kept in their courses.

If the nature of poetry be such as I imagine it, it is clear that it cannot change; neither can the rules by which it is judged. If our concern is with any poem of our own day, it must be judged to be the greatest poetry, if it reveals the secrets of perennial things and the secrets of words too, and only if it does so: if it only reveals the secrets of the emotion aroused by the departure of the Scotch express from Euston, and the steam left behind in the railway station, nothing will persuade us that it is the greatest poetry.

There is an apparent contradiction, as I may admit before passing on, in dismissing "The Rape of the Lock" and the others as not great poetry simply because they could be written as prose, and then in admitting that great poetry could be written as prose. My thought was that they, written as prose, would be, to put it familiarly, of prose prosey, which "The Book of Job" never could be, though the "Iliad" perhaps could.

I would put it forward, not as anything scientific or to be taken too literally, that the explanation of the fact of there having been so few men able to write the greatest poetry, which is to reveal the secret of things by putting them in the light of other things and to reveal the secret of words (perhaps of melody also) at the same time—I put forward that the explanation of that is, and that the explanation of the relatively small quantity of the greatest poetry in the writings of the great poets, is that the faculty requisite for such poetry is such as the unconscious mind-imagination; a thing, that is, of which we have not the use at will. It may be taken as certain that the greatest poetry will never be written except by a man, moving indeed among men, but with the mind of a recluse: it will be the result of a continual brooding over things. And the quantity of it will always be small.

The greatest poetry I credit, then, to the unconscious mind-imagination. Is there nothing left for the conscious mind? Undoubtedly there is. It can give us, not the secret

of a thing shown in the light of some other thing, but the thing as the thoughtful mind has seen it; not something divined, a thing that it was inspired to say, but what it has pondered over, and seen, and understood. If at the same time there is a revelation of the secrets of words and rhythm, then we shall have what is great poetry, but not the greatest. I call it to myself, for to have names for classes is an aid to thought, *great rhetoric*.

“ Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears
And slits the thin-spun life ”

is for me the greatest poetry, because I cannot conceive of any conscious mind simply thinking that out ; but

“ Had we never loved so kindly,
Had we never loved so blindly,
Never met and never parted,
We had ne’er been broken hearted,”

and

... “ For we are born in others’ pain,
And perish in our own ”

are not the greatest poetry, but only rhetoric, because I can conceive a conscious mind simply thinking them out. For

“ The sun to me is dark
And silent as the moon,
When she deserts the night,
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave ”

for that, for it to be credible to me that men should be able to write things like that, it is necessary that there should be something known to exist by which a man can be inspired. That something known to exist, or if not known, then, in the words of Collins, dim-discovered, is the unconscious mind-
imagination.

“ The fleecy star that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas ”

is for me just a little more than rhetoric; but the following are clearly not: they are just rhetoric:—

“We men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements must vanish;—be it so!
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know,”

and

“To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears:”

those are just rhetoric.

For the writing of the greatest poetry there must be that passing up of things from the unconscious mind-imagination into the conscious mind without which the fruit would remain unharvested, and we can only think of men as born with that. The power of revealing the secret of words will be inborn also. For rhetoric there must be, then, so much of the inborn. What else? What there must be for any wise thinking— an adequate experience of life. Something must then be said about experience of life.

Shakespeare's plays and “The Divine Comedy” are not the greatest poetry throughout, but what is not the greatest poetry is what I have called rhetoric. Page after page of Wordsworth, of Swinburne in his plays, and of Tennyson in his plays and many of his poems are neither the greatest poetry, nor rhetoric, but just nothing to any purpose. Not all of that, to my mind, is to be ascribed to difference in the poetic calibre of the men, but to this—that however inadequate may have been the experience of life of Shakespeare and Dante for the purpose of poetry (to my mind it was nothing inadequate), it was not as the experience of Wordsworth, Swinburne, and Tennyson, which, as a whole,

was utterly inadequate. The burden of all FitzGerald's criticism of the later Tennyson, and very sound criticism I consider it, is that the man, never having been in close contact with the affairs of men, and now living in seclusion, guarded by his wife from even such contact with the rough world as is involved in a man's answering his friends' letters, had no experience out of which to go on making poetry. FitzGerald will write:—

"I have just finished...the fourth Book of Thucydides... This fourth book is the most interesting I have read...and it came upon me 'come stella in ciel,' when, in the account of the taking of Amphipolis, Thucydides, ὅς τὰτα ξυρέγμῳτες comes with seven ships to the rescue, Fancy Old Hallam sticking to his gun at a Martello tower. That was the way to write well; and this was the way to make literature respectable. Oh, Alfred Tennyson, could you but have the luck to be put to such employment."

And again:—

"It is the cursed inactivity (very pleasant to me who am no Hero) of this 19th century which has spoiled Alfred, I mean spoiled him for the great work he ought now to be entering upon; the lovely and noble things he has done must remain."

And again:—

"I have long felt about England as you do....If one could save the Race, what a Cause it would be! not for one's own glory as a member of it, nor even for its glory as a Nation; but because it is the only spot in Europe where Freedom keeps her place. Had I Alfred's voice, I would not have mumbled for years over In Memoriam and the Princess, but sung such strains as would have revived the *Μαραθωνομάχους ἄνδρας* to guard the territory they had won. But what can 'In Memoriam' do but make us all sentimental?"

It will be understood that a poet's experience of life may have been utterly inadequate to make three-fourths of his

book poetry, while quite adequate to make the remainder poetry. (I am not now concerned with the distinction between the greatest poetry and rhetoric.) You would have in mere dark misery and hunger in the streets experience adequate to the writing of

" For we are born in others' pain,
And perish in our own."

It will also be understood that what was the sum of the experience to a man, the circumstances of his life being such or such, would not have been exactly the sum of that experience to another man. To Carlyle the railway journey to Scotland would always have been a greater experience than to, say, Coventry Patmore. The reading of a book was ninety-nine times out of a hundred a greater experience to Browning than reading the same book was to Tennyson.

What should be understood is that technical gift, power of mouthing melodies, are alone not enough, and that if a man knows little or nothing of life, never having had any contact with it to speak of, his great play will be a great dreariness and weariness, and had better not be written. There must be the dwelling in the seclusion of the mind, the continual brooding over things, for otherwise, without that, the door of the unconscious mind-imagination remains closed: what Arnold wrote is true—

" hurt to death she lay !
Shuddering, they drew her garments off—and found
A robe of sackcloth next the smooth, white skin.
Such, poets, is your bride, the Muse ! young, gay,
Radiant, adorned outside ; a hidden ground
Of thought and of austerity within ; "

but life, wherever it can be got hold of, must be laid hold of with both hands. How Shakespeare must have done that, how he mixed eagerly with men, yet with a mind eternally withdrawn, is very well set forth in Lafcadio Hearn's lecture on him.

One passes easily from the thought that a poet must have had an adequate experience of life to the thought that he should write of the life that he has experienced, using the language that he and his contemporaries talk. Matthew Arnold's advice that he should use some old Greek, Hebrew, or Norse subject, and the example of Tennyson and others, making plays of the story of Mary Tudor and the like, and writing them in the language of:

"In this low pulse and palsy of the state":

that seems to me very poor advice to give, and a very wrong example to follow. It is not a matter that very well lends itself to argument: if a man does not see it for himself, what can be said? See it, I mean of course, not while Arnold's advice is being read, but while "*Balder Dead*" is, or your historical play by Tennyson. One can write a live historical play as Shakespeare did, filling the stage, God forgiving the anachronism, with the men and women who walked up and down Fleet Street in his own day, and making them talk as Shakespeare talked himself: try to recapture the very thought of men of five centuries ago, and express it in their language, and your poem or play is dead before it is born.

Part of the experience that a man must have, if his experience of life is to be adequate, is, it is arguable, the experience of being read. That part must be given him: he cannot take it. But if he can, let him: let him do anything that he can to force the world to read him. It is no use dying, as a critic in the "*Times Literary Supplement*" recently asserted that Flecker died—of loneliness, exile, and neglect—and it is no use hoping that the fact of Flecker having so died will help *you*. That same critic is not trying to prevent somebody else dying of the same thing, nor is anybody else. I am not, for instance.

If the professional critics were bigger men, and not so given to "*coterie-praise*" of their own choice; if they worked for editors who were bigger men, not so given, for *their* choice,

to requiring "sheep-praise" of their reviewers, with the result that all the reviews of any week or month are always almost all about the same books, and for the most part always about the same old writers, the experience of being read would come to most writers sooner. There are, I know, two or three fine, even great, critics working for the periodical press, and they use an independent judgment; but the fact was in the past that the important writings were not read until late, and there is nothing in the general appearance of the way in which criticism is gone about at this day to make one suppose that any more prompt attention is bestowed now.

The literary judgments of each generation are all modified subsequently, and most of them are completely upset. This would be less often so, perhaps, if a certain saying had not become current, or, having become current, had been more deeply considered. It is that every great poet must create the taste by which he is to be appreciated. The objection to the saying is that it does not say anything clear enough, and, in particular, that it leaves us to discover for ourselves how the thing is done. How does the poet create the taste, or rather, for of course *he* does not do it, by whom is the taste created, and how is it done? Those are the pregnant questions.

I think it is certain that, if there is a general, worthy appreciation of the old poets, which surely there is, an appreciation of which we may be proud and not ashamed, it is because people have taken the requisite trouble; both those whose business it is to write about the old poets, and those whose business it is to read them. I need not concern myself here with more than the readers. If many of us now living have a worthy appreciation of Shakespeare, Milton, Vaughan, Burns, Wordsworth, Blake—but I need not name them all—what is the explanation? It was not that we were so very able, that we were such good judges naturally, but that their works were passed to us by those speaking with authority, who said:

If you do not appreciate all these worthily, it will be a thing of shame ; and it was their saying that that made us take the requisite trouble. And taking the requisite trouble meant reading each poem often enough—often enough, both for the appreciation of each poem, and for the acquisition of a general power of appreciating poetry. It was we who created the taste for each poet, doing it within ourselves.

What is wrong with contemporary criticism is always that it is written by men who have not read their authors carefully enough, and that it is written for people who will not do that either. In a perfectly organized republic of letters one critic would be told off to study each writer, so that each should be studied adequately. Each great poet and each fine poem would then be recognised so much the sooner ; and that would be a good thing ; for though, there being so many great poets for the delight of the world, one more or less can make little difference, yet not to recognise a poet until he is old or dead is an unkindness to him, and an unkindness of which we should all be ashamed—Mr. Bridges, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Squire, Mr. Murray, and my readers, and I myself. It is an unkindness, too, for which we pay ; for if a poet is neglected, who should not be neglected, his experience of life is so much the poorer, or it is not so much made poorer as made wrong.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

THE NEED OF A POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE IN INDIA

WHAT A POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE SHOULD BE LIKE.

It may be enquired as to what form the Polytechnic Institute should take. In answer to this I will say let it be on the lines of—

- (1) Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. (U. S. A.), where the distinctive character is that the students construct and place on the market splendid machines, many of them invented by themselves or their instructors,
- (2) Worcester Polytechnic Institute, U. S. A. ,
- (3) Technical side of the Strasburg University, or the Polytechnic Institute at Strasburg,
- (4) The Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street, London.

So far as the subjects are concerned they need not necessarily be the same or correspond to the types of either. All that is needed is that specialization and research should be undertaken in a central institute and on such scale that it may lead to some practical results. How painful it is to learn of the various improvements that are being effected from day to day in foreign countries. At one time you hear of the invention of new tunnel-digging machines, at another you hear of an improvement in the oil engines, then you are told of the marvels worked in wireless telegraphy. Hardly any year passes when an advance is not announced in typewriters, sewing or cigarette-making machines or in other types of machines and articles that are in everyday use. Compare this condition with that existing in India. Far from producing new designs and effecting any progress it cannot even manufacture such ordinary things as electric bulbs, thermometers,

toys and so on. Just think of Germany where, as the proverb goes, they can convert soil into gold and what not. India is several times richer than Germany in the production of raw materials and if only suitable means be adopted, it may be a dream, but certainly not impossible of fulfilment, that India one day may be ahead of either Germany or America in the manufacture of articles. It may all sound ambitious, but unless we make a beginning however modest it may be we shall never be able to achieve anything. In the words of Sir Dorab Tata "Technical education must make vast strides before we can claim to be on equality with the most highly trained and most completely organised country in Europe." I would go a step further and state that such progress is needed in order to maintain our national existence. Originally India, besides being an agricultural place, was a manufacturing country. At one time, especially in its prosperous days, India manufactured cloth not only for its own use but exported a considerable amount of it to outside places; but now, how regrettable it is that, it has to depend upon foreign countries for the supply of a greater part of the cloth needed for its nation's use. Iron, embroidery and most of the other chief industries of the old times have either declined or perished, leaving Indians almost entirely dependent upon agriculture. Such dependence upon agriculture, coupled with the occasional failure of the monsoon, has caused considerable hardship and poverty in India. If ever this economic distress has to be removed it is inevitable that India must sooner or later acquire and fall upon its second source of income, *i.e.*, manufacture. The country must manufacture all the articles and the necessities and comforts of life needed for the people and thus detain in the country the money that is sent abroad for goods imported in India. At present while other countries are amassing wealth, India's imports are increasing and the country is continually growing poorer by the constant drain of wealth from it. Let those who are

responsible for the administration think that after all there is a limit to every capacity. Even now there is considerable hardship, but if the constant drain continues there is not the slightest doubt that the economic condition would be getting worse every day. The existing state of poverty has been supposed to be one of the causes of the recent agitation. Is it therefore not possible that if poverty is taken to the extreme the agitation may be replaced by desperatism which may make the administration of the country a rather difficult task? However it is no business of mine to discuss these political questions. Reverting to the question of a Polytechnic Institute I must say, if its need is realized, efforts should be made to start it at as early a date as possible. The subjects to be ultimately taken up may be too many but a beginning may be made with a few. I for one would suggest the following branches of instruction :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Electric Engineering, | 7. Applied Chemistry, |
| 2. Mechanical Engineering, | 8. Physics, |
| 3. Foundry Engineering, | 9. Photography, |
| 4. Sanitary Engineering, | 10. Cottage Industries, |
| 5. Textile Engineering, | 11. Leather Industries, |
| 6. Applied Mathematics, | 12. Dying, and |
| 13. Architecture. | |

I should certainly have included in the above list geology, mining and acrology but as provision already exists or is in contemplation for these at Dhanbad, Jamshedpur and Karachi respectively, I do not think it advisable that at this stage and in the present state of finances separate arrangement should be made for them in connection with the Central Institute.

The object in view in the Polytechnic Institute should be teaching, research and demonstration combined. In the case of electrical engineering for instance, the aim should be not only to teach the working of the engine, dynamo and the battery house but demonstrations should be made of the processes

for the manufacture of the various kinds of electrical goods. The question of improvements should not be lost sight of. In Photography the students ought to be taught the preparation of cameras, photographic goods and allied apparatus. In connection with mechanical and foundry engineering efforts should be made to demonstrate the construction of the various types of machines that are imported from abroad. In fact, in connection with the Polytechnic Institute there should be a museum exhibiting each and every article or machinery that is imported in India and the Institute should investigate, teach and finally demonstrate the methods of their production or manufacture from materials derived from India and India alone.

It may be suggested that instead of founding a separate institute a few technical chairs might be attached to the Delhi University.

This sounds quite economical but I take objection to it on three grounds.

Firstly, it is extremely necessary that the question of technical training and institutions and their management should be always in the hands of specialists or of those who contribute towards their maintenance. The present constitution of the Delhi University is so wide that the Court—the controlling authority—does not include many businessmen or technical men and even if a few are added they cannot but ever remain in a minority.

Secondly, the present system of University training demands that only undergraduates should be allowed to receive training in a University college. The principle may be sound for Arts Courses but the complete isolation of degree classes from the Intermediate or the school students cannot in my opinion be said to further the interests of India in the matter of higher scientific education. In India extremely meagre provision exists for the teaching of science, the laboratories are but poorly equipped and any number of institutions

could, till now, with very great difficulty, and by using the same instruments, laboratory and equipment for the degree and Intermediate students, manage to meet the expenses of giving instruction in scientific subjects. Just think of the same institutions dividing themselves into two and each providing separate instruments, laboratories and equipment for the degree and Intermediate students. These and similar hardships and the setback they are likely to cause to secondary education, unless the Governments can find sufficiently large funds, have been little realized. It is all very good for the Legislators to introduce new changes and pass Acts but it is equally imperative upon them to find money for carrying out their mandates. As it is, whenever they are approached for money they have in many cases a clean slate to show. It is no wonder if at a few centres either the degree or the Intermediate classes may have to be stopped.

It is after a consideration of the above that I feel that technical training should not be identified with the present University training in India. It is highly improbable that only undergraduates can be allowed to receive training in the Polytechnic Institute and if it is so it cannot but be detrimental to the immediate future progress of technical education in this country. The degree students are generally supposed to receive a specialised course at a University or to carry on research in some particular branch of a subject and this necessarily implies that they must have received some training in a school or elsewhere prior to their joining the University. If that view is right and is adhered to even in technical subjects it will be necessary not only to establish a Polytechnic Institute on a grand scale but also to found several smaller and preparatory polytechnic institutes of a smaller grade. The latter course should be highly desirable but I believe that the present financial state of India would not permit of such a scheme being carried into effect. I therefore conceive that if only the hobby of the isolation of the degree from

the Intermediate or school students is given up, the same machinery, laboratory and equipment may be utilised for the undergraduates as also for the junior or so-called students of the would-be Polytechnic Institute. India, under such circumstances, should for the present manage the training of Juniors as well as Seniors by only one set of machinery and instruments. Further the latter system would also enable the institution to take part-time students as is done in nearly all foreign countries. In fact I would suggest that the terms School, College or University should be avoided and that the institution should be merely styled as "Polytechnical Institution." If it is necessary and so as not to associate it with any province, community or party the institution may be further named—

Imperial Polytechnic Institute,
King George's Polytechnic Institute, or
Prince of Wales Polytechnic Institute.

This may help us to achieve our object and also to commemorate the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Lastly, Delhi is such an expensive place that the cost of land, the cost of construction of technical colleges and their maintenance at Delhi are all likely to amount to very high figures. Professors, teachers, clerks, servants and all others shall have to reside in an expensive part of the country and shall therefore have necessarily to be paid more at Delhi than elsewhere. It is possible the standard of living may not enable several students of moderate means to prosecute their studies which they could have easily acquired at a less expensive place. Delhi possesses the advantage of being the Capital and a central place in India, but certainly an equally central, though less expensive place, may be discovered in India.

CONSTITUTION.

So far as the constitution of the Polytechnic Institute is concerned I am inclined to believe that it will be the right

policy to leave the power in the hands of those who provide money for it. I have to agree with those who have expressed the opinion that such an institution, whenever it comes into existence, should be an all-India institution supported by the Provinces, but, for reasons given below, I disagree from them when they say that it should be a Government of India concern towards which the Provinces should contribute.

In the first place, if it is to be wholly a Government affair the correspondence on any particular subject between the Government of India and the Secretary of State might delay the establishment by several years—as all Imperial Services before they are established, have to be sanctioned by the Secretary of State and it has been usually noticed that years pass by before a final settlement on such affairs is arrived at between the controlling authorities in India and England respectively. On the other hand a resolution in the Legislative Assembly followed by a grant from the Government of India may set the whole thing going even next year.

Secondly, there is very little inclination on the part of the public to subscribe towards Government concerns. No doubt a beginning shall have to be made by the Government of India and it is very necessary that for a time the management should be in the hands of the Government of India. I do not think it proper, as is being done in the case of the formation of the new Universities, that the Government happens to be the major subscriber yet the management is in the hands of the Courts, the majority of the members of which are those who do not contribute towards the expenses. Side by side, I feel that if ever the public contribution exceeds the Government grants the Government should be in the minority or in other words the voice in the management and control should be proportional to the amount of money advanced or subscribed. For instance, to make a beginning, if the

Government of India subscribes	Rs. 12,00,000 a year
U. P. Government	2,00,000 „

Madras Government	subscribes	Rs. 2,00,000	a year
Bombay	„	2,00,000	„
Bengal	„	2,00,000	„
Other Provinces	subscribe	1,00,000	„ each
Native States, business-men and other			
Public men	subscribe	1,00,000	each

every year

it should be desirable that the subscriber of every one lakh should be allowed to nominate one member to the Governing body, the subscriber of two lakhs two members and the subscriber of 12 lakhs twelve members; and that also the students from the Provinces, Native States and firms should be admitted in the same ratio. In this way there can be no question of partiality, favouritism or communal representation. If a particular member, community or association wishes to be on the Governing body let him or it furnish the necessary quota of subscription and he or it shall automatically get in.

Thirdly, before the reforms were introduced it was thought that all provinces shall contribute towards the Central revenues. It has been lately observed, however, that nearly all provinces are trying to free themselves from the burden of contributing their quota. Still worse is the state that one or two provinces should be relieved of this tax without affecting their position, whilst the others should continue to be in harness as they originally were soon after the inauguration of the Reforms. The same thing may apply to a Polytechnic Institute maintained by the Central Government and supported by provinces. Each province may attempt to get it exempted from its contribution. On the other hand, if it is sufficiently known that if a province withdraws its contribution its students will not be admitted to the institution or that it shall have no voice in its administration it may not bother the Central Government with constant petitions for exemption from payments.

Fourthly, a constitution on the lines I have mentioned will also enable the Native States or business-men to contribute

towards the expenses and thereby ensure or reserve some seats for students of their states, firms or factories.

In this connection I would like to emphasize that the Native States should not be left out of the constitution. It is a pity that in the Conferences of the Directors of Industries the representatives of the Native States are not allowed to participate and that the latter should be obliged to meet separately as they did some time back at Indore to keep themselves in touch with each other in the matter of Industrial development. This division of the Native States and Government Provinces into two camps in order to exchange views on commercial topics or discuss means for the industrial progress does not indicate sure sign of development. If real advance has to be made the co-operation of Gwalior, for instance, with the adjoining Government is more important than its association with Kashmir, Hyderabad or Mysore. I therefore am inclined to believe that in matters of industrial development or education, or in a scheme in which their co-operation is absolutely necessary because of their possessing a particular kind of raw product or of their suitability to undertake the manufacture of some special articles or of their position to help industry in the adjoining Government land, the Native States which are so mixed up with Government territories should not be left out or ignored. They are after all parts of India and their inhabitants citizens of the British Empire. Sir Thomas Holland, though not in connection with Native States, in his opening speech, as President of the Third Conference of Directors of Industries, on 23rd May, 1921 observed—

“ In spite of the differences in race, religion and language, there are points of common interest between Indians of all classes; and apart from all other considerations, it is necessary that these points should be strengthened, with a view specially of uniting the country into one unit for purposes of defence. Defence, however, to be effective, requires something more than mere community of interests. It necessitates the ability to

manufacture the machinery required to keep abreast of developments in those countries from which a possible attack may come."

QUESTION OF FINANCE.

Finally comes in the question of money. Indeed that is supposed to be the chief stumbling block in the way of the achievement of several of the reform-schemes which were in contemplation before the present Legislative Assembly and Councils were formed. There were several expectations but it seems the dearth of money has not enabled the Legislators to do what they should have done. Everywhere there is the cry "No money," "No money." Yet whenever money is needed for purposes which the Government has in view money is found quite easily. As stated by Mr. Montague the war expenditure borne by India up to 31st March 1920 amounted to Rs. 1,90,50,00,000. The Afghan War alone cost 24 crores in 1920. Twenty-one crores of rupees may be taken as representing the loss caused by the transfer of funds to London through Council drafts and their retransfer to India through reverse Councils. It is believed that about 150 crores are to be spent within the next five years on railway extension and so forth. There has already been a huge outlay on Delhi yet several crores have to be spent thereon. Such is the state of affairs. Only if the Government wishes it will not be difficult for it to spare one or two crores for the Polytechnic Institute. Further in this connection I should be excused for quoting from the speech of Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Financial Secretary in U. P. in answer to the opposition put forward by a member of U. P. Legislative Council to the Allahabad University Bill on the grounds of the shortage of money—

"I might suggest to the honourable member that the finance department knowing that they have expenditure to face, may possibly have kept funds up their sleeves where he cannot get at them.....I suggest that if we wait till money is available, the available money will probably be spent before the Bill is passed."

It is all a question of conviction. If the Government is satisfied as to the need of a Polytechnic Institute there can be absolutely no difficulty in finding money for it. If the U. P. Government which in the matter of running into debts is known to occupy the second place in the list of the Provinces in India, can find one crore for the buildings of the Lucknow University besides several lakhs proposed to be spent in Allahabad and elsewhere, it is simply unthinkable that the Government of India cannot provide one or two crores, as the case may be, for a central polytechnic institute. This amount, if it is forthcoming, and if suitable efforts are made will be supplemented by donations from the different provinces, Native States, business-men and others. A beginning has to be made by the Government and the rest will surely be an easy task. Only about two years back Sir Dorabji Tata offered to contribute £25,000 towards the reconstruction scheme for the Cambridge University Engineering School and it is very unlikely that, if the question of a Polytechnic Institute for India comes in, similar or even better help from similar persons shall be denied. The two gifts by the late Sir Rash Behari Ghosh of 10 lakhs each for the technological side of the Calcutta University and as announced some time back the endowment, by Sir Dhanji Bomanjee, a Parsi multi-millionaire of one crore for the education of the Parsi youths are not unknown. Who knows similar or better contributions may not be coming forward for the proposed Polytechnic Institute. Everything depends upon the efforts of the Government and of the influential people in India.

What applies to the initial outlay applies also to the recurring expenditure. Government has to be convinced and the necessary grants shall be coming forward. It is known how little benefit India derives by joining the League of Nations, yet it contributed £16,234 towards the first budget of the League and £28,786 towards its second budget. The net cost to India in connection with the visit of the

Duke of Connaught is estimated at Rs. 27 lakhs. Then came the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. The suppression of agitation in India has cost a good deal. I do not by referring to the above mean that either the visit of the Prince of Wales was undesirable or unnecessary or that the expenditure should not have been incurred in the suppression of agitation. My only object in mentioning them is to show that whenever unexpected items make their appearance money is found for them. India's participation in the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 will cost it a sum of not less than Rs. 25 lakhs. 'In the apportionment of the recent expenses of the League of Nations, India's share comes up to 1,440,000 gold Francs which sum is less than that of the share of Great Britain but far exceeds the contribution by any other nation.'

As regards the ordinary expenditure the Military consumes about half of the revenues of the Central Government. There is a cry for retrenchment in that quarter but in spite of all that, my impression is that there is no likelihood of any such curtailment being effected. There might be a reduction here and there in the number of sepoy or in their salaries yet the cost of the proposal, as hinted lately in Parliament to provide the Military in India with the most modern warfare equipment will far outweigh the reductions. Let therefore those who happen to be under a happy delusion to cut down the military expenditure depend on other sources of income for the improvements in view. I will again refer to the U. P. and state that if it is possible for it, in the present state of indebtedness, to spend from 7 to 9 lakhs a year on Lucknow University not to speak of the huge additional and recently increased expenditure on Allahabad University and the Intermediate education, it should not be difficult for the Government of India or the Legislative Assembly to provide a nucleus by sanctioning from 6 to 12 lakhs a year for a Polytechnic Institute. If the War Office can thrust upon India an increase of about 9 crores in the recurring expenditure upon

British troops alone in India, cannot the Legislative Assembly recommend the addition of only a fraction of the above for such an important object as a Central Technical Institute?

It is not possible for me to state as to what is to be the likely expenditure on a Polytechnic Institute in India. It is for experts to furnish estimates. Sometime back I wrote a letter to the Director of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of U. S. A. enquiring as to what was the expenditure, initial and recurring both, at the Institute and I am much indebted to Palmer C. Ricketts, Esq., for his kindness in supplying me with the necessary information. According to him the plant of the Polytechnic Institute cost two million dollars or about 65 lakhs of rupees and the recurring expenditure comes to about 325,000 dollars or about 10½ lakhs of rupees a year. The same amount may not be enough for India considering the fact that originally teachers shall have to be imported from abroad on high salaries, and that a sufficiently large number of students shall have to be sent to foreign countries to qualify themselves with a view to replace, after a time, the foreign teachers. Moreover as a consequence of India making a beginning with only one institution instead of several such academies existing in most of the foreign countries, the number of subjects taught shall have to be larger than at Troy, Worcester or elsewhere. According to Mr. Samarth the buildings alone at the Strassburg University cost about one crore and the equipment another from five to six crores. At this institution before the war, it is said, were models on a small scale of every industry and factory in Germany and students, after a course of study there, could start life with a small capital. Keeping the above type of a Polytechnic Institute exhibiting models of every kind of industry that can possibly be developed in India, I estimate that the initial outlay may come up to about five crores. Of this sum if the Government of India can contribute two crores the rest of the sum amounting to about three

crores is not a very huge item to be donated by the Provinces, Native States, business-men and others combined. Similarly the recurring expenditure to be undertaken by the Government of India may not even ultimately exceed 12 lakhs a year. I would be failing in my duty if I do not at this stage admit that I am neither competent nor have I the means to form a correct estimate of the expenditure on a Polytechnic Institute. My only object in mentioning the above figures is to provide a nucleus over which discussion may take place and a decision be arrived at later.

APPEAL.

In conclusion, I appeal to the Government of India to give a favourable consideration to the need of technical education in India, to invite the opinions of the various local Governments, Native States, business-men and specialists with a view to their co-operation in the establishment of a Central Institute and finally to take such action as it thinks fit.

Secondly, I appeal to the members of the Legislative Assembly and specially Mr. Kamat, who so strongly pleaded the cause of a Technical Institute in the Assembly on 23rd February 1922, to move a resolution in the Assembly urging the establishment of a Polytechnic Institute.

Lastly, I request the indulgence of the readers and hope that they will correct me on any point on which my information is wrong. I do not profess to know much of technology yet a comparative study of the statistics of technical education in the various countries and the knowledge derived therefrom of the extremely backward state of technical education in India has impelled me to plead, in my own humble way, the cause which to my mind should have been taken up long before. I do not know if my arguments carry any weight or that I shall receive any encouragement or support but by writing the above I have the consolation of having expressed all that I feel and have been feeling for some time.

HITKARI SINGH SETHI

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT V ; SCENE II)

[*Scene.* A room in Krishna's house. Magudani discovered with Sinthice.]

Magudani—

Last night, Sinthice, in my dream I saw
A mango tree in blossom. It should mean
A friend bearing good news is on his way,
Yet he in whom is centred all my joy
Goes every moment further from my side.

Sinthice—

But will return—believe it ! since his heart
Is in thy keeping and thy heart in his.

Magudani—

To pine meanwhile, and what a weary while !
As love birds do in separate cages penned.

(*Enter Krishna with Manashtri, the queen. Sinthice and
Magudani prostrate themselves.*)

Krishna--

Here, Mahurani is my wayward child,
The gods vouchsafe her to her queen's reproof
An ear more heedful than she gives to mine.

(*Exit Krishna salaaming the queen.*)

Manashtri—

Rise, Magudani, and awhile forget
The queen in me, rememb'ring but the woman
Whom sorrow moves to sorrow, tears to tears.

(*Sinthice and Magudani rise.*)

Sinthice—

None other, royal Lady, in the land
So skilled as though to bind the broken heart,
And brighten up the gloom of cheerless lives!
Yea, though thy brow had never graced a crown,
Thy womanhood had throned thee as a queen,
In golden halls of grateful memories.
Oft hath thy presence in some saddened hour
Chased from my soul the sable-winged regret,
And kindled once again a lamp of hope
In the dark cloisters of despondency,
By which I saw thee, not with eyes of flesh,
A shape informed by angel mind as qucenly
As now my newly given sight beholds.

Manashtri—

Sinthice blind no longer! Do I dream!
O tell me, tell, whence came this miracle?

Sinthice—

From Christ it came at His Apostle's prayer.

Manashtri—

Thou too art Christian, then!—I blame thee not;
Yet to our house already comes distress
With this new doctrine, and it seems that here
Yet darker falls the shadow. Magudani
Weeps her departed lover, and there grows
Hourly more loud the rumbling threat of war.
That else had been averted. 'Tis a sign
Of what in larger measure will befall
As this new faith nets in her votaries.
It shall destroy the peace of families
And set at feud the father with his son,

The mother with her daughter ; it shall part
 The husband from his wife, and cast adrift
 The homeless begging through the long bazaars,
 Make children orphans while their parents live
 And parents childless ere their children die.

(to *Magudani*)—

Wherefore, sweet maid, abandon what hath brought
 Such anguish on thy father and on thee.

Magudani—

O Maharani, how can I abandon
 The truth in which alone my spirit lives,
 The Faith in which I alone dare to die ?
 No anguish I endure is half so great
 As would be for such treason my remorse !

Manashtri—

Be as thou wert ere Christ was named to thee.

Magudani—

It could not be—I should have slain my soul.
 What'e'r I seemed, I should be different,
 As one who knew the Truth and lived a lie.
 O Maharani, thou art of the truth,
 And when thou hearest it, will know His Voice,
 And follow where it leads thee, though it be
 The path that scales a mount of martyrdom.

Manashtri—

Come, child, in the soft twilight to the garden,
 Come where the opening moon-flower wreathes the
bower,
 Till with her starry spray the queen o' the Night
 Flings perfume on the darkness ; there thou too
 Thy heart shalt open and thy thoughts unfold.

(*Exeunt Manashtri and Magudani.*)

(*Enter Nari.*)

Nari—

Your Presence, Princess Draupadi is here.

Sinthice—

Give her Sinthice's dutiful salaams.

(aside)

'Tis strange she came not with her mother—yet—

(Enter Draupadi. Sinthice rises.)

Draupadi—

Poor blind Sinthice ! rise not. Let me guide
Thy steps to younder divan. *(aside)* It is well,
'Tis mine occasion ! Aunt, I am ashamed,
My hair is all awry, and with the heat
My eyebrows stain my cheeks.

Sinthice—

O Rama, spare !

Draupadi—

Might Nari fetch from Magudani's room
Her balsams and rose water ?

Sinthice—

Ay, Princess.

Go, Nari, fetch the almond-honey paste,
Antimony and Cleopatra's milk,
Eye-drops of lotus, and Magnolia balm
From Magudani's chamber.

(Exit Nari)

Draupadi—

Where is she ?

Sinthice—

In the garden, Princess. Shall I send her word ?

Draupadi—

Nay, nay—I will go thither, and with kisses
Surprise her 'neath the Champa's golden leaves.

(Re-enter Nari with a tray of cosmetics and a mirror.)

Draupadi—

Nari, I need thee not. 'Thou may'st retire.

(Exit Nari.)

(Producing cruse of crystal; aside.)

Pest! my hand trembles. How suspiciously
Sinthice's sightless eyes are on me fixt!
Pooh, a mere fancy! Night less blind than she!
Come, aiding darkness, screen me while I pour
Three beauty-wasting drops in every jar.

(pours from the cruse into the ointment jars.)

Draupadi (looking into the mirror)—

Now, good Sinthice, there is nought amiss.
Hadst thou but eyes to see me, thou wouldst say
In Magudani's balsam lurked a charm
To add more beauty to the beautiful.
As poesy upon the fragrant rose
Rains odour, and upon the bulbul's song
Pours out a flood of liquid melody.

Sinthice—

Had I but eyes to read thy inmost soul,
I might discern the reason, Draupadi,
Why of those balsams thou hast added none
To thy complexion, but to them instead
Hast added drops from out a crystal cruse.

Also I might discern the reason why
Thou badest fetch thee Magudani's balms
When thou wast fair to see as thou art now,
No stain on cheek, no rebel lock astray.

Draupadi—

What meanest thou, Sinthice? thou art blind;
What knowledge, sight denied thee, canst thou claim?

Sinthice—

What if my sight were given back by Heaven
To save thy cousin from a cruel wrong,
And thee from guilt of its accomplishment?

Draupadi—

Thou darest to accuse me! Oh what crime
Dost thou suspect me?

Sinthice—

What was in that cruse?

Draupadi—

What in the cruse? 'Twas dew of hyacinth.

Sinthice (taking up the cruse)—

A scentless species this! If thou, Princess,
Be innocent of any ill intent,
Then do thou to thy own complexion
Apply these balsams, and my lips are sealed.

Draupadi—

And if in utter scorn of thy suspicion
To prove it false I do not condescend?

Sinthice—

Then I will raise my voice against thy crime
Before the Queen thy mother, who e'en now
Communes with Magudani in the bower,
And in their presence I will prove thy guilt.

Draupadi—

The Maharani here! Ye gods, forefend!
Have thy way, woman! it shall cost thee dear.
See, on my flawless features now I smear
The damnèd ointment. Kali, ward from me
Its evil issue, and my foe confound.

Sinthice—

'Tis well—I will be silent, Nari, come!

(Nari approaches.)

Cast on the heap the almond-honey paste,
Antimony and Cleopatra's milk,
Eyedrops of lotus and Magnolia balm—
And yonder cruse of crystal.

Nari—

Very good.

(Exit Nari.)

Draupadi—

'Tis time I left thee.

Sinthice—

Not, I trust, Princess,
To kiss thy cousin 'neath the champa leaves!

(Exit Draupadi.)

(Re-enter Manashtri and Magudani.)

Manashtri—

We thought we heard the voice of Draupadi,
Sinthice, how thou tremblest! What's amiss?

Sinthice—

'Tis nothing, Maharani, I but spake
My mind to Nari, Magudani's maid.

Manashtri—

Farewell, Sinthice; I may not prolong
My visit further. (*To Magudani*) Farewell, dearest
child.

(*Kisses Magudani who accompanies her to the door
and re-enters.*)

(*Enter Nari.*)

Nari—

Upon your Highness waits a merchantman,
One Habban, humbly craving audience.

Magudani—

Habban! This is fulfilment of my dream.
How are the feet of friends on thresholds fair!

(*Enter Habban.*)

Habban—

Salaam, your Highness! Lo, thy servant brings
From Royal Gondophares joyous greeting
On your betrothal, laying at your feet
The wedding gift of his divinity,
Pledge of his love for Bridegroom and for Bride—
The diamond that adorned a hundred crowns.

(*Habban represents a golden casket, from which Magudani
draws the Maharajah's diamond. Then, returning it to
Habban.*)

Magudani—

Nay, this is not for me, Envoy of Kings,
(*Envoy*)

I am no bride upon her wedding eve,
Nor Rani on the footstep of her throne,
But a lone maiden from whose side hath ridden
Her lover at a tyrant's stern decree ;
A daughter banished from her father's heart.
Rather do ashes and the weeds of woe
Become me than a glist'ning diadem,
And more than joyous wish or gracious gift.
The silence, not the words, of sympathy.

Habban—

Yet hath your Highness' servant for your ear
A message that will not admit delay
Either in him who gives or her who takes,
But on immediate action makes demand.

Magudani—

Whose is this message, and of what import ?

Habban—

Princess, 'tis from His Highness the Prince Gad
Who hath not ridden yet from Mailepur,
Nor will, till in your Highness' company.

Magudani—

Where is he ? Tell when last thou sawest him.

Habban—

But a few moments past, Your Highness. Listen !
(*The sound of a Zitar is heard from the garden while the voice
of Gad sings the following :—*)

Spirit of song, awake !

Breathe on my lyre,
Till from its trembling string,
Wafted on music's wing
Soars my desire.

Light on my lady's ear
 So sweet its plea,
 Passing that tiny door
 Into her heart it pour
 Longing for me.

Till with a swift resolve
 Kindled she glow :
 Till love to love shall fly,
 Till love shall worlds defy,
 Love that would sooner die
 Than love forego.

Magudani—

Oh joy, Oh pain ! What would he have of me ?

Habban—

Your Highness' self. He waits to bear you hence
 Guised as a merchant on an Arab steed,
 To Narankot.

Magudani—

He wants me now—at once ?
 Was ever put in such a quandary
 A maiden by the thoughtlessness of man ?

Gad (Singing.)—

Restive my Arab paws
 Stones yet asleep.
 By thy drawn curtain I
 Wait, and less patiently
 Vigil I keep.
 While he with breath of fire,
 Speaks with the wind,
 Thou on my heart shalt lie—
 Only we—thou and I—
 The world behind !

Magudani—

I come, I come! No time to bid farewell!
 Sinthice sleeps. I may not waken her.
 One kiss upon her brow, and then one more,
 For her to give my father when she wakes.
 She smiles—methinks she hears it in her dreams—
 O father, father! that we thus should part!
 O home beloved through childhood's happy years,
 Now fading from me like too short a dream!
 Farewell, farewell! My cloak! O love, I come!

(Habban draws the door curtain. Gaul is seen in the moonlight mounted on an Arab steed. Magudani runs forward and is caught up by Gaul. Then away!)

(Enter Krishna.)

Krishna (perceiving Habban)—

Stay, fellow, what art thou? what dost thou here?
 Where is my daughter? Whence that sound of hoofs
 I heard upon the pathway, and which still,
 Like thunder of a storm that passes o'er
 In fainter echoes rumbles from the plain
 Speak, fellow, speak, before I throttle thee.

Habban—

Your presence, I am Habban, who am here
 Envoy of Gondophares, to present
 The diamond, famed in his illustrious line
 Unto Your Highness daughter, on the event
 Of her espousals with his princely heir.

(Shows casket.)

Krishna—

But where is Magudani?

Habban—

That, your presence,
 Was the third question. She is on her way
 To Narankot with her affianced prince,

Who on his wingèd Arab bears away
The Bride denied him by Mahadevan.

Krishna—

By Ram, a prince of daring ! From my house
Under my nose he steals my child away.
Sinthice, what is this ? The child is fled.
What wert thou doing ? Know'st thou aught of this ?

Synthice—

As much as thou dost, Krishna. She is gone.

Krishna—

And thou, thou didst not stay her ?

Sinthice—

Had I stayed her,
She would not now be missed.

Krishna—

By all the gods
Thou saw'st her stolen ?

Sinthice—

Nay, I closed my eyes.
'Twere best a little while thou didst the same.
Hast thou not sought their marriage, and o'er since
Mahadevan forbad it, been as glum
As a sore-headed Himalayan bear ?
Hast thou not on thy laughter set thy curse,
Refused her kisses, met her every plea
With harshness—turned thy face from wistful eyes,
And steeled thy heart against her falling tears ?

Now dost thou wonder she hath flown from thee
On love-lent pinions to a softer nest ?
Hadst thou a father's love, thou wouldst rejoice
Her lover wafts her hence to happiness ;
A father's pride—to see her wedded thus
Should touch with splendour all thy latter days.

Krishna—

By Vishnu, there is wisdom in thy words.
Yet must I render to Mahadevan
Account for this defiance of his will—
What move I made to check it ? What pursuit
I set in action on the fugitives.

Sinthee—

'Tis easy. Yoke a bullock to a cart,
And thou and I will follow in their wake.
Belike we shall o'ertake them or at least
Meet them returning ere another moon !

Krishna--

O woman, thou hast triumphed ! Be it so.
Come, worthy merchantman—a cup of wine
Will cheer thee, and methinks I owe it thee.

CURTAIN

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

MITES FROM MANY

LOVE OF LOVE¹

I

Unworthy I of love, Lord Love,
 But Love thou her, my loved Queen,
 Her beauteous love's unscanned by word,
 Her love is love's pure golden sheen.
 O, canst Thou love from love divide?
 The least love killed the great will die,
 If little light the great Sun hide
 "We *are* one" they unite and cry.
 Love her, under, round, above,
 Thy love for her, my only love.

—Modern.

II

If I but see Thee loving kind
 To whomsoe'er it be,
 How rejoice I thus to find
 Thy love's sweet ecstacy.
 Thy love is joy be't not mine,
 For any if it be
 It will for me in glory shine,
 I ask then naught for me.
 I love thy love—unfit for thee—
 May I be lost in that Love-sea.

—Modern.

(To be continued)

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

In Bengali *Sakhibhāva*, literally "mood of female friendship" souls being conceived as females and God the only male,

THE SEASON FOR THE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

In introducing this subject just a word is necessary, so that there may not be any misconception regarding the position the writer has taken about the present Calcutta University. It is not his intention to criticise the present system of teaching, which in spite of its few limitations, is perhaps the greatest achievement for which posterity will be grateful to the University. The main and sole object of the writer is to invite the attention of the University authorities to the present system of holding examinations during the months of March, April and May, and it has been the endeavour of the writer to prove how our boys suffer therefrom. The Calcutta University has ceased to be a mere examining body: it stands to-day for the teaching and well-being of our youths, that is, for bringing out the very best that is in them. A question like the present one should therefore have its earnest consideration.

At a time when everything is being tested and passed through the crucible of critical examination, it is fit that the premier educational institution of the country, *viz.*, the Calcutta University should also be subjected to the same scrutiny in order to secure that the country's progress may henceforth be orderly, harmonious and all-round and comprehensive.

Like most of the Universities that were in their early days mere examining bodies, taking up only later on the function of teaching, Calcutta University has but just begun to take upon herself the work of teaching in addition to that of examination. But whatever it is—whether an examining or a teaching body or both—its work like that of any other body, can no longer escape the searchlight of public criticism,

which done in the right spirit would be wholesome both for the University as well as the public which it serves. Under the belief that it will be but serving the University to point out what might be shortcomings, easily remediable, in its methods, we propose in this note to draw attention to the season of the year in which the main examinations of the University are held, as our conviction is that the health and welfare of the student community greatly depends on and is highly affected by the time of the year for the examinations.

For a good many years now the Matriculation Examination of the University has been held in the first week of March with the I.A. and I.Sc., the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations closely following. These examinations continue through March and April, often going well into May. Thus the examinations which command by far the vast majority of the Calcutta University Examinees are held at this time of the year. The figures, say, for the three years 1919, 1920 and 1921 will give an idea as to the approximate number of examinees that usually now go up annually for these examinations. Taking the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, the total number of candidates that went up for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc., are found to be 87,337, and for the same period the total number going up for the rest of the Examinations of the University, *viz.*, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., L.T., B.T. and the various Examinations relating to Law, Medicine and Engineering were 15,308, that is to say, the average for any one of those years was 29,112 for the former and 5,102 for the latter Examinations. That is to say, while 29,112 candidates went up for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc., Examinations, 5,102 was the number of candidates that offered themselves for all the other Examinations of the University during any one of the years 1919, 1920 and 1921. We thus find that about 86 per cent. of the total examinees went up for their examinations in March, April and May during any one of those 3 years, and

as this proportion will approximately be found to hold good for most years, we may take this period, *viz.*, March to May, as *the* season for its examinations.

Now the question is—Is this period of the year, *viz.*, March to May, ordinarily and on the whole a healthy season for Calcutta? Is it a season suited for the hard work and strain of the Examinees? Is this a season when the vast numbers of students that go up for the examinations can be called upon to go through their ordeals without physical and mental injury by reason of the adverse climatic conditions? As this inquiry involves a question affecting the well-being, both physical and mental, of the vast numbers of young men that go up for their University Examinations from year to year and as upon this question depends therefore the welfare of the country, its importance is obvious.

It would not however seem to be necessary to consult the statistics of the Health Department, or the Newspaper files, of the city in order to discover what is the condition of the general health of the city during the period in question. For we know to our great cost and but too well that this is the usual time for the periodical visitation of the small-pox epidemic, and that other epidemics too find the winter a favourite season for visiting the city. The fact is so well known that we may, we think, without further debate or discussion, take it that it will be generally agreed that the season in question is *not* a healthy one and not only that but that it is generally and usually the sickliest part of the whole year in Calcutta. If this period is then about the worst part of the year so far as the health of Calcutta is concerned, the question naturally arises—Why has this period been chosen and does continue to be chosen as the season for the examinations of by far the vast majority of the University examinees?

Formerly the examinations used to be held in November and December and it is only since the year 1885 that the period has been altered. We are not aware if the reasons for

this change are on record in the Minutes of the University. One obvious reason for it might be that the long vacation of the Schools and Colleges takes place immediately after the examinations ; that the number of the examinees being so great and the papers so numerous and the examiners mostly, if not entirely, teachers of Schools and Colleges, it is a decided advantage for the latter to have the leisure and freedom of the vacation for the scrutiny of the papers. While it is thus a decided advantage for the examiners to have the examinations at the time of the year they are now held, is it equally so also for the examinees? For obviously the examinations being primarily intended for the benefit of the examinees, and not of the examiners, the main point for us to inquire into is whether the present arrangement is to the advantage or disadvantage of the examinees. Let us then briefly consider the pros and cons of the present arrangements from the examinees' point of view.

(i) *Temperature*.—The cold weather having disappeared with February, the heat begins to make itself felt with March and though it may not be unpleasantly warm during the first week or so, by the middle of the month the rise of temperature is quite perceptible, while by the latter end of the month the weather is fairly hot. And from this time onwards there is a steady rise in temperature and during April and May the heat becomes simply grilling. Even in the pleasantest of weathers an examinees' task is not an easy or pleasant one, making as it does an extraordinary demand on all his best thoughts and energies. But to require him to go through this ordeal in a grilling hot weather is to make a demand upon his energies, physical and mental, which cannot but be prejudicial to him, as the compliance has to be made under conditions most trying and disadvantageous. But however disadvantageously placed, the candidate has to give of his best, but at what cost to himself can only be revealed later on.

(ii) *Sickness*.—Compared with the rest of the year March to May is as a rule the most sickly season in Calcutta. The

epidemics that visit Calcutta, whether as periodical visitants or otherwise, usually commence with the beginning of the cold weather, and continuing through the winter attain their maximum period of activity in March and April. Small-pox, for example, visits Calcutta in one of its severest epidemic forms about every five years. The periodicity of influenza is not yet determinable, but that it has carried off, and does continue to carry off, many a promising young man in their prime and vigour is undoubted. The cholera is always with us, while berry-berry also seems to have fairly established itself in our midst. Ptyphoid with its congeners seems to be more or less always flourishing here, to say nothing of dengue or other fevers. Why all these, or any one or more of them should assert themselves in epidemic form in Calcutta in the winter season may be connected with the more or less insanitary condition of the town during the winter when, in the absence of rains, the drains are the least flushed and the consequent accumulation of dirt and filth and with them, of disease germs is the greatest. The absence during the cold weather of high atmospheric heat which kills or at any rate keeps down the activity of many of the disease germs may also help towards their greater activity in the winter. But whatever the reason, the fact remains that most of the epidemics that visit Calcutta in more or less severe forms seems to favour the winter months, that their strength and virulence increase with the advance of the cold season and that March to April seems to fall in with the period of their greatest activity.

Under these circumstances it requires no great stretch of imagination to conceive under what conditions of difficulty and disadvantage the examinees have to go through their ordeals. If even in normal and healthy times the examinations, by causing an extraordinary and unusual strain on the nervous system are a great trial, then, when times are abnormal, that is to say, with temperature near or above a hundred and sickness in the shape of an epidemic of

small-pox, influenza, cholera, berry-berry or dengue, severally or jointly raging round and nobody knowing when he or she might fall a victim : in times such as these, the strain, both physical and mental, on the students must be near the breaking point : the anxiety alone as to one's ability to keep fit and sit through the examinations being enough to lower one's vitality to a danger point. That many a constitution, unable to bear the great strain, does break down, is beyond dispute, while it is also a fact that many an examinee, with already broken health, does still try to go through the examinations, with the result that they have to leave this world with all its trials either during or soon after the examinations. In most of the examination centres a room has to be provided for those who have been suffering from an infectious disease, such as chicken-pox, etc., as also for those who, unable through weakness attendant on other illnesses to retain a sitting posture, are allowed to answer question papers in a reclining or lying-down position. The strain of examination on an ordinary healthy person is great enough, but what it must be to those who are down with an illness the University authorities evidently do not stop to consider : otherwise they would pause and hesitate before granting the especial permission which must be needed for such cases. Whether the endeavour to pass an examination under such circumstances would not entail a serious and permanent injury to any of the important organs or to the entire physical system itself is a matter that should not be passed over lightly. The writer who not being in the Education Department has not a large experience in the matter, knew of a Matriculation boy a few years back at Giridih who while attempting the examination from a sick-bed expired before the examination was over. One can hardly escape the thought whether the boy would have lived if the rule granting permission for sick persons to appear in an examination had never been in existence. In such extreme case as that of this boy or that of those who are

liable to incur permanent injury to their constitution through attempting an examination while down with an illness, how far the responsibility rests with the University authorities is equally a matter for serious consideration. But whatever the number of such candidates, large or small, no one will dispute (i) that a hot season is not favourable for prolonged hard mental work, (ii) that prolonged hard mental strain in such times is bound to affect one's constitution, (iii) that if in addition to the season being excessively hot, it is also highly sickly, the constant anxiety about one's examination would of itself serve to lower his vitality and predispose him to disease and that the chances of one's doing well would be much reduced and of injury to one's health greatly enhanced.

Leaving apart the number of deaths and of the absentees through sickness, the fact remains that the vast majority of the candidates do sit through the examinations, and of these again, a great majority come out successful, some with honours, others with distinction and so on and only a minority fail to pass. It may therefore be said that since the majority of the candidates do secure the object aimed at, does it matter if there are a number of absentees or even of deaths through sickness? If, that is to say, the greatest good of the greatest number is attained the main object has, it may be argued, been achieved and there is no reasonable ground for grumbling.

It is certainly true that, however great the heat and however sickly the season, of the huge number of candidates that offer themselves the vast majority come out successfully through their trial. But do we stop to consider what is the cost of this result? We do not mean cost in money, though even that is not to be altogether ignored, but the cost in mental and physical health and power of the examinees. Examinations as they have been in vogue since the establishment of the University are at best neither wholesome nor beneficial: it is even a question if they are a special help to the development of

the mental faculties, though there seems little doubt that they would cause a certain amount of injury, owing to the unnatural strain put on it through excessive cramming, to the brain in the case of a large number of the candidates, which there would be nothing to wonder at, considering the poor physique of the majority of our students which we are just beginning to discover. Put into your stomach food that it can easily and comfortably digest and assimilate and it will nourish your body and help in its growth and development, the stomach itself participating in the general improvement and becoming the healthier and stronger for it. But overload the stomach with food it cannot digest, it (the food) will not only be of no use to the body, but it will, on the contrary, cause irritation, the whole alimentary canal being upset, with resultant disturbances all round. Should such irritation be continued or be frequent, chronic diarrhoea or dyspepsia with its attendant consequences will inevitably follow. Similarly with the brain. Give it work it can digest and assimilate and it will gain in strength and vigour. But overload, that is, overwork it, especially when it is growing and developing, the very opposite will be the effect. The amount of work which a given brain can stand and assimilate, *i.e.*, do comfortably, is determinable by the amount it is capable of performing without strain or fatigue and which it will enjoy in doing. If, for example, a brain can work for six hours without feeling dull but further work fatigues it, then we say that this particular brain can digest and assimilate 6 hours of work and that further work imposed on it will only tend to its injury. That is how cramming injuriously affects one's brain, cramming being to a brain what overloading is to a stomach. Just as the latter offence if repeated will eventually produce dyspepsia and general emaciation of the system, so cramming, that is, overwork of the brain, which commands the nerves controlling the different systems and organs of the body, will affect the functions of the different bodily organs, such as the liver,

stomach, lungs, kidneys, etc., the injury to the brain itself being manifested as distaste for mental work, that is, brain fag, mental languor and lassitude, loss of memory and worst of all, the stoppage of further growth and development of the brain: that is, resulting in the wreck, partial or complete, of the young man.

That there is a terrible amount of cramming amongst our students in connection with their examinations is only too well known. If the professorial and tutorial work were evenly distributed and honestly gone through over the whole year, so that the books to be read were leisurely and systematically studied and finished with the end of the courses of lectures and if our youngmen, too, honestly and evenly worked all the year round, then there would be no need for the present heavy cramming. But as things are, most of the work required for passing an examination is crowded into the few months immediately preceding the trial, with the result that there is nothing but cram, cram, cram, without cessation, without interruption and without rest till the last moment of the examination. That knowledge acquired through such cramming is of little value would be readily admitted, while on the other hand the injurious effects in innumerable cases would often be but too patent, showing themselves in a breakdown, physical or mental or both, which may be partial or complete and temporary or permanent.

That there must be many cases of utter physical prostration cannot but be admitted. It was only a short time since that the daughter of an acquaintance of the writer took to her bed the day she came home after her test examination for the B.A. Degree and passed away after 10 days or so. She had had no apparent illness while going through her test examination but the mental and physical exhaustion brought on in preparing for and going through the examination proved too much for her. Who can tell how many cases of such exhaustion and death occur among our boys and girls, year

after year? And if the strain even of a test examination may have such disastrous results, the strain much more prolonged and severe, involved in preparation for the final degree examinations, must produce collapse, if nothing worse, in a large number of cases.¹

For the first time in the history of the University we find in 1921 one of the authorities responsible for its management declaring the University as concerned on the subject of the students' health. That is to say, the Vice-Chancellor in his Convocation address of 1921 told us that of the students examined medically 88 per cent. were found with their muscles under-developed, 32 per cent. showed unsound teeth, 32 per cent. had defective eyes, while heart and lung defects were detected in 7 and 5 per cent. respectively and that, to sum up, 67 out of every 100 of our students were *not in good health and needed medical care and treatment*. In the last report on the subject, that is, issued by the Students' Welfare Scheme Committee, we find that so far 3,800 students (*viz.*, from the Scottish

¹ In support of the contention that many a constitution weakened through illness and subjected in that condition to the stress and strain of an examination may be and often is seriously and permanently injured, a case may be cited here which happened within the personal knowledge of the writer. A few months before his University Examination a lad had a pretty severe attack of typhoid with delirium, etc. His prostration had been very great, so much so that when the time for his examination came he had not been able to regain his natural health and strength. But as the examinations used to be and are, we dare say, still looked upon as the greatest object in one's life, to be attempted and achieved under any conditions and at any sacrifice, he had to put forth all his energies for it. The result was that though he came out fairly creditably through the Examination, there was a fairly complete physical breakdown for him. He found after the examination that his memory, for example, all but failed him, the names of the commonest things constantly slipping from him, making his position most awkward at times. Another of the symptoms was that he never knew what sound sleep was from that time onwards.

The writer has known more than one instance of friends going up for a University Examination soon after a severe illness. But he is not aware of what after-troubles they may have contracted in consequence. Mental troubles, such as the failure of memory, etc., people hesitate to speak of or divulge freely, and so the parents and guardians are not likely to know what their charges may be suffering from, except perhaps in very extreme cases. Thus the evils will in most cases remain unrevealed, and therefore untraced to their sources, and so things are allowed to go on as before!

Churches College, University Post Graduate Classes, the City and the Presidency Colleges, Calcutta) have been examined and that the net result is that 66 per cent. of them were found to be physically unsound; that is to say, 2 out of every 3 of our students were *not in good health* and needed medical treatment.

Is it necessary to dwell on the inner meaning of the above figures? For the writing on the wall is plain enough. Of the thousands that go through the University only a very small number has so far been medically examined and these from the most prominent colleges in Calcutta. If 2 out of 3 students in *these* institutions were found physically unsound, it is more than probable that total defectives, when students from the other towns as well as mofussil colleges have been examined, will be found even higher than 66 per cent. Now in any land it is the cultured classes—University men—that form its backbone and leaders, and if more than 66 per cent. of such young men turn out to be out of health, what hopes can one entertain as to the future of such a country? Besides, we cannot afford to overlook, supposing the physical defects of the youngmen to be only in their incipient stages, what is likely to be the condition of these 66 per cent. by the time they have completed their University education. For there can be little doubt that as the result of the grinding through which these will have passed and the severe stress and strain undergone on account of the examinations, their organic defects will have developed into more or less serious illnesses, with the result that many will succumb with the last efforts for their degrees, while of the survivors though some will have literally crawled through their examinations, not a few of the remainder will remain as physical wrecks beyond repair and unfit to undertake the duties and responsibilities of manhood.

The question that therefore presses itself on us and which must, on account of its urgency, be decided one way or the other without further delay is—Can the University, having regard to the state of health of our students as revealed in the

Students' Welfare Scheme Committee's Report be supposed to be doing its duty fully? And if the progress and advancement of the student community—the hopes of a country—means the progress and advancement of the country itself and if their degeneration and ruin means, on the other hand, the country's degeneration and ruin, then, if the report of the Student's Welfare Scheme Committee has any value at all, what a bright prospect we have before us of this country's future and what a justification for the existence and continuance of the University itself!

What then ought we to do? The alternatives before us seem to be—

(i) The University conducting its work as hitherto but permitting only the physically sound young men and women to go in for its education.

(ii) The University conducting its work and all students being permitted to go in for its education, as hitherto, but medical attention being added and enforced on every one, *i.e.*, whether the students reside in hostels, messes or with their parents or other guardians.

(iii) The University changing its present methods, so that the least physical and mental harm might result to those going in for its education, the ideal and motto of the University really and truly followed and acted on being “sound mind in a sound body.”

Let us now consider the alternatives.

(i) In this case, the University as now constituted and managed will have to wind up business and close its doors, the physically sound boys being so few and the University depending for the conduct of its business so largely on the fees realised from the students that it will be impossible for it to work further.

(ii) In this case, we allow things to go on as hitherto, only superimposing medical care and treatment on the present state of things.

That this addition of medical care and treatment would also mean an addition to the present cost of University Education, this much is certain ; for as things stand, it would be impossible for the University to provide this medical treatment *gratis* : that is to say, the cost of this treatment will have to be met by the students themselves, as an addition to the present cost. That it will not be possible for many an aspirant for University Education to bear this additional burden we may also take as certain. But what is most important for consideration is—Can we be sure that the results will be satisfactory and as desired ? The bulk of the students will, as now, be housed in hostels and messes, and from the way our young men live and are looked after therein, it is very very doubtful if the practical results of this additional care will be appreciable. It is so difficult and it takes such a long time to make human nature move from its accustomed groove. So one is greatly afraid things will go on as before, that is to say, the health of our students will go on suffering and deteriorating as now, in spite of this additional medical care, the only gain, or rather loss, being the increase in cost of education.

We must not in this connection fail to remember that many of the physical defects observable among our College students may be (1) hereditary, (2) due to long continued malnutrition owing to poverty, (3) due to wrong methods of education pursued at schools and thus long contracted, (4) amenable only to prolonged treatment and a treatment that may not be compatible with an active University career. While the defects in many cases will be traceable to the poverty or ill health of the parents themselves, in others they will be found to have roots in the educational methods pursued in the primary and high schools of the country. Look at the standards fixed by the educational authorities for the lower and higher primary and middle English schools and one is simply amazed at the heaps of books our little boys and girls are expected to go through in order to pass the examinations prescribed in reference to

those standards. And can we wonder that brains that have been overtaxed from such tender age will soon be revealing the ill effects of such overtaxing in the different organs of the body and in the ill development of the different systems, whether muscular, nervous or vascular?

All the above circumstances considered, can we regard the second alternative as an alternative that will really go to the roots of the evil and be truly effective? One is afraid, not. One is on the contrary inclined to think that not only will the additional cost involved deter many from entering the University, but that the compulsory medical treatment will go very little way towards causing an appreciable amount of good.

There now remains the third alternative, *viz.* (iii) the University changing its methods of work, so that by proceeding along the lines of least resistance, *i.e.*, with due regard to the actual conditions of the country and not blindly following the precedents or ideals of foreign countries, as little harm as possible may be done to the physical and mental health of the student community.

The first step we would suggest in this direction is the alteration in the season of the examinations from its present season of March to May to some other part of the year. As we have already pointed out the present season is a hot and sickly one; that the sickliness of the season is of itself a source of great mental anxiety, a condition coupled with the necessarily hard and strenuous work involved in preparing and going up for the examinations would materially lower one's vitality and predispose one to disease; that many of the illnesses prevailing at the time are highly contagious or infectious; that many candidates are debarred by sickness from appearing at the examinations, the fruit of years of labour being thus lost. These in brief ought to be sufficient reasons to make the University pause and change the period of its main examinations, *viz.*, the Matriculation, I.A. and I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc., in which the largest number of its examinees are concerned.

Formerly the examinations used to be held in November and December, that is, a cool part of the year and when yet the winter epidemics, if any, have not yet had a grip on the city. But the reverse is the case now. The question of sickness apart, the heat itself is found to be so great that under the present arrangements the University authorities dare not set *two* papers during the day, but are obliged to content themselves with setting *one* paper only *daily*, that is, early in the morning from 7 to 10 or so. Now consider what this alone means to the victim. The time of his ordeal is doubly lengthened out and this at a time when the heat is unbearable and any exertion, physical or mental, is itself a great trial. That many a candidate falls sick when only half-through the examination the public know but too well and should also be known to the University authorities; and yet things are allowed to go on as before.

Is it necessary at this time of day to tell those who are in charge of our University education that it is a pleasure to work in a cold weather; that one can put in more work without any sense of exhaustion and without injury to one's constitution in a given time in the cold season than one can in the hot; that cold is as bracing to the nerves as heat is enervating; that the examinations impose the severest possible strain on the students and are a possible source of great mischief, mentally as well as physically, to those who have 'o go through them under such unfavourable conditions. And if the above is admitted, then the authorities ought to be able to show good grounds for holding the examinations at the time they are now held. So far as the outside public are concerned, one must confess they fail to see any such reasons in favour of the present arrangements. The only grounds apparent to them are, firstly, that the long summer vacation practically beginning with the examinations affords the necessary time and leisure to the Examiners who are almost entirely professors, lecturers and teachers of schools and colleges, for the scrutiny of

the papers and, secondly, that the long vacation may enable the foreign professors to get away from the Indian heat and visit their cool and distant homelands. Even if the last-mentioned ground were a determining factor at the time when the change was first introduced, nobody can now complain of the foreign influence in the Senate as a factor for the continuance of the system, seeing that the dominating influence in the Senate and Syndicate has, for some years past, rested not with the foreign members but with the Indian, and the University could, if it were so minded, have altered the period at any time it pleased. As for the other ground, no sane man would for a moment contend that the comfort and convenience of the Examiners must be put before the health and welfare of the students. There is thus no alternative left but to infer that for the continuance of the present system the University authorities are alone responsible.

It is therefore obvious that unless we are prepared to see the health of the rising generation still more deteriorated, the University must be asked as a preliminary step to alter its time for the main examinations to a part of the year less sickly, less enervating and less anxious than the present one. We cannot forget that the examinations are not an end in themselves but are a mere preliminary preparation for the due achievement of one's life work. But if the very health of our young men and women is to be sacrificed in this mere preliminary spade work, then we should have no hesitation in crying 'Halt' to this University Education and ask it to give place to something that will at least conserve their health and vigour and leave them fit for the discharge of the duties of an ordinary healthy and useful citizen. We would therefore ask the University as an earnest indication of its concern for the future welfare of the student community and therefore of the country at large to alter its present time of the Examinations as the first instalment of real Reform.

P. N. DATTA

EXTRACT FROM "WITHERED LEAVES"

(*Translated from the Persian*)

ODD DISCOVERIES AND STRANGE SECRETS.

What do you think of it, moon. As you go?

Is life much or no?

O, I think of it, often think of it as a show

God means surely to shut up soon.

As I go.

It was a delightful moonlight night. The clock had just struck twelve, and all nature was wrapped in unbroken slumber. Everything was sweet, serene, sublime. The air was soft and fragrant: the sky seemed one sheet of splendid blue: the moon looked pathetically down on our vale of tears, and the stars shone conscious of their deathless beauty. There was a stillness—as it were the stillness of an intense, mystic vitality—around me. I stepped out of my library—worn out with study, weary of life, sick of mankind—to enjoy, though for a moment, nature's unrivalled carnival. I was sad that night, inexpressibly sad, for my life has always been one long war with unexpected foe. I have spoken, and spoken freely, candidly—that has been my unforgivable fault. I have thought, and I have expressed my thought untrammelled—that has been my unpardonable misdemeanour. By frankness and candour I have raised a swarm of enemies, ever determined to smite or stab me. Even conversation over the wine and walnuts, which generally partakes of the character of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, was remembered, treasured, used for purposes of indictment and judgment against me. And yet, honestly and truthfully, I might say with a distinguished writer: "I have loved things and persons because I loved them, and loathed them because I loathed—not because the

love or the loathing was fashionable, orthodox or heretical, customary or eccentric."

Lonely, grief-stricken was I that night, and I knew not why. But of my loneliness I was glad, for as Meredith Townsend quaintly observes "mankind in general are tigers in trousers." I was in no mood then to meet tigers or apes. Such were the thoughts that were passing through my mind when an unknown, rebuking voice called out to me: "the forty-fifth milestone of life hast thou passed, and yet thou understandest not man. Hath not the poet taught that the greatest of things is charity? Hath not the philosopher inculcated that kindness and forgiveness are gifts divine unto the chosen ones of the earth? Then, O erring man, let not charity, kindness, forgiveness ever desert thee--be thy experiences what they may."

And the voice ceased to speak. I looked around, and none was there. Silence, solitude, stillness--the same as before--only they were occasionally interrupted by the sighing wind and the whispering leaves. I stood rooted to the ground in a dream, in a trance. Yes! charity, kindness, forgiveness--these only, to be sure, reconcile one to warring humanity, and these only soften, mitigate the burden of life.

Truly hast thou spoken, O voice of Goodness. But why am I chosen for the wrath of man? Social functions, political platforms, ambitious projects, soaring aspirations, favours of the great--not one of these have I sought, coveted, dreamed. I have lived in the seclusion of my library--away from the haunts of men. I have studiously avoided the tavern, the mosque, and the forum. Why then the fury and the fierceness of this persecution? I waited and watched a while, but no answer came. In sheer despair, said I "Couldst thou not answer, O moon, for thou hast known men and their ways for ages past? Could you not tell me, O stars, so soft and so serene, in the consciousness of enduring power? Would you

not—bowing trees, whispering breeze, Spirit of Beauty—would none utter the secret, tell the tale?"

Then I heard a voice saying to me: "What shall I teach thee, thou fatherless man? Seclusion never has shielded man from the attacks of men. Does not man love and revel in cruelty, in lust, in wanton wrong? His abominations astonish me not, for what canst thou expect from a creature of his origin and his inherited instincts? Superiority he resents, and he puts seclusion and aloofness down to pride and affectation of superiority. Thus will he seek to pull thee down from thy lonely, far-off pedestal, and strive to do thee wrong. Thy superiority will be thy worst enemy, for it will give a keen edge to hatred and stridence to the voice of malice. Let not disappointment crush thy spirit, nor contemporary neglect deflect thee from thy path. Remember that the law of animal life is self-preservation, but the Law of man's life is suppression of the Lower Self." Say with Ibn Yamin :

کنجی و همدمی و کذبی و خورده * از بهر ذوق نفس ز تاج و سریر به
وجه کف اگر بکف آید ز دهانت * نبرد خد ز خدمت شاه و وزیر به

I was pacified, assured, strengthened by this advice. What after all are worldly prizes but mere thistledown on the stream of time? What is contemporary fame but a fleeting lightning-flash, followed by blackest gloom? How many of the *quondam* magnates—wielders of power, possessors of wealth, proud, arrogant, full of swank and show—how many, after their brief little day of fluttering, buzzing insect-life, have re-emerged from the oblivion into what they have all invariably sunk? I have seen too many of these stuffed puppets to take off my hat to them when they pass by in their tawdry coach. No! I have paid homage to naught but intellect—never to a mere holder of office—however exalted—devoid of learning, or of talents to his credit. But this is not worldly-wisdom. I confess I have always been deficient in worldly-wisdom, yet I

have never regretted this deficiency. What sacrifice the smile, the nod, the handshake of the great involves ! Greater, infinitely greater, than any of these little courtesies is worth. Put pride in your pocket ; trample freedom underfoot ; sacrifice judgment and forfeit character—and then the earthly Gods will smile and shower their golden, glittering gifts upon thee. Seek them and receive them and hold them and hug them, if you will, but for thee, dear heart, they were never meant or intended. To have lived and loved ; to have worked and worked honestly ; to have done one's duty, and done it unswervingly ; to have said and to have said what one had to say boldly, fearlessly ; to have followed light, and to have adhered to the right—these are worth more than all the gifts and prizes and honours that soiled hands or tarnished coronets bestow.

In after days when grasses high
O'er-top the stone where I shall lie,
Though ill or well the world adjust
My slender claim to honoured dust,

I shall not question or reply.
I shall not see the morning sky ;
I shall not hear the night-wind sigh ;
I shall be mute as all men must

In after days !
But yet, now living, fain were I
That some one then would testify.
Saying—" He held his pen in trust
To Art, not serving shame or lust."
Will none ?—Then let my memory die
In after days !

In this strain I stood thinking, and thoughts, lightning-like, rushed through my mind. I was hardly conscious of the march of time. Two hours had silently passed away. It was time to end my musings, my charming communion

with nature, my silent banquet of thought. I retraced my steps homeward, and soon I was in my dear old study—so full of joyous and sad memories. I sat thinking of vanished days. Give back but one day, O God, from life's torn page, and restore, but for a moment, those dear ones—now no more—to my loving, longing arms. The figure of one friend rose before me—the friend whose friendship was my life's dearest joy, and whose death was the extinction of my life's brightest hope. But life is cruel and fates are unrelenting.

But though he is now no more, I praise God with joyous thanksgiving that I have one friend living—and may he be spared for many more years to come—whose house is a haven of peace from the contention-tossed world and whose company is an unfailing source of consolation, delight, encouragement to me. To him I wrote describing the strange experiences of that night, and telling him what a thing of odd discoveries, strange secrets, thrilling hazards life was. Odd discoveries, strange secrets—what curious revelations life's voyage brings unto us! "The veil falls from my soul and you may see it in lovely nakedness. They are no stains, only wounds. Ah! only wounds dealt by the hands of my friends, not of my enemies." Heine, thou hast expressed my innermost thought, and hast put it in language of exquisite perfection. There is a kinship between me and thee—the kinship of soul—that true kinship which defies the barriers of race and religion. Thou hast suffered; thou hast bled—and so have I. Between me and thee there is the uniting, sanctifying bond of suffering and of despair.

عمرتان باد و مراد ای ساقیان بزم جم * کچھ جام ما نشد پُر می بدوران شما

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

I

When the Reforms were first introduced, the Country and Bengal among other provinces, was led to expect a new era of agricultural and industrial progress, and developments in education and sanitation. In the absence of sufficient private enterprise, these schemes of reform have necessarily to be undertaken by Government and the extra expenditure incurred publicly. It was believed that with the increased association of the representatives of the people in the task of Government there would be a greater willingness to tax the people for expenditure incurred in their own betterment. But where are the extra funds and still more, where is the will to find them ?

A half-hearted attempt to prove their bonâfides was made last year by the present Government, when they introduced the enhanced stamp-duties and the amusements and betting taxes. But as then forecasted, these measures, provided a yield deplorably short of their rosy anticipations. Fortunately, owing to recent retrenchments, the Bengal Budget of 1923-24, is almost balanced, but even the slightest pretence of providing funds for the nation-building services has now been given up.

Rather, the prevailing tone of the debates in the Bengal Council has been characterised by an utter lack of financial capacity and moral courage.

The Central Government is attacked for not dispensing entirely with Bengal's contribution, which it is pretended is unfair in its incidence relative to other provinces. In view of this, it might be as well to consider the relative incidence of taxation upon the populations of Bengal and say Bombay.

I take the figures given by H. E. the Governor in his Council speech of the 21st November 1921. Out of a gross revenue of Rs. 3,006 lakhs collected in Bengal, Rs. 2,051 lakhs were taken by the Central Government and Rs. 955 lakhs retained by the province. The corresponding figures for Bombay were, Rs. 3,059 lakhs, Rs. 1,663 lakhs and Rs. 1,390 lakhs. Superficially these figures seem very unjust to Bengal. But it must not be forgotten that much of the customs Revenue collected in Calcutta is on the consumption of the teeming populations of Bihar and Orissa, and the U. P., while the outside areas served by the ports of Bombay and Karachi contain a much smaller population. An allowance of about Rs. 2 crores for this reason is certainly not excessive. This brings the relevant figures for Bengal to Rs. 2,800 lakhs, Rs. 1,845 lakhs and 955 lakhs. Based on these figures are appended below the contributions in Rupees per head of population made by Bombay and Bengal respectively :

Province.	Total contribution per head.	To Central Government.	To Provincial Government.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bombay ...	15.29	8.31	6.95
Bengal ...	6.29	3.9	2.1

These figures show that the per capita taxation of Bombay is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that in Bengal; and while she taxes her own population more than thrice as heavily for her own expenditure, she contributes more than twice as much as Bengal to the Central Government. Now while it may be admitted that the average wealth per head in the Bombay Presidency is greater than in Bengal, it is more than doubtful whether it is twice as much.

In these circumstances, Bengal cannot be said to be contributing more than in proportion to her wealth to the

Central Government. And if Bombay has a much higher per capita rate of provincial expenditure it is because she has upon her potential sources of revenue more largely than Bengal. It is always open to this province to tap her own resources for her own expenditure and not until this has been done to the same extent as in other provinces, are we entitled to clamour at the injustice of the Meston award.

The main existing sources of revenue in this province are the Land Revenue, Stamp and Excise. Substantial increments in the stamp duties have already been made last year, and it is doubtful if much more can be obtained from this source without reducing trade and prosperity and obstructing the administration of justice in the province. The duties on excise are already at a point where the utmost that can be expected is a slight increase in revenue due to gradually increasing consumption. Nor with the possible exception of the betting tax can increased yields be expected from any other minor source of revenue.

We are left then with only the Land Revenue, as the remaining source from which increased yield might be expected. In this connection, it is well to note that a proposal for an increased rate of cess was turned down by the government last year as unwarrantably interfering with the sole local means of deriving revenue. In the absence of any other large permanent and economically obtained source of revenue—and it must be admitted that we have not yet heard of such a new source in Bengal—the land revenue seems the only source from which additional income might be possible.

That it is economically possible is undoubted. Bengal is admittedly the most fertile province of India. It is also next to Bihar the province paying the least amount of land revenue per head of population as will appear from the following figures taken for the year 1918-19.

Province.	Land Revenue in rupees per head.	Land Revenue in rupees per sq. miles.
Burma	4.9	375 ¹
Bombay	2.3	
Punjab	2.2	
Madras	1.7	
U. P., Assam, } C. P. and Berar }	1.3	408
Delhi	0.9	
N. W. F. P.	0.8	
Bengal	0.7	
Bihar and Orissa	0.5	

The significance of the above figures will be clearer when it is pointed out that, in order to level up Bengal's contribution to that of Madras—a province poor in mineral and industrial resources and commercial undertakings—an additional levy of Re. 1 per head or over $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores, must be placed on land in Bengal. Only when that has been done, will it be right to complain of unjust treatment relative to other provinces.

Such an immediate enhancement of the land revenue is however neither necessary nor desirable, though some increase seems to be required. But against every suggestion of increase, however small, there has been in the past and probably will appear again, strong and sustained opposition from the landed interests in Bengal.

II

A revision of the Permanent Settlement of land revenue in Bengal, has been opposed on grounds political, social, legal and moral. • It is said, that any change in the Permanent Settlement will remove from the Government the political

¹ If the revenue and area of Sind be excluded from that of the Bombay Presidency, the resulting figure for the Bombay Presidency proper is considerably over Rs. 500. Yet nobody can claim that the natural fertility of land in Bombay, acre for acre, is superior to that of Bengal.

support of the landed aristocracy. It should undoubtedly be the object of any Government claiming to be a popular one, not to displease any large class of its subjects. But it cannot, on the other hand refrain in the interests of any class however powerful and deserving of consideration, from action necessary in the public interest. Nor can it be claimed that the political support of the Bengal landowners as a class—there may be exceptions—has been either very intelligent or active. They have acquiesced apathetically in measures not affecting their own interests. They have opposed uncompromisingly measures, such as the Road Cess of 1879 and the Calcutta Rent Act of 1920, which showed the slightest tendency to touch their own pockets. And they have failed miserably in the duty of educating and organising a sane and rational public opinion amongst their tenants. This, in spite of their occupying the position of unchallenged leadership in Bengal's social organization.

Again, it is held that a revision of the Permanent Settlement might disturb social relations between landlord and tenants. The former would naturally try to pass the increased rate on to the tenants either by periodic enhancements of rent or by increases in 'abwabs' and other indirect receipts. The latter, as naturally would resent such tactics, thus causing still further estrangement in rural areas at a time peculiarly critical. By the amended Bengal Tenancy Acts of 1885, and 1907 the arbitrary power of the Zemindar to enhance rent was taken away; a maximum limit of enhancement at stated intervals was prescribed; the enhancement became effective only with the consent of the district officers, and occupancy rights capable of being sold were given to tenants of over 12 years standing. It should not be impossible therefore to prevent increases in abwabs, by carefully defining the occasions and amounts of the present 'abwabs,' or commuting them into fixed annual payments, alterable by the same procedure as the rent proper.

Again, assuming it would not be possible, owing to legislative means or rural unrest due to non-co-operation, to burden cultivators with any increased rate, an enhanced tax on the Zemindars is described as unfair as it would reduce their means for keeping up their social position. But the Zemindari income of Bengal is neither small nor is it spent entirely on indispensable necessities individual or social. In 1793 the net income of the Bengal Zemindars was about 40 lakhs of rupees. To-day the net income of the Bengal Zemindars is more than 12 crores of rupees. Much of this no doubt is shared among a series of middlemen, lessees of the Zemindars, and their lessors. But a large part is enjoyed by the Zemindars themselves; and it is always possible for them by undertaking the personal management of their own estates, considerably to increase their income, without having to increase rates on the actual cultivators. Such a step on their part would be of inestimable benefit to the province. It would turn many of them away from the wasteful pleasures of an idle life in Calcutta, stimulate interest in agricultural reform; further the spread of the most up-to-date agricultural methods and implements; increase the area and yield of crops; and add generally to the wealth and condition of themselves, their tenants and the province. Then perhaps Bengal might really become, instead of one of the most backward agricultural provinces, the foremost province in India in every respect.

A further objection is that the Permanent Settlement was made by Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General of India, and it is beyond the province of the Bengal Government to reverse it. There is no doubt that the appropriate constitutional authority for revision is the Government of India. But there is no reason for imagining that the Government of India would be averse from such a step, if it were jointly demanded by public opinion in Bengal and recommended as a necessary measure by the Government of Bengal.

Such a step by the Bengal Government is likely however to be characterised by many as a failure in its moral obligations to the Zemindars. But briefly, the argument of these people is that

(1) In 1793 Lord Cornwallis distinctly enacted on behalf of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that the then existing settlement of land revenue should be fixed for ever.

(2) On this presumption many sales and purchases of land have occurred in the last 130 years and financial obligations assumed which would not have occurred, had it been known that the Revenue Settlement was other than permanent.

(3) Consequently an enhancement now in the rate of revenue would cause a proportionate grave financial loss, to many Zemindars who had a moral right to expect that there would be no change in the Permanent Settlement.

With reference to the first premise in this chain of reasoning, it must be mentioned that although Lord Cornwallis did, 'fix for ever' the public assessment on the lands of the Zemindars, the Document containing the Permanent Settlement clearly shows that he also expected the fulfilment of certain social and public obligations from the Zemindars. The Zemindars were distinctly enjoined not to be exacting on their tenants. Instead of this, the relations between Zemindar and ryot were anything but happy for the latter until the first Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 was passed which aimed at making evictions and enhancement of rent less arbitrary.

Further, it was distinctly implied in the clause assuring the Zemindars against "any increase in the public assessment in consequence of improvements in their respective estates," that a fixed and unchangeable revenue would, by ensuring to the Zemindars the full returns on any improvements, cause them eagerly to improve their estates and introduce the most productive methods of cultivation thereon. Here also, the volume of achievement has fallen far short of the expectations

of Lord Cornwallis. The Zemindars in the main, have shown no personal interest in the development of their properties. They have been chary of investing capital in permanent improvements of the soil; backward in employing and helping their tenants to use the most suitable manures and agricultural implements; and totally guiltless of any eagerness to acquire new knowledge that would increase the productivity of their lands. For the most part, they have been content to entrust the management of their estates to others; and have devoted themselves to careers in the law and politics, provincial and municipal. Some perhaps have directed their wealth to the building up of local industries. But many too, lacking the stimulus to active work, prefer to pass away their time in idle luxury in the City of Palaces.

Can it be denied then, that if an Indian Government should deem it necessary to withdraw from Lord Cornwallis' undertaking, the Zemindars themselves will not be guiltless of having failed in their part of the implied contract of the Permanent Settlement?

Again, it may rightly be questioned whether those 'new' zemindars who have bought out the interests of older families, had any right to presume on the eternal duration of the Permanent Settlement. In purchasing estates great care is usually taken in examining both the title deeds and profit-yielding qualities of the property. One might reasonably expect therefore that a prospective buyer would have been acquainted by his legal advisers, at least since 1858, of the British constitutional doctrine that no law can be regarded beyond amendment or repeal by Parliament in view of the latter's unlimited sovereignty. Knowing this, he could not then have presumed that the Permanent Settlement was beyond the pale of amendment.

Even if it be admitted that at the time of the purchase such knowledge could not reasonably be expected of the 'new'

Zemindars, it is unreasonable to infer that the realization that the settlement might be changed at some indefinite future date, would have prevented many from purchasing their present estates.

There has been in the past so many other important factors such as increased population ; higher prices, a fall in the rate of interest, pointing to the profitability of investments in land, that it is almost certain that the existence of a revenue system subject to revision at long periods instead of a Permanent Settlement would not have deterred purchasers from their intention. This is borne out by the fact that in other provinces with a changeable settlement, there exists, particularly in the Punjab, the same eagerness by cautious investors to buy real estate as has been habitual in Bengal.

Since 1917 there has been a considerable rise in land values in the Province due almost solely to circumstances beyond the control of the Zemindars. The abolition of the Permanent Settlement now, will therefore cause a minimum of capital loss to Zemindars. The loss will fall almost solely upon the increased values and rentals caused by the war.

In some cases, especially of those who have invested in zemindari property since 1918, there will probably be some financial loss. But to complain that this loss will transcend a great moral principle is the same as saying that all unforeseen taxation, falling as it must on some portion of the population, is morally unjustifiable. Against such an argument must always be set the greater principle of 'the greatest good of the greatest number.'

To-day in Bengal, this great principle is sadly in want of supporters. On all hands the need for reform and progress in the nation-building departments of Agriculture, Education and Local Self-Government are admitted, but practical evidence of a desire to push the reforms is not forthcoming. The truth is we are afraid to delve, and delve deep into those pockets which are the deepest and most capacious, especially

since they belong to many in high places. It is much easier to complain of unjust treatment from the Central Government and clamour for alms from them, even though it is quite evident that all the major provinces in common with Bengal, and most important of all the Central Government itself, have had huge deficits for a number of years. Consequently it is futile to expect any immediate further concession from the Central Government, or any relief from a revision or abolition of the Meston award. For, where the head and every other member of the family are bankrupt, it is unreasonable to expect such altruism as will lead to a general re-distribution of the family resources in order to make one member solvent while still further embarrassing the position of the others. Relief must be sought rather in a general reduction of unproductive, and unnecessary expenditure, coupled with an attempt to increase the individual resources of each.

Of all provinces, Bengal in particular is in possession of unique resources untouched by taxation. For, while she together with Behar and certain unimportant portions of Madras and the U. P. protect the fortunes of the Zemindars with a Permanent Settlement, her Zemindars, in common with landed proprietors in other provinces also enjoy immunity from the income tax which is not leviable on their 'agricultural' incomes. Thus, while the Bengali merchant, trader and manufacturer; the Bengali doctor, lawyer and much despised Government servant; are mulcted of portions of their hard-earned incomes, the Bengali Zemindar enjoys undisturbed the untaxed incomes from his estate—for the most part unearned. Of course, the Central Government may elect to bring the incomes of Bengal Zemindars within the scope of the Income Tax Act, and make over the proceeds to the Bengal Government. In that case, the Permanent Settlement itself might be allowed to continue undisturbed. But the administrative difficulties of a careful annual enquiry into the total earnings of those connected with the land; the possibilities of

inaccurate computation, of evasion and of corruption; the smaller amount of time, trouble and experience involved in making settlements of comparatively long duration; these make it more economical to obtain additional revenue by a direct revision of the Permanent Settlement, than by subjecting agricultural incomes in Bengal to the Income Tax.

Should, then, a direct attack on the Permanent Settlement be regarded as desirable, the first thing necessary is to declare clearly that no revenue settlement in future will be permanent. The revenue from the erstwhile permanently settled districts should be raised from 25 to 50 per cent. according to the capacity of the Zemindars' estates to bear the additional burden, and fixed for periods ranging from 15 to 30 years. In the case of those estates, where an immediate raising of revenue to the required rate would involve considerable hardship, graduated increases over a period not exceeding 5 years should be employed before the revenue is fixed for any settled term. This would mitigate somewhat the hardships of those landed proprietors whose rentals do not afford a sufficient return on the capital invested in their properties, and give them an opportunity to develop the potentialities of their estates before the maximum increment of revenue comes into operation.

As a necessary corollary of the removal of the Permanent Settlement, power should be given to Zemindars and other tenure-holders to increase their rents over their permanent tenure-holders at fixed rates, and all others not holding in virtue of a specific contract or lease for a given period less than 12 years, by not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total increment of revenue payable for their holding by their immediate landlord. This would enable part of the burden of additional taxation to be thrown upon the patnidars, darpatnidars, sihdarpatnidars, and other intermediate holders and the rayats. The burden of the actual rayat thus decreases geometrically with the number of intermediate holders between the Zemindar and himself.

These proposals will probably bring an additional revenue of 1 to 1½ crores for the next 15 to 20 years after which, it would expand gradually with the revision of the old settlements in the light of the conditions then prevailing. If, in addition to this, the Central Government in accordance with the Finance Member's budget declaration, is able to remit all provincial contributions, Bengal will have a welcome addition to her resources for use in the nation-building departments. Should the additional resources be more than ample for the nation-building departments unpopular and uneconomic taxes such as the Amusements Tax and the enhancement of non-judicial stamp duties might be remitted. Actually though, such remission of taxation is hardly likely. For firstly it is doubtful if the Central Government will have the capacity even if it has the will, to forego all provincial contributions within a reasonable time.

And secondly, it is hardly conceivable that with Bengal's urgent need for better sanitation ; for widespread primary education ; for more agricultural, technical and commercial education ; for development of local self-government and a political sense among the people capable of shouldering the responsibilities of full self-government ;—it is inconceivable that any increased revenues she may derive from the sources mentioned, will be unemployable in a way productive of great good for the province.

OBSERVER

[We shall be glad to publish a reasoned statement in answer to the views expressed in this paper.—Ed. C. R.]

MYSTERY—ASTROLOGICAL ?

Christ's journeying on water on a boat.

His turning a water-pot into that of wine.

His washing the feet of His disciples with water.

He will give such water to men that it will become in them a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

His sitting by the side of a well and revealing the highest truth about the Deity.

His saying, He will give such water that drinking it men will never be athirst.

His saying, whoever will give a cup of water to His disciples he will not lose his reward.

His saying, unless a man is born of water and spirit he will never be able to enter into heaven.

While on water on a boat He rebuked the raging of the water.

From on a boat on water He preached His gospel.

Seeing a servant carrying a water-pot He told him to inform his master that He would hold His feast at his house.

He disappeared in a cloud, He will come down again from it.

He told His disciples, if a son asked a fish of his father would he give him a serpent ?

He told His disciples to give the coin to the collector of toll that would be found in the fish.

Taking a few pieces of fish He fed thousands of men.

He told His disciples He would make them fishers of men.

He ate fish after resurrection.

"Christ is a large fish and we are small ones in him," said Tertullian of old.

In olden times fishes were painted on crosses. (Is it for this the Hindus call *Kama*, the God of love, *Minaketu*?)

Aquarius was the Zodiac of the nativity of Christ and *Piscis* that of the Jews.

G. C. GHOSH

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II : CHAPTER XV—*continued.*

Once again Jasubha changed the subject. As soon as a topic began to grow unpleasant he used to get on to another.

"I would very much like to see this Swami of yours."

"This is just the reason why I ask you to go to Varat. But don't you remember him? He came to see you five or six years ago when their annual grant was stopped for the first time."

"Yes, I have a faint recollection. But I never imagined he had such a hold upon the people."

"Am I not tired of telling you so often? This equal—"

"Sh, sh!" cried Jasubha lifting up his finger, "let politics alone. It is well that Champa has come in. Even her holiness Champa is far better than you. Is it not so?"

"What are you talking about" queried Champa as she entered. During these years the careless grace and fashion had considerably lessened in her. She had grown a little more grave and dressed more plainly. She showed no trace of the dancing girl now, but looked more like an elderly matron presiding over her husband's family. Her place in the state was somewhat peculiar as Raghubhai had intended. She lived as if she had been Ranubha's wedded wife and though her connections with the Prince was no longer that of a mistress still she could lead him in whichever direction she chose through that marvellous power of pleasing which she still possessed. She was untiring in her pursuit of knowledge and in her efforts to lead an unblemished life. She was regarded in the state as second only to Revasankar

in importance. She controlled to a greater or lesser extent all the four principals—Jasubha, Ranubha, the Divan and the Naib-Divan. Even the Queen had felt less cause to be jealous of her.

“Oh, I was just talking about your ascetic’s life.”

“What has that to do with you? He is open for you whenever you choose to enter there; and it is not overcrowded.”

“Champa, we have dropped the idea of Varat.”

“Very pleased to hear it. Now I can enjoy there by myself.”

“But, Ranu old chap, Champa and your Swami are great friends. Is not your Swami of the Vaishnav sect?”

“I am glad indeed that *you* are not of that sect. But why have you refused to go there?”

“Because the Naib-Divan was not anxious.”

“I see. But any special reason?”

“You know better. But, Champa, do introduce me to your Swami.”

“First deserve and then desire. You are not yet worthy to look at him.”

A couple of hours passed thus in easy banter. Seats had been placed outside the tent where all the three repaired after dinner. Champa took up a *sitar* and the cool breeze of the night thrilled to the silver notes of her music. Jasubha on his rocking-chair listened and dozed. The body-guard a little way off were standing to attention like statue and at the entrance of the royal encampment the sentry was walking backwards and forwards like an automaton. A few minutes later the buzz of a conversation was heard and one of the body-guards and a couple of soldiers ran up to prevent any disturbance of the Prince’s repose. But they could not restore the calm and when Champa had finished her song even Jasubha’s ear caught the noise.

“Nayak!” came the low drawl of Jasubha’s mellow voice.

The captain of the guard appeared and saluted.

"Could we not sit for even five minutes in quiet?"

"Your Highness, I shall just run up and see," cried the captain. He was back in a few moments.

"Sire, some people desire to be admitted into your presence."

"Now!"

"They say they would go away if your Highness would ask them personally. But they refuse to believe us."

"But who are they" asked Ranubha.

"They say they are the deputation from Varat come with an invitation for His Highness."

Jasubha was quite pleased. Since he had announced his decision of dropping Varat, the tug-of-war going on between the parties had ceased, Ranubha and Champa were not teased and so he got no pleasure out of his refusal. In his unoccupied life he found strange attraction in raising storms around others.

"Ask them to come to-morrow."

"Your Highness, they say that you are to be there to-morrow."

"Then ask them to see Raghubhai."

"Sire, I told them so but they will not listen."

"Then why not see them?" asked Champa.

"Yes, we shall do that," cried Jasubha.

Jasubha's easy nature had dropped a great deal of the artificial court etiquette. He loved to go about and meet whom he liked just like an ordinary man.

"Of course, what else could you do? Just hear what they have got to say and if it is not important ask them to come again in the morning."

"Very good. Let them come in," sighed Jasubha leaning back in his chair.

Five men walked in. One of them was a *sannyasi* and another (their leader) seemed to be a person of wealth and importance. They all seemed to be more polished than

ordinary villagers or townsfolk. The five saluted respectfully and stood awaiting commands.

"Who are you?" asked Jasubha.

The leader stepped forward and saluted in the grand old style.¹

"Prince, we are the deputation from Varat and have come to invite your Highness."

"Who are you?"

"Sire, I am the Lord Mayor," the gravity of this "Lord Mayor" was truly comic.

"Where do you invite us?"

"Sire, to-morrow we open the new school buildings at Varat. The ceremony should be performed by your royal hands. Your Highness, we have just heard that you have decided not to visit Varat. So we have come to you with a humble request. Our school has been the result of great labour and sacrifice and if you do not grace the ceremony we shall feel deeply disappointed." The Mayor was persuasive as to a creditor.

"What sort of a school is yours?"

"Your Highness, our town boasts of but one school. We teach there from A, B, C, right up to the highest academic qualification."

Jasubha smiled at this boastful speech, "And how many children attend?"

"Sire, this is the head of our school and he can tell you."

The *sannyasi* came forward and said. "Sire, we have about 3,200 girls and boys there."

"What!" shouted Jasubha sitting up, astonished for the first time in his life.

"Maharajah"; replied the *sannyasi* in faultless English, "there is nothing to wonder at. Except the forty or fifty who may be ill, every child in our town comes to our school."

¹ The Ancient Rajput

called *juhā*.

"How do you manage all the expenses," asked Raghubhai. He had heard of this deputation and had hurried up to be present at the interview. He was cursing Anantanand all the time.

"We get them from the public," explained the Mayor.

"Up to what do you teach?" asked Jasubha. He could now faintly imagine what Varat was and began to appreciate the greatness of him who had made it. The figure of the Swami, he had seen six years ago, again stood before his mind's eye.

"Sire, we have no degrees. They read there till they are about twenty and try to learn all they can."

"How far have you studied yourself?"

"I read up to the Intermediate Examination at Allahabad and then eight years more at Varat."

"Who taught you at Varat?"

"Mahatma Anantanandji."

Jasubha's face frankly showed his admiration." He turned to Raghubhai, his tones were a little harsh, "Naib Divan, our state seems to be excellently managed even without our knowledge!"

Raghubhai had no answer to make. He had looked upon Anantanand as a mere mischief-maker nothing more. Moreover the Divan's department had never paid the slightest attention to Varat. It was right on the borders of the state, was separated from the capital by a great forest and most of it belonged to the monastery. Hence there was but little revenue to be got from there. They knew that improvements were going on there but none would exactly say what.

Jasubha turned again to the Mayor; "So you have built a new school there! But I am sorry I can scarcely come. I have given orders for the return journey."

"Sire, we cannot believe that you could have the heart to refuse the simple request of your loyal subjects. All Varat is eager to see you. Our Mahatmajji shall be very pleased to see you."

"Which Mahatmaji? Anantanand?"

"Yes, Your Highness."

"Well, Raghubhai, we will have to alter our programme. We have come so far, so we might as well visit the place. Let the camp be retained here. Gentlemen, I will be there to-morrow morning at six."

Jasubha got up. Raghubhai bit his lips.

"Everything shall be in readiness, Sire," assured, the Mayor and the deputation returned.

Preparations were soon started for the Princes' journey. Champa and Ranubha shook hands in silent joy.

(To be continued)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE.

1. We, the members of the Special Committee appointed by the Governor General of India in Council to make enquiries and recommendations in regard to the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, have the honour to submit our report.

INTRODUCTORY.

2. The scope of our enquiry is described in the following Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Industries No. I-10 (T), dated the 21st November, 1921 :

“ In consequence of a report of the Standing Committee of the Court of Visitors of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Governor General in Council, by virtue of the powers vested in him by Regulation 35 of the Regulations for the administration and management of the properties and funds of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore has appointed a Special Committee to enquire into and report on certain matters relating to the abovementioned Institute.

The Special Committee has been constituted as follows:—

Chairman :

Sir William J. Pope, K.B.E., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry, Cambridge University.

Member :

The Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mukharji, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., Puisne Judge, Calcutta High Court, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Sir Henry H. Hayden, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Professor C. V. Raman, Professor of Physics, Calcutta University.

Secretary :

Dr. Alfred Hay, D.Sc., M.I.E.E., Officiating Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows:—

(1) To examine the working of the Institute during the past ten years and to report on its present state.

(2) To consider what changes, if any, are necessary in the constitution and scheme of management of the Institute in order to secure its government in the best possible way, and to make recommendations accordingly ; in particular, to consider and make recommendations regarding the body or bodies in which the management of the Institute should vest, the powers which should be given to such body or bodies, including their relations with the Director and the professional staff, and the composition of such body or bodies.

(3) To consider and make recommendations regarding the extent to which the principal contributors to the endowment, including the Government of India, should exercise control over the management and working of the Institute ; in particular, to indicate whether the principal contributors should expressly be given the right, and, if so, within what limits to obtain the assistance of the Institute in the matter of the investigation of particular problems, the acceptance of students, or any other matter.

(4) To consider and make recommendations as to what should be the future policy and lines of development of the Institute ; in doing so, to estimate the present position of post-graduate and research work in pure and applied science in India, and to indicate the place which the Institute will occupy with reference to this ; in particular, to indicate whether the Institute should confine itself to the investigation

of such problems only as bear on the "application of science to industries," or whether its scope should include investigation in pure science.

(5) To consider and make recommendations as to whether, in view of the immediate and prospective increase in the income of the Institute, it should undertake research, training in research, or training generally, in additional branches of science.

(6) To consider and make recommendations regarding the means of co-ordinating the work of the Institute with that of similar Institutions in India and abroad.

(7) To consider and make recommendations regarding the method of selecting and appointing the Director of the Institute and other members of the professional staff, the qualifications which should be required of candidates for those appointments and the terms which should attach to such appointments, including pay, leave, and allowances during absence.

(8) To consider and make recommendations as to the relations which should subsist between outside bodies or persons, including Governments and Administrations, and the professional staff, in respect of the professional services of the latter; in particular, to consider whether the professional staff should be permitted to accept private practice; in the latter case to propose rules to regulate the receipt of fees and the method of utilizing such fees; also the conditions which should govern the publication of the results of research undertaken for outside bodies or persons, with reference to patent rights and copyright.

(9) To consider and make recommendations regarding the subordinate staff necessary to assist the Director in the discharge of his duties.

(10) To consider and make recommendations regarding the admission and training of students; in particular, to consider the best means to train Indian students with a view

to enabling them to qualify themselves for appointment on the professional staff.

(11) To consider and make recommendations regarding any other matter which the Committee may consider to be of fundamental importance for the welfare of the Institute."

3. We were anxious to receive guidance as far as possible from the experience of those who were connected with, or interested in the subject of our enquiry, and we made it our first duty to address a letter to various individuals and institutions, inviting statements bearing upon the terms of reference. The response was satisfactory as will appear from the following list of correspondents :—

1. Sir Dorabji Tata, Kt.
2. The Mysore Durbar.
3. The Resident in Mysore.
4. H. J. Bhabha, Esq., M.A.
5. Sir Alfred Chatterton, K.C.I.E.
6. R. W. Davies, Esq., I.C.S.
7. Dr. J. J. Sudborough, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C.
8. Dr. G. J. Fowler, D.Sc., F.I.C.
9. Dr. H. E. Watson, D.Sc., A.I.C.
10. John H. C. Kann, Esq., B.Sc.
11. C. F. H. Tacchella, Esq., B.Sc.
12. The Mysore Chamber of Commerce.
13. The Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.
14. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca.
15. Sir R. N. Mukherjee, K.C.I.E.
16. The Director-General, Indian Medical Service.
17. The Director of Industries and Commerce in Mysore.
18. The Director of Industries, Bengal.
19. The Director of Industries, United Provinces.
20. The Director of Industries, Burma.

21. The Director of Public Instruction, Madras.
22. The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa.
23. The Inspector-General of Education, Mysore.
24. The Millowners Association, Bombay.
25. N. S. T. Chari, Esq., M.A.
26. M. G. Srinavasa Rao, Esq., M.A., Professor of Chemistry, Central College, Bangalore.
27. S. G. Sastry, Esq., B.A., M.Sc., Industrial Chemist, Soap Factory, Bangalore.
28. Dr. B. Narasinha Iyengar, B.A., Ph.D., Agricultural Chemist, Bangalore.
29. B. Sankar Rao, Badami, Esq., Senior Assistant Chemist, Agricultural Department, Bangalore.
30. Dr. F. Marsden, Ph.D., M.Sc., Industrial Chemist to the Government of Madras.
31. Professor Cree-Brown, Principal, College of Engineering, Poona.
32. Dr. C. J. J. Fox, Principal, Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.
33. W. Erlam Smith, Esq., Presidency College, Madras.
34. K. R. Menon, Esq., Presidency College, Madras.
35. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Esq., M.A., Assistant, Indian Institute of Science.
36. B. Sanjiva Rao, Esq., M.A., Assistant, Indian Institute of Science.
37. M. A. Malandkar, Esq., B.Sc., Assistant, Indian Institute of Science.
38. K. C. Srinivasan, Esq., M.A., F.C.S.
39. Mr. B. Dasannacharya, M.A., Student, Indian Institute of Science.
40. Mr. M. Sreenivasaya, Student, Institute of Science.
41. Mr. S. V. Ganapati, Student, Indian Institute of Science.

42. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras.

43. Dr. N. A. F. Moos.

4. The undermentioned gentlemen appeared before the Committee and gave evidence to elucidate or supplement the contents of their respective written statements;—

1. R. W. Davies, Esq., I.C.S.

2. H. J. Bhabha, Esq., M.A.

3. Sir Alfred Chatterton, K.C.I.E.

4. Dr. Gilbert J. Fowler, D.Sc., F.I.C.

5. C. F. H. TaccHELLA, Esq., M.A.

6. Dr. J. J. Sudborough, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C.

7. Dr. H. E. Watson, D.Sc., A.I.C.

8. John R. C. Kann, Esq., B.Sc.

9. Dr. F. Marsden, Ph.D., M.Sc.

10. K. C. Srinivasan, Esq., M.A., F.C.S.

5. We have examined the working of the Institute during the past ten years from the materials available to us and have also ascertained its present state by an inspection of the buildings, the laboratories, the library and the students' hostel. We have been much impressed by the excellent nature of the Buildings and the equipment provided at the Institute and we are convinced that the accommodation and facilities available could be put to more extensive use in carrying out the intentions of the founder than is done at present. There are now three departments in working order namely, General and Organic Chemistry, Bio-Chemistry and Electrical Technology under present conditions and under existing methods of administration the several departments are practically full; there are 35 students in the department of General and Organic Chemistry, 8 in that of Bio-Chemistry, and 14 in that of Electrical Technology. The activities of the Institute, it will thus appear, are very diverse in scope and character and do not seem, at first sight, to be characterised by unity of plan and purpose. There is much industrial work done of a small factory type besides research work

chiefly on technological and sometimes on purely scientific subjects, and generally, as subsidiary to this, teaching work of undergraduate and post-graduate standard. Except in the department of Electrical Technology, no regular courses of systematic lectures and practical work are available. Students who pass through the course of training provided are eligible for the Certificate of the Institute, which is not necessarily awarded on the results of examinations; on the other hand, those who carry on research are eligible for the Associateship of the Institute. Since the opening of the Institute in 1911, 203 students have worked in the laboratories for varying periods; 42 of these have received the Certificate and 14 have been elected to the Associateship by the governing body. The income available for the support of the Institute is derived from the endowment created by the late Mr, Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata and from the grants made by the Government of India and the Mysore Durbar. Until the end of 1918, the annual income was about Rs. 2,50,000 but owing largely to the sale on advantageous terms of some of the properties included in the Tata endowment, the present income is Rs. 4,90,000 approximately; and it has been mentioned to us, that there is possibility of further increase by reason of appreciation of property values.

6. The evidence placed before us makes it abundantly clear that there exists, in many quarters, a strong feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction due to the present condition of the Institute. It has, indeed, been maintained that its work is carried on without definite aim, that it has achieved no definite position, and that it has not attained academic repute. On the other hand, the fact cannot be ignored that students from various parts of India have been eager to seek admission to the Institute, and that many of those who availed themselves of such training as was available here in the past have creditably filled positions of trust and responsibility in

connection with scientific and industrial work. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the Institute has lost in efficiency by reason of the fact that its policy and lines of development have never been defined with sufficient precision. The Institute has also suffered in reputation by reason of the conditions and circumstances under which private work has been undertaken by some members of the staff, though in most cases in accordance with the terms of their respective engagements. It has been represented to us further that the relations between the professors and the students in the past have not always been as cordial as could be desired; and as might have been anticipated, this circumstance also has injuriously affected the reputation of the Institute. Finally, some of the witnesses have commented adversely on the total absence of Indians from the superior staff of the Institute and have emphasised the need for what has been described as Indianisation of the institution. We have considered it necessary to investigate or enter into details of specific instances which, it has been suggested by some of the witnesses throw discredit on the past management of the Institute. We felt that no useful purpose would be served by any such attempt, specially as it is not within the scope of our enquiry to sit in judgment over the conduct of any individual, whether a member of the staff or of the governing bodies of the Institute. We are clearly of opinion that what is of real importance at the present time is to obtain a correct view of the general condition of the Institute as a whole, so that we may be able to suggest remedies for the removal of the defects which in the past have made it impossible for the Institute to fulfil the just expectations of the representatives of the founder, of other donors and of the educated public. We shall accordingly proceed to consider in the first place the fundamental question of policy and lines of development of the Institute, which must determine the most suitable type of constitution.

POLICY AND LINES OF DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTE.

7. For the purpose of determining the future policy and the lines of development of the Institute it is necessary to keep in mind the present position of post-graduate and research work in pure and applied science in India.

8. Although the standard of Indian scientific education is gradually rising and although a certain number of teaching institutions are producing students capable of immediately undertaking original research in science, our investigations have convinced us that the standard attained in many places is not yet so advanced as to fit students for undertaking original work. The majority of Indian students, in fact, terminate their college or university career at a point at which they have gained too little experience to enable them to commence research work with advantage. Under these conditions it cannot be doubted that a large proportion of the Indian youth endowed with such intellectual capacity as should enable them to participate in the development of pure and applied science cannot at present find facilities for that scientific training which will alone prepare them for a fruitful career in those subjects.

9. The Founder of the Institute, the late Mr. J. N. Tata, desired to establish an Institute of Research ; so far as our information goes, he introduced no limiting clauses in connection with his benefaction, but it is probably beyond dispute that he desired to build and endow an Institution which would provide Indian students with such facilities for work and training as would enable India to compete on equal terms with other countries as a producer of new knowledge and that he wished his Institute to aid Indian students to serve India in science and in technology. It cannot be doubted that under the conditions briefly stated above, the objects which the Founder had in mind will be best served by the provision of preliminary training in scientific methods and knowledge, supplementary to more elementary

scientific education, for the purpose of preparing selected individuals for careers based upon original work in either pure science or technology.

10. The previous paragraphs are intended as a brief statement of the case ; they probably contain no contentious matter and we are of opinion that their acceptance leads to one obvious conclusion. The present condition of undergraduate, post-graduate and scientific research work in India is such as to make it desirable that definite courses of instruction should be established in all departments of the Institute to serve as a kind of link between the student's previous work and research to which he intends ultimately to devote himself either in the Institute or elsewhere. Such courses of instruction should include lectures and practical work, should be noted in the calendar of the Institute and should form part of the course for the Certificate ; in their organisation special attention should be paid to the needs of the diverse classes of students drawn from other educational institutions. The need for such courses may perhaps diminish with the development of training in science throughout India and they may then be profitably replaced by courses of lectures and practical work in more advanced or in specialised subjects. Any attempt to divorce teaching from original work in science leads to degeneration in the character of either the teaching or the research. Paragraph 3 of the existing Regulations should accordingly be amended by specifying advanced instruction as an object of the institution in addition to original investigation.

11. In our opinion it is most undesirable that the activities of the Institute in connection with teaching and research, should be confined to matters which bear on the application of science to industry. We would point out that great numbers of scientific industries have originated in purely academic scientific work ; the same process of evolution will certainly lead to the establishment of important branches of technology which are not yet foreseen. Apart, however, from the fact that

applied science is largely founded on discoveries in pure science, it may be remarked that the exclusion of purely scientific research will inevitably narrow the workers and check the development of that scientific atmosphere which is so essential in such an organisation as the Institute. It is desirable that workers in pure science should be encouraged in the Institute and that their colleagues engaged upon technical problems should be able to enlist their knowledge and services.

12. So far we have laid stress on the need for providing courses of study in all departments of the Institute, supplementing those which the student has previously passed through; these courses of study are intended to fit the student to carry out original research in the Institute or elsewhere on some branch of pure or applied science. It may be anticipated that the value of the Certificate and of the diploma of Associateship of the Institute as professional qualifications will continue to appreciate and that this appreciation will be hastened by raising the standard and volume of the training provided and of the original work turned out from the laboratories. The governing body may then consider whether it is not desirable to permit former students to indicate their qualification, either as Associates or Fellows of the Institute, by some convenient abbreviation following their names. It will no doubt be possible for students who have graduated as bachelor or master in the science faculties of Indian universities to submit research work carried out in the Institute as theses for the doctorate in those universities.

13. It should be the duty of the staff, and indeed also of the members of the governing body who possess scientific or technical experience, to acquaint themselves with those needs of India which can be served by pure or applied scientific research and to make provision, in so far as may be possible, for the carrying out of such research in the Institute. As is well known, industries new to India have already been established as the result of investigations carried out in the Institute:

every effort should be made to stimulate work of this kind for the purpose of developing the resources of India and of creating positions and careers for Indian students who have received a sufficient scientific training. In this connection it is important that provision should be made in the Institute to accommodate suitable persons who may present themselves and desire to carry out independent research on problems which lie within the purview of the Institute; such persons, like the other workers in the Institute, would naturally be under the control of the Council.

APPLICATIONS OF INCREASED INCOME.

14. In considering whether in view of immediate and prospective increase in income it is desirable that the work of the Institute should be extended to additional branches of science, it is convenient first to lay down certain general principles and to draw up a scheme for the logical expansion of the Institute and secondly to determine what part of this scheme can be realised with the aid of the available funds.

15. We are of opinion that the most rapid and the most efficient method of rendering the Institute of greater service to India and its people will be found, not in the immediate introduction of additional branches of science, but in the expansion of those departments of the Institute which are of value. If novel branches of science are immediately introduced much time will necessarily be absorbed before the new departments exert their due influence whilst the expansion of existing departments should render them capable, in a comparatively shorter period, of providing facilities for training and research in science and technology comparable with those available in Europe. At the same time, needs of India in connection with other branches of science should not be overlooked, although it may not be possible to meet them until further sources of revenue are tapped.

16. The Department of Pure and Applied Chemistry is indubitably capable of playing a prominent part in developing the resources of India and in utilising the intelligence of the Indian youth in the service of their country. This Department should therefore be retained and reinforced in accordance with a carefully thought-out scheme.

17. A Department of Pure and Applied Chemistry should, in our opinion, be organised about the set of professorial chairs listed below :—

A. Section of Pure Chemistry,

1. General and Mineral Chemistry.
2. Organic Chemistry.
3. Physical Chemistry.

B. Section of Applied Chemistry.

4. Inorganic Chemical Technology.
5. Organic Chemical Technology.
6. Animal Physiological Chemistry.
7. Vegetable Physiological Chemistry.
8. Fermentation Industries.

18. It will be seen that any subject of a chemical nature likely to present itself for investigation will lie naturally within the scope of work of one or other of these professors. Thus problems in colloid chemistry call for study under 3 and for technological study under the appropriate section of applied chemistry ; should it be found desirable to initiate work on oils and fats this would be dealt with by 2 and by 5, possibly also by 8.

19. It is obvious that no institution dealing with the higher aspects of Chemistry, or of Electrical Technology, can be regarded as of satisfactory constitution unless it includes a strong department of Physics. Very rapid progress in pure and applied science is being made to-day in the border-land between Physics and Chemistry and the development of either of these two sciences is constantly calling for highly skilled assistance from the other. No department of Physics at

present exists in the Institute and it is very desirable that, as means permit, a number of chairs should be created in the various branches of pure and applied Physics; the establishment of these chairs and the efficient organisation of a large Physics Department will necessarily take a long time and involve a large expenditure. In the meantime it is fortunate that an active school of physical research is already in existence in Calcutta, but we are of opinion that one chair in General Physics should be created in the immediate future and that appropriate laboratory accommodation and equipment should be provided; we make this recommendation in view of a Department of Physics and of the fact that the existence of even one chair in Physics will facilitate the building up of a strong school in Physics when time and financial conditions are propitious. We therefore recommend the establishment of the following chair:—

9. General Physics.

20. The department of Electrical Technology contains a large amount of valuable equipment: many quite irreconcilable views have been placed before us concerning the abolition of this department and we are inclined to attribute this feature of the evidence to an unfortunate environment: the department stands in an isolated position with respect to the others. The branches of electrical technology dealt with in the Institute are of rather remote chemical importance and in consequence the two large sections of the Institute's work, chemistry and electrical technology, cannot mutually support one another. Further, contrary to usual custom, the department of Electrical Technology is not allied with a department of Mechanical Engineering and cannot, in consequence, command the very essential services of the various sections of a mechanical engineering school.

21. We are informed that the department of Electrical Technology draws many of its students from other Institutions in which both mechanical engineering and electrical technology

are taught; we must therefore conclude that it supplies a need in India. For this reason, and because it comprises a costly equipment of a character rarely available in this country we recommend that the department be maintained and the additions made which are requisite to bring its equipment up to date.

22. Although, in view of the great cost of installing a modern department of Mechanical Engineering and of the existence of other schools of mechanical engineering in India, it may be considered premature to discuss whether such a department should be created at Bangalore, we regard it as essential that certain chairs connected with engineering should be established. We would thus bring into existence a department of Applied Mechanics and Electrical Technology, comprising the following chairs :—

10. Applied Mechanics, including Water-Power Engineering.
11. Thermodynamics, and Heat Engines.
12. Electrical Technology.

23. We are of opinion that the establishment of the three departments of (*a*) Pure and Applied Chemistry, (*b*) Physics and (*c*) Applied Mechanics and Electrical Technology, in accordance with the scheme above described, would provide a set of laboratories and chairs, of which none would be isolated from and independent of the others, but all would be in a position to co-operate in training and research and in providing facilities, equal to those available in Europe, for preparing suitable young Indians for careers in many branches of pure and applied science.

24. We hope that in accordance with the obvious desire of the benevolent founder, it may in time be possible to bring the whole domain of natural science within the purview of the Institute. We therefore wish to emphasise our desire to devise a scheme by means of which certain departments already in existence may be strengthened; should it be possible to

convert but one of these into a department comparable in usefulness, standing of training and research, and of quality of student output, with others in Europe, an object lesson would be provided which should make easy the task of obtaining further endowment.

25. We consider that this scheme, whilst removing the element of departmental isolation, provides a framework into which further, though possibly remote, expansions of the activities of the Institute will fit quite naturally. Should it be desired later to introduce such subjects as metallurgy and economic geology the necessary chairs would find collaborators in the three departments already existing; if purely biological subjects, such as physiology and bacteriology, have later to be introduced their scope would be greatly widened by the constitution of the same three departments, which they would themselves also materially strengthen.

26. The set of professorial chairs may be grouped into three departments, as just described, for convenience of organisation, administration and supervision. Smoothness of working would be promoted if for the purposes last referred to, one professor in each department were officially recognised as its Head.

27. No attempt has been made to place the new chairs named in any order of urgency of creation; it will obviously be difficult to find immediately suitable candidates to fill all these chairs and, in any case, sufficient money is not yet in sight. We are of opinion that the availability of a thoroughly desirable candidature for any particular chair should determine the order in which the chairs are created rather than the possible urgency for dealing with any professorial subject in the Institute.

28. In this connection one further point requires to be accentuated. It is highly desirable that a proper architectural scheme should be drawn up for the arrangement and allocation of the buildings appertaining to the various sections of

the Institute. We are of opinion that the governing body should determine the manner in which the available land should be allocated and in which the necessary buildings should be disposed so as to utilise the amenities of the site to the best advantage and to serve to the utmost the mutual exigencies of the several departments of the Institute.

29. We have next to consider the question of the cost of organisation and maintenance of the departments mentioned above. There is already provision for what we have called, (2) Organic Chemistry, (3) Physical Chemistry, (8) Fermentation Industries, and (11) Electrical Technology. The cost of building and equipment in connection with the other proposed departments would be approximately as follows:—

	Rs.
(1) General and Mineral Chemistry ...	2,00,000
(4) Inorganic Chemical Technology ...	3,00,000
(5) Organic Chemical Technology ...	3,00,000
(6) Animal Physiological Chemistry ...	3,00,000
(7) Vegetable Physiological Chemistry ...	3,00,000
(9) General Physics ...	2,00,000
(10) Applied Mechanics, including Water- Power Engineering ...	3,00,000
(11) Thermodynamics and Heat Engines ...	4,00,000

The probable average cost of maintenance of each of the new departments would be approximately Rs. 60,000 per annum.

30. The budget estimates for the year 1921-22 show that the annual income at present is Rs. 4,90,000 under the following heads:—

	Rs.
Income from the Bombay properties ...	2,80,000
Grant from the Government of India ...	1,50,000
Grant from the Government of Mysore ...	50,000
Grant from the Government of Hyderabad ...	10,000
TOTAL ...	4,90,000

31. The total current expenditure in connection with direction, works and maintenance, the departments of General and Organic Chemistry, Bio-Chemistry and Electrical Technology, the Library, the Hostel, insurance and retiring allowances amounts to Rs. 3,60,000 approximately. The difference between the income previously stated and the current expenditure may thus be taken to be Rs. 1,30,000 annually. If two new departments are opened this annual surplus would be exhausted. As regards the sum available to meet the cost of building and equipment in connection with two such departments, we find from the budget estimate for 1921-22 that at the commencement of the session 1922-23 a sum of Rs. 3,64,000 approximately would be available. To this may be added a sum of Rs. 1,30,000 if we assume that no new developments will be undertaken till the commencement of the session 1923-24. The aggregate of these two sums, namely, Rs. 4,90,000 is likely to be available for what may be called capital expenditure in connection with two new departments. From this sum, however, about Rs. 90,000 should be set apart for the purpose of bringing up to date the equipment of the department of Electrical Technology. This will leave a sum of about Rs. 4,00,000 for two new departments. We are of opinion that the two new departments to be taken in hand should be one of Chemistry and one of Thermodynamics and Heat Engines.

32. Whilst the financial resources of the Institute actually in sight should suffice for the equipment and maintenance of the two new departments now suggested, we would emphasize our conviction that the success of the Institute demands the creation of a number of other new departments: these as described above, should work in close touch with each other and would be expected to mutually support one another. The inauguration of these departments in due course would remove the element now prevailing of departmental isolation which is, in our opinion, one of the main contributory obstacles to the progress of the Institute.

33. The establishment of all the new departments mentioned will involve a capital outlay of 20 or 25 lakhs and a large endowment for maintenance; we are of opinion that steps should be taken, in view of the important services which an expanded Institute could indubitably render in the development of the resources of India, to secure further financial support for the Institute. Sufficient has already been done in the Institute to show that the Founder's action was impelled by a very wise and far-sighted realization of the needs of the country and that, given amendments in methods of working and expansions in the field covered, such as those detailed in the present report, the institute will prove of almost limitless service to India and to Indians. To what extent the munificence of the Founder will stimulate the generosity of other potential private benefactors we cannot foresee but we would suggest that all the Indian provinces and states should be approached with a view to obtaining their co-operation, financial and otherwise, in the development of the Institute.

THE CONSTITUTION AND SCHEME OF MANAGEMENT.

34. We are of opinion that the Government, administration and general working of the Institute would be improved and facilitated by making the changes indicated below in the Consultation and Scheme of Management.

The management of the Institute should vest in—

- (a) The Visitor.
- (b) The Court and the Standing Committee of the Court.
- (c) The Council.
- (d) The General Board of Studies.

The Visitor.

35. His Excellency the Viceroy of India for the time being should be *ex-officio* the Visitor. The offices of Patron and of Vice-Patrons appear to be unnecessary and need not be retained.

The Court.

36. The Court should consist of the following persons, namely :—

Firstly.—Two nominees of the Government of India, rather than two representatives, as at present.

Secondly.—Two nominees of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

Thirdly, Fourthly, Fifthly, Sixthly, Seventhly.—Nominees of benefactors, described as in the existing scheme with the necessary verbal emendations.

Eighthly.—Persons appointed by the Visitor, not exceeding six in number.

Ninthly.—One nominee of the Government of each of the following Provinces, namely, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Burma.

Tenthly, Eleventhly, Twelfthly, Thirteenthly.—Persons appointed as directed in the existing scheme.

Fourteenthly.—One nominee of each of the Legislative Councils.

Fifteenthly.—All those members of the Council not otherwise nominated.

The Court should elect its own President and the Principal should act as Secretary both of the Court and of its Standing Committee.

The Council.

37. The Council should consist of the following persons, namely :—

1. One nominee of the Government of India who should be a person connected with a Scientific Department or Institution under the Imperial or a Local Government.

2. One nominee of the Indian Legislative Assembly.
3. Two nominees of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.
4. Two nominees of the Tata family, as provided in the existing scheme.
5. One nominee of the University of Calcutta.
6. Two nominees, selected in turn, of the Universities of Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad.
7. Two nominees, selected in turn, of the Universities of Benares, Patna, Hyderabad, Dacca, Aligarh, Rangoon and Lucknow.
8. The Principal of the Institute, who should act as Secretary.

38. It will be noted that the Central Government and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore would, under this scheme, each appoint two nominees; it may be expected that one of the latter two would be a nominee of the University of Mysore, and for this reason no further representation of this University is suggested.

The General Board of Studies.

39. The General Board of Studies, which would replace the existing Senate, should consist of the Principal of the Institute as Chairman, the Professors and such other member of the staff as the Council acting on the recommendation of the General Board of Studies may appoint.

Duties of the Governing and Administrative Bodies.

40. The suggestion has been made that, in view of the wide dispersion of members of the Court throughout India and the consequent difficulty of securing representative gatherings at the meetings, the Court should be abolished. Although in the past, no meetings of the Court have taken

place, we are of opinion that as the Institute grows in importance and productivity it will become increasingly easy to attract members of the Court to the meetings; in any case, the business of the Court can be transacted largely by correspondence and the Institute will certainly gain by association with a large number of those who are to the fore in the administrative, industrial and educational life of the country. It would seem preferable to request the various bodies concerned to appoint nominees, who might be expected to have some interest in common with the Institute rather than representatives who would participate to a lesser extent in the affairs of the Institute. We suggest further that the Legislative Councils should be asked to send nominees to the Court.

41. The Court should meet at stated intervals; at least once a year its duties should be to receive the report of the Council, and to move the Visitor in the manner indicated below.

42. We are of opinion that the Council, as the body responsible for the determination of matters of policy and for the finance of the Institute, and for the appointment of the staff, need not comprise Professors of the Institute. The Principal should be *ex-officio* a member of the Council and act as its Secretary: he should be the medium of communication between the Council and the General Board of Studies. The minutes of the Council should be communicated to meetings of the General Board of Studies and the minutes of the General Board of Studies should be presented for approval or comment to the Council at its meetings. The Council might advantageously refer certain questions to the General Board of Studies for examination and report and should be empowered to invite the attendance of Professors of the Institute at its meetings whenever desirable. The Council should elect annually its own Chairman, who should not be the Principal; its members should hold office for two

years and be eligible for re-appointment. The duties of the Council are sufficiently defined in the existing scheme, but it may be suggested that the quorum at a meeting of Council should be five members and that at a meeting of the General Board of Studies the quorum should be a majority of the members of the Board.

The Principal.

43. We are of opinion that the resident head of the Institute should be styled the Principal, this title being more in accordance with his duties and the dignity of the Institute than is the term Director. We consider it essential that the Principal, who will be the natural channel of communication with the Institute, should be a scientific man of eminence and of proved administrative capacity; no person, however capable he may be, can preside with intelligence and sympathy over the operations of the Indian Institute of Science if he is not himself steeped in scientific modes of thought and scientific aspirations. It is by no means necessary that the Principal should be distinguished in either of the branches of science at present housed in the Institute. Provided that he is eminent in one branch of natural science he will be competent to deal with scientific men engaged in the work of the Institute and to assist the Council in determining its policy and actions.

44. It will not be denied that the selection of a Principal will call for the exercise of great care and wise judgment. Apart from scientific and administrative qualifications the Principal, whether a European or an Indian, should be keenly and sympathetically interested in India, in its people and in the development of its resources; as the social and administrative head of the Institute he must be capable of gaining the confidence of students, not only in his own but in other institutions, and of the distinguished Indians with

whom he will have to deal. It thus seems almost essential that the Principal, when not an Indian, should have had considerable Indian experience.

45. In view of the difficulty of selecting a suitable Principal and of the paramount importance of a wise appointment, the following mode of appointment is suggested. The Council should appoint two Selection Committees, one in India and one in Great Britain, each consisting of five members, of whom three at least should be persons of high scientific standing. The terms of appointment should be advertised in India and in Great Britain and the names of applicants with their qualifications submitted for consideration to both Selection Committees. Both Selection Committees should be requested to consider the candidates, together with other possibly suitable persons who may not have sent in applications, and each to submit a name or names to the Council which should then consider the name or names forwarded by the two Selection Committees and after deliberation, recommend to the Visitor the appointment of one of the persons so named as Principal. In case of disapproval by the Visitor the Council should proceed to a fresh election. If it so desire, the Council might submit alternative names to the Visitor who from among them should make the final choice.

46. We are of opinion that the next Principal should be appointed for a term of five years, without any guarantee of re-appointment at the expiration of his term.

Professorial Appointments.

47. We are of opinion that future appointments to Professorial Chairs in the Institute should be made in a similar manner to that of the Principal. Two Selection Committees each consisting of five members, at least three of whom should be experts in branches of science allied to that

forming the subject of the chair, should be appointed by the Council, the one to sit in India and the other in Great Britain. The terms of appointment should be advertised both in India and in Great Britain and the names and qualifications of applicants placed before both Committees; after due consideration of the candidates who have made application, and of other persons who may be regarded as possibly suitable, each Committee should be requested to submit a name or names to the Council who should then deal with the appointment in the manner suggested above in connection with the appointment of the Principal.

48. In time, as the number of Indians suitable for appointments in the Institute increases, it may prove desirable to modify the procedure specified above as to the mode of election of the Principal and Professors; we are strongly of opinion that, his qualifications being sufficiently high, preference should be given to an Indian candidate and we express the hope that, in time, most or all of the posts will be occupied by Indians of high scientific or technological attainments.

49. The salaries of members of the staff, including the Principal, Heads of Departments and Professors, should be determined by the Council of the Institute as reconstituted, due regard being paid to the conditions prevailing when appointments have to be made.

Appointment of Readers.

50. In the natural course of events it will be found necessary to appoint readers to deal with specialised subdivisions of the main subjects of the several departments. Thus, in the Department of Chemistry such questions as catalysis and colloid chemistry may already be of sufficient importance to justify the appointment of readers to supervise and carry out training therein and to conduct research work

thereupon. Appointments of this kind should be made by the Council upon report from the General Board of Studies.

51. Should it not prove possible to find in India suitable candidates to fill all readerships in specialised subjects the following method of obtaining the services of temporary readers might be followed. Young lecturers, who are specialists in the subjects of the readerships might be borrowed from the large Science Departments of some of the Universities in Great Britain or elsewhere for short periods ; such men, if properly remunerated and provided with ample opportunities for research work, would welcome the opportunity of gaining experience in India and of training Indian students, provided that their home Universities could guarantee their subsequent re-instatement in positions appropriate to their increased scientific status. During his residence in Bangalore the reader should be able to select and train suitable Indian students to replace him on his return home. The English University would gain by receiving back, as teachers and investigators, men of widened outlook capable of dealing sympathetically with the Indian students who frequent the European institutions for training and research.

Leave and Furlough Allowances.

52. The leave rules now in operation, however suitable for a University, are not in our opinion adapted to the needs of an institution devoted largely to research. Under the existing system a total period of over four months in each year is assigned to vacations, the long vacation extending from the last Wednesday in March to the first Wednesday in July. The disadvantage of this to members of other educational institutions who may wish to take up research at the Institute is apparent : in normal circumstances they would be able to leave their own institutions only during the long vacation

and it is therefore desirable that all the facilities of the Institute should be available to them during that period. Even for the staff of the Institute itself a fixed vacation might be expected to prove inconvenient since an officer engaged on a specific problem which he could not complete before the beginning of the vacation would be compelled either to leave his work unfinished or to lose his holiday. We think, therefore, that it is undesirable to adopt the system of vacations prescribed for educational institutions of a somewhat different type and would prefer that the staff of the Institute should continue its normal activities throughout the year. Officers holding permanent appointments, whether as Principal, Professor, Reader or Assistant Professor, might be permitted to take leave from time to time on terms similar to those prescribed for scientific departments of the Government of India. In the case of short-term appointments, we would recommend the grant of one month's leave per annum on full pay, such leave being cumulative up to a total period of six months. In the matter of sick leave for such officers, the rules at present in force, as laid down in the fourth paragraph of by-law 47, might continue to apply.

Claims by External Bodies on Services of Staff.

53. It will be at once obvious that if outside bodies or persons, including Governments and Administrations, exercise any claim upon the professional services of the professorial staff of the Institute, grave difficulties will immediately arise connected with what may be termed the regular work of the staff, namely, the training of students and the prosecution and direction of research work. In a country like India, which is doubtless on the eve of great developments in its natural resources, and which does not as yet command in its industries the services of technologists in all the branches of scientific industry which will be established in the near future, it is

conceivable that the interests of the country may be best served by utilising for specific investigations the services of one or other members of the staff of the Institute. We are, however, of opinion that unless imperative necessity demands, it is undesirable that members of the staff of the Institute should be drafted away to deal with outside problems which may present themselves to Indian Governments and Administrations. The duty of the scientific staff consists in carrying out research work within the confines of the Institute and in training students to a career of research ; the staff should thus become valuable agents in enabling Indians to contribute to the expansion of the technological work of their country. Whilst urgent necessity may demand that certain members of the staff be called to the service of outside bodies, it should be laid down as a principle that no such disturbance of the work of the Institute as would be entailed in such a transference of personnel may be permitted except under exceptional circumstances ; each case of this nature would call for the consideration of the Council and should be dealt with on its merits.

Research Work of the Institute.

54. Apart from such possibilities as those just indicated in which the professional services of the staff may be given to some outside body or persons, it may be anticipated that in the future, as in the past, problems of a technical character which are of such a kind as can be advantageously investigated in the Institute's laboratories will be presented to, or may present themselves to, the staff of the Institute. The institute may be expected to render valuable service to India by the carrying out of such investigations ; the financial return from one only of the numerous pieces of technical research done in the Institute, that, namely, on the manufacture of sandalwood oil, has been very large. Propositions for investigation

of subjects of this kind should be considered by the Council, possibly on a report from the Board of Studies, and a decision arrived at as to whether the work will fit in with the other work of the Institute.

55. If the investigation is one which can be satisfactorily carried out in the Institute and is for the exclusive service of some outside body or persons, the expenses incurred should be defrayed by the party which benefits and a fee should be charged in addition. The investigation may, however, be of value to the community as a whole and its cost should then fall upon the financial resources of the Institute ; grants-in-aid would probably be made by outside authorities should the cost of the work be heavy.

56. All fees and monies received in connection with research or investigations carried out in the Institute should be the property of the Institute and no part thereof should be used as a reward for any member of the staff ; naturally, it would in part be used in payment of salaries to assistants.

Professional Fees.

57. It has been suggested to us that any fees received for such work should be paid, either in part or wholly, to the Professor and staff who actually carry out the work. The question thus raised is a very difficult one and has exercised the authorities of many institutions all over the world. We are of opinion that the only solution of the problem is to be found in paying satisfactory salaries to the technical staff and in discountenancing any participation by them in the receipts. Should members of the staff receive any portion of the fees, as apart from their salaries, it will be impossible to prevent the dissemination, often in an exaggerated form, of charges of venality. In so far as the work done can be made of value as a training in methods and processes, the students of the Institute should be engaged

upon it; in this way men can be fitted for employment in any industry which is involved. Care would naturally be taken that students should not be employed on work possessing no educational value such, for instance, as the prolonged repetition of some routine operation.

Private Practice.

58. Considerations similar to the foregoing lead us to the conviction that the higher staff should not accept private practice involving work to be carried out in the Institute's laboratories; no matter what precautions are taken, charges of unfair treatment will continually arise if the resources of the Institute are used for the financial benefit of an individual apart from his salary.

59. It may perhaps seem at first sight unfair that the head of a Department should not share in fees received by the Institute on account of work which he has done and that he should be debarred from private practice in the Institute. We may point out, however, that as it becomes known that a particular individual has been instrumental in the development of industrial processes his value as a consultant will appreciate; no objection can be taken to his accepting, subject to the approval of the Council, private consulting practice which involves no experimental work. The Council will recognise the danger which attaches to permitting private consulting practice associated with investigations in progress in the Institute.

Publication and Patents.

60. Work carried out at the request of some outside party and paid for by him must be regarded as the property of the party concerned and his wishes respected as regards publication.

61. The question of patents taken out on discoveries made in the Institute is a difficult one. It must be remembered that frequently a scientific discovery remains unapplied because no particular party hold such a monopoly in the process, by patent or otherwise, as will justify the sinking of capital; for the development of the industrial resources of India it may thus be essential that patents should be held. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the major proportion of patents taken out are valueless and that an inducement to the subscription of capital for the exploitation of an invention which ultimately proved valueless would be provided if the Institute or one of its higher officials were a party to the patent application. The circumstances which may arise are so intricate that no general scheme can be devised to cover all contingencies; each specific case which arises should be laid before the Council who must consider it and deal with it on its merits.

62. The mention of Copyright in the terms of Reference can only apply to books written by members of the staff; the Institute should have no claim to the profits drawn from sale of such works and the author should enjoy any profits which may accrue.

Industrial Operations.

63. One further point arises in the above connection. It is clearly desirable that the Institute, while promoting to the utmost of its power the applications of technical science to industry and commerce, should in no way become industrialised or commercialised. In any technical investigation a stage is reached, whilst success is being attained, at which the laboratory study or the small works experiments are ready to be transferred to the factory; the commercial interest in general comes in at this point. It would seem indicated that at this point the Institute should cease its participation

in the subject; means should be found for transferring the work at this stage to some commercial firm, which might conceivably employ the members of the staff in a purely consultative capacity.

64. We are of opinion that the Council should exercise care not to accept for study problems which involve mere investigation of detail or large numbers of routine analyses; if they do not already exist, commercial firms of industrial and consulting chemists perfectly capable of dealing with such problems will doubtless be established in due course in India. With a new department of General and Mineral Chemistry, the Institute should be capable of training the men requisite for establishing and carrying on such firms. No subjects for investigation should be undertaken in the Institute but those demanding the exercise of such scientific knowledge, acumen and experience.

ASSOCIATION OF THE INSTITUTE WITH OTHER ACADEMIC, OFFICIAL AND LEARNED BODIES.

65. The co-ordination of the work of the Institute with that of the Indian Universities, now so rapidly extending their activities, should be, in part, effected by the suggested representation of those universities on the Council of the Institute. It should also be expected that the Principal would take an active part in disseminating information concerning the work of the Institute and in arousing interest therein; the Principal should be provided with a sufficient subordinate staff to deal with all his routine affairs so that he should have leisure to visit local Governments and Indian States and, by delivering addresses and writing articles, to create a well-informed public opinion concerning the functions of the Institute. The Journal of the Institute, which now serves for the publication of the results of research carried out in the Institute, might profitably be expanded by the occasional

publication of papers of broad scientific interest on research work done in other institutions in India or elsewhere.

66. The Society of Chemical Industry has its office in London and has local sections all over Great Britain, in New York and in all the larger parts of the British Empire with the exception of India. The Institute would serve a useful purpose by organising an Indian Section of the Society of Chemical Industry at the meetings of which papers on Indian technical chemistry could be read and discussed and subsequently forwarded for publication in the Journal of the Society.

67. The policy should be continued of encouraging members of the staff at the senior research workers of the Institute to interest themselves in the Indian Science Congress and to take part in its meetings; whenever desirable, money grants should be made towards the expenses incurred by members of the Institute in attending the meetings of the Congress.

68. In connection with the desirability of stimulating interest in the work of the Institute it should be remarked that the proximity of the Institute to Mysore and the constituent Colleges of the University of Mysore confers considerable advantages upon the latter. The excellent scientific library of the Institute should be a valuable asset to the State and University of Mysore by reason of the facilities which it can place at the service of the large number of scientific men engaged in official and academic work in one or another capacity in the State.

69. In order to prevent undue duplication of research work of a descriptive character, it is desirable that an annual report on the research problems under investigation and in contemplation in the Institute should be forwarded to the Indian Boards of Scientific Advice.

THE ADMISSION AND TRAINING OF STUDENTS.

70. Students desirous of entering the Institute at present fill up an application form with credentials; each application is considered by the Head of the Department concerned and dealt with by the Senate on his recommendation. In view of the diverse conditions of training of the candidates this method of admission to the Institute appears to be satisfactory. Care should be taken to distribute information concerning the courses of study available in the Institute throughout all the Universities and scientific institutions in India for the purpose of ensuring the supply of properly qualified candidates; the Indian Universities might be requested to participate further in the work of the Institute by nominating suitable candidates for admission. Most of the candidates for admission to the Institute make application for the award of an Institute Scholarship carrying with it a maintenance allowance which has recently been raised to Rs. 70 per mensem. During the last few years it has only been possible to admit about one-fifth of the applicants.

71. Of the 57 students now working in the Institute, 26 hold Institute Scholarships and 12 hold Scholarships from the various local Governments. In view of the large number of applicants for admission and of the continuous rise in their standard of previous training, it is desirable that the number of available grants-in-aid, in the shape of scholarships and the like, should be increased.

72. At present a subsistence allowance of Rs. 70 per mensem is made to students working in the Institute; it is generally agreed that this allowance is not more than sufficient to cover really essential expenses. We suggest that students undergoing a course of training in the Institute should be eligible for Bursaries of Rs. 75 per mensem, renewable, on-

satisfactory reports from the General Board of Studies, up to a total tenure of two, or, in special cases, of three, years : that students having reached the stage at which they are capable of engaging upon research work under supervision and direction, should be eligible for Institute Scholarships of Rs. 100 per mensem tenable for three years : and that students capable of carrying out independent research work should be eligible for Institute studentships of Rs. 200 per mensem tenable for three years. It is, of course, not contemplated that only holders of Bursaries shall be eligible for Scholarships and Studentships.

73. In the previous pages of this report we have made suggestions as to the need for systematic courses of lectures and practical instruction as part of the training in research.

74. It is highly desirable that men trained in the Institute should be eligible for appointment to the professorial staff in due course, but it is not ordinarily desirable that any of the more responsible positions on the professorial staff should be filled by men who have had no experience other than in the Institute. Care should therefore be taken to induce young men of promise to take up positions in other institutions after having spent a number of years in the Institute ; the external experience and the broader outlook which they would thus acquire should materially improve their qualifications for appointment to the staff of the Institute.

THE HOSTEL.

75. The hostel at the Institute is at present capable of housing 60 students ; the quarters, however, are only suitable for single men and no arrangements are available for the accommodation of married men accompanied by their families. All students who join the Institute have reached an age at which most Indians are already married. At present married students must either leave their families at home or find

accommodation in Bangalore; owing to the distance of the Institute from the city, the latter course is both inconvenient and costly and we recommend that a certain number of married quarters should be provided at the Institute. Quarters are also urgently required for the junior members of the staff.

76. No satisfactory grounds have been advanced before us for retaining the office of Warden of the Hostel; in fact, it would seem desirable that young men of the age of the students of the Institute should be themselves entrusted with the charge and administration of their own domestic affairs.

77. There are at present about 300 persons living within the grounds of the Institute and this number may be expected to be considerably increased in the future. It is important that every care should be taken to safeguard the health of this community and we would suggest that arrangements be made to provide hospital accommodation and medicines locally, and that a medical officer such as an Indian Hospital Assistant, should be permanently on the spot. In addition to this, the best medical advice to be had in Bangalore should be available whenever required.

78. The isolated situation of the Institute, its distance from Bangalore and the lack of railway or other convenient communications, renders it essential that in the matter of recreation the Institute should be self-contained. A football and cricket ground and tennis courts are already provided, while a small room in the hostel is used as a reading room and supplied with a certain number of papers provided by the Institute. No real facilities at present exist for that social intercourse between staff and students which is regarded as essential in all academic institutions. We are of opinion that further amenities are urgently required and would recommend the formation of a gymkhana club, at which staff and students should be able to meet daily. This will involve the provision of a suitable building, including a reading room furnished with an ample supply of newspapers and magazines. It is

not likely that the majority of the students will be in a position to make any very appreciable contribution to the upkeep either of the club or of the materials required for their games, and we feel that it is necessary that the annual budgets of the Institute should include liberal grants for these purposes.

COMMITTEES OF ENQUIRY.

79. The progress of a young institution of a character entirely new to India calls for the continual interest of those responsible for its development, not necessarily for purposes of criticism but rather in order to determine in what ways its usefulness to the community may be extended. We are therefore of opinion that the Visitor should appoint a Committee of Enquiry each five years with the duty of drawing up a report on the state of the Institute. The Visitor should be empowered to appoint such a Committee at any time when it seems desirable, either of his own motion or on the representation of the Standing Committee or of five members of the Court. The orders of the Visitor upon such report shall be final.

80. We recommend that the present Report be published in such manner as the Government of India may determine.

81. In conclusion we desire to express our appreciation of the assistance which we have received from Dr. Alfred Hay, the Secretary to the Committee.

OLD VARENDRA AND NECESSITY OF EXCAVATION¹

Is it not rather singular that a native of Maharashtra should stand this afternoon before the people of Varendra? Up till recently the Marathas were known as *Vange Vargi*, and a drama of this title, I am told, is still being staged at Calcutta. The Vargis of the old times stopped where West Bengal separated itself from East Bengal. But things have rapidly changed. I am reminded of a wise saying of Aśoka, the greatest king of the Mauryan Dynasty. He exhorts his descendants to give up all idea of *vijaya* or terrestrial conquest and pursue instead *Dharma-vijaya* or conquest through the spread of religion, because such a conquest is replete with love and can be obtained not only over his neighbours in India but also over the Greek princes who then held extensive dominions in West Asia and Africa. When the Vargis were actuated by hostile intentions, they could go as far only as the Ganges. Now that the bellicose propensities have been replaced by peaceful motives of Ancient Indian History and Culture, it is possible for one Vargi, that is myself, to cross the Ganges and stand amidst you; and for another Vargi, that is, the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, Archæological Survey, to cross not only the Karatoyā but also the Brahmaputra.

There are many characteristics of Varendra, physical and social, which appeal to a Maratha. The climate of Varendra appears to me to be the driest in the whole of Bengal, and, if I am not mistaken, of the divisions of this province it is Varendra which consists of laterite soil. The whole of the last month, we spent in excavating a site at Paharpur which is in this District. Nowhere in Bengal I experienced and

appreciated such dry climate. In fact, I was, to a certain extent, reminded of my Poona. The country of Mahārāshṭra, again, consists almost as much of laterite as of trap rock. At Paharpur again my tent was close beside that of Kumar Saratkumar Ray of Dighapatiya and I had occasion to taste many dishes of *Varendra-randhana* prepared under his expert supervision, and I assure you that they were so like the Marāṭhā dishes that I could not for a long time believe that they were Bengalee. It is not, however, with these characteristics that the similarity of Mahārāshṭra to Varendra ends. Mahārāshṭra has a most ancient history and abounds with antiquarian remains. The most pre-eminent of these are the caves which are one of the wonders of India. Evidently Varendra also has a most ancient history and is full of ancient remains.

It is scarcely necessary to tell the people of Varendra that their country was at first known as Puṇḍra. The earliest reference to any province of Bengal in Vedic literature is of course to Puṇḍra. Some of you at least know the story mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The sage Viśvāmitra adopted Śunahśepa as his son and named him Devarāta, much to the chagrin of fifty of his sons, who were consequently cursed by their father to "live on the borders" of the Aryan country. The descendants of these sons of Viśvāmitra's formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus and were variously known. And one such Dasyu people that has been named is the Puṇḍras. If we read the legend aright, it indicates that even the scions of such an illustrious hymn-composing family as that of Viśvāmitra migrated as far eastward as North Bengal and mixed with the people. The Aryan culture however was not adopted so early by the Puṇḍras. We are aware of what Baudhāyana, author of a Dharmasāstra, says about the inhabitants of countries outside the Aryan pale. "He who has visited," says he, "the (countries of the) Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vāṅgas, and Kalingas shall offer a Puṇahśh-toma or Sarvapriṣṭhi." A ban was thus placed upon the

migration of the Aryans to these provinces, and one of these provinces, as we have seen, is Puṇḍra. This is, however, by no means to the discredit of Varendra, because that unmistakably shows that North Bengal had a civilisation of its own, and consequently for a long time successfully resisted the introduction and absorption of foreign culture, be it Aryan or Non-Aryan. Aryan culture rapidly spread all over North India, but, when it came to East India, it was adopted early by Magadha, Aṅga and even Suhma, that is, by Bihar and West Bengal, but not by Puṇḍra and Vaṅga, that is, by North and East Bengal. Thus when Buddha lived and preached, the whole of East India became Aryanised except Puṇḍra and Vaṅga. Why did Puṇḍra resist this wave of Aryan culture? Were the people of North Bengal barbarians, so low in the scale of civilisation? That is however just the reason why they should forthwith have adopted the Aryan culture. Do we not find, for instance, that in somewhat later times when the barbarians poured into India, horde after horde, scarcely half a century elapsed before they adopted not only some Indian religion or another but also Indian names. Such was the case with the Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas about the beginning of the Christian era. Even the cultured self-sufficient Yavana or Greek could not resist the irresistible charm of Hindu civilization, as most of us know. If the Puṇḍra people were barbarians just when the Aryan civilization deluged the countries of Magadha, Aṅga and Suhma, that is precisely the reason why it should have been forthwith adopted by them. Are we then to suppose that the Ganges and the Padmā formed a formidable barrier as it did to the Mārāthās in later times? But the Mārāthās harboured hostile and selfish motives, and the people of North and East Bengal could therefore offer them successful resistance by means of the natural barriers, that is, the rivers Padmā and Ganges, which constituted their western boundary. But here the motive was entirely of a peaceful nature, namely, the dissemination of Aryan culture. The

rivers Padmā and Ganges again offered no insuperable difficulty to the Aryan migration. For we have seen that an Aryan colony under the descendants of Visvāmitra had already been planted in Puṇḍra. What was the cause, then, of the protracted penetration of Aryan culture into Puṇḍra? The only reply is that North Bengal had a civilization of its own and was therefore slow in adopting the foreign Aryan culture. Quite in keeping with this is the fact that North Bengal had acquired commercial importance and specialised in the manufacture of silk fabrics long before Kauṭilya, Prime-minister of the first Mauryan king Chandragupta, lived and wrote his Arthaśāstra, that is, long before the 4th century B.C. It is curious, nevertheless it is perfectly true, that silk was much in vogue in ancient times, perhaps so than cotton cloth even. How common silk was may be seen from the fact that Bharata wears a silk dress when he leaves his capital Ayodhyā and meets Rāma in the forest; and, what is stranger still is that Sītā herself is clad in silk not only when she is in the Daṇḍaka forest, but also when she is "surrounded and oppressed by her *chētis*, suffering from the pangs of separation from her dear lord." This clearly shows how prominently silk dress figured in those days. There were again three principal kinds of silk stuff, called *dukāla*, *kshauma* and *patrorṇū*. Each kind again had more than one variety, according to the difference of texture, colour and size. Take now the silk fabric which was known as *dukāla*. We find that it was manufactured not only in Vaṅga and Suvarṇakudya but also in Puṇḍra. The silk product called *kshauma* was manufactured at Kāśī and Puṇḍra. But the finest silk fabric was *patrorṇū*, that is, 'wool from leaves.' Here Puṇḍra shared the honour of manufacturing it along with Magadha and Suvarṇakudya. Is it not clear from this that all the three recognised kinds of silk were manufactured in Puṇḍra alone? Will it not be a source of pride to you all to learn that in the 4th century B.C. and earlier Puṇḍra was a centre of silk industry and that all the principal varieties of

silk fabrics such as *dukūla*, *kshauma* and *patrorṇā* were manufactured in Puṇḍra alone ? But where in North Bengal do you now find this industry flourishing ? It seems to be well nigh defunct now in Puṇḍra unless you are prepared to say that Puṇḍra originally included the modern provinces of Murshidabad and Rajmahal, which is however an impossibility as they are on the other side of the Ganges.

In the mediæval period Puṇḍra which was so long the name of a people was known as Puṇḍravardhana and as the name of a country and its capital. But such was the importance acquired by the name that it continued to be the name of a political division, whatever dynasty ruled over it. In the Gupta period which extended from the 4th to the 6th century A.D. the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* or division and the Koṭivarsha *rishaya* or district were well-known. In the time of the Pālas and the Senas who held sway from the 8th to the 12th century Puṇḍravardhana division continued to be known and further in this period we hear not only of the Koṭivarsha district but of two more districts, namely Mahantāprakāśa and Sthālīkkatā. Each of these districts again was split up into a number of subdivisions known as *maṇḍala*.

About the middle of the 7th century came to India a Chinese Buddhist named Yuan Chwang who in his pilgrimage visited all the places of Buddhist importance existing or known in his time. He crossed the Ganges and reached the country of *pu-n.-a-fa-tan-na*, which obviously corresponds to Puṇḍravardhana. The country, he tells us, had a flourishing population. Tanks, hospices and flowery groves alternated here and there ; the land was low and moist, and crops were abundant. In this land of Puṇḍravardhana he came across one fruit, the jack-fruit, which struck him as so curious that he describes it in detail. He gives its Sanskrit name *panasa*, and says that this fruit, though plentiful, is highly esteemed. I do not know whether the jack-fruit still continues to be a favourite fruit with the people of Varendra. However, let us pass on to description given of it by Yuan Chwang. The

panasa fruit, says he, "is as large as a pumpkin. When it is ripe, it is of a yellowish red colour. When divided, it has in the middle many tens of little fruits of the size of a pigeon's egg; breaking these, there comes forth a juice of a yellowish red colour and of delicious flavour. The fruit sometimes collects on the tree branches as other clustering fruits, but sometimes at the tree roots, as in the case of the earth-growing *fu-ling*" or what is called the China root. Many of us have eaten the jack-fruit and many a time, but has it occurred to any of us to analyse and describe it? I allow the people of Varendra if they so desire it, to congratulate themselves on such an insignificant thing as the jack-fruit having elicited such rapturous encomium from the Chinese traveller. But I will proceed further with the description of Yuan Chwang. The climate of the Puṇḍravardhana country, says he, is temperate, and *the people esteem learning*. Three religions were flourishing in this province. Both the sects of Buddhism were flourishing in his time in Varendra. This is but natural. Some hundred Brahmanical temples also were in existence. That also need not surprise us, because from Damodarpur copper-plates found in Varendra it was already clear that Brahmanism had made headway in the Gupta period. But what is noteworthy is that in the time of the Chinese pilgrim the naked Nirgranthas or the Digambara Jainas were the most numerous in the province. Where are these Jainas now? What has become of them? Yuan Chwang certainly has not fallen into a blunder. For even such an early Jaina work as the *Kalpa-sūtra* informs us that one *Śākhā* or branch of Gidāsagaṇa is named Puṇḍravardhaniyā after Puṇḍravardhana. So Jainism has now completely disappeared from Varendra. What cataclysms time works in the history of a country!

Whether you deserve or require congratulations on Yuan Chwang's panegyric of the jack-fruit of Varendra I do not know, but I cannot help congratulating Varendra, when he says that its people respected learning. This is by no means

a small tribute of respect paid by a foreigner to the intellect of a people. Is it in any way exaggerated? I think not. Who has not heard of the poem *Rāmā-charita* written by Sandhyākara Nandi? It is composed on the model of the *Rāghava-Pāñḍarīya*. Interpreted in one way it narrates the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Interpreted in another way it gives a connected history of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty. The importance of this work for the history of Bengal in the 11th and 12th centuries is unquestionable, and it is practically a contemporary record. The author of this work is a son of Prajāpati Nandi, Minister of Peace and War of Rāmapāla. But from where did he hail? Of course, from Puṇḍravardhana, the principal town of Varendra as he proudly tells us. The author was not only a poet but a linguist, and his poem is a highly meritorious production. Take another instance. Students of the ancient history of Bengal are aware who Ballāla Sena was. What has made him famous and what will hand down his name to posterity is his *Dāsa-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*. The former of these works Ballāla Sena compiled at the instance of his *guru* or preceptor, Aniruddha. Aniruddha was himself the author of several ritual works and was a great authority on Veda and Smṛiti. But to what country did he belong? Doubtless Varendrī. Take a third instance if you like, I mean, that of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa who wrote a commentary on Manu. You know I believe what Sir William Jones has said of Kullūka's gloss. "It is the shortest yet the most luminous," says he, "the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern, European or Asiatic." Such was the merit of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa, and he too was a native of Varendrī.

Varendra was thus renowned in ancient times for learning and supplied court poets and preceptors to kings. It is not again in the sphere of humanities, of literature and ritual, that Varendra had made itself prominent. In the domain of Art also Varendra had established a school of her own. In

your own district there is a village called Deopārā where was found an inscribed slab which is now deposited in the Indian Museum. It is a *praśasti* or panegyric in honour of Vijaya-Sēna of the Sena family. The author of it is no less a poet than Umāpati Dhara who has been immortalised by Jayadeva. The concluding verse of the *praśasti* informs us that it was inscribed by Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi who is said to be the *Vārendraka-śilpi-goshṭhi-chūḷamaṇi*, the crest jewel of the guild of Vārendra artisans. This indicates in the first place that early in the Sena period there was a guild of sculptors in Varendra, and secondly, what is important here to note is that Śūlapāṇi, who was the head of that guild, was a Rāṇaka. If you refer to the copper-plate grants of the Pāla and Sena kings, you will see that Rāṇaka or Rājānaka was a feudatory title like those of Rājā and Rajpūt. Śūlapāṇi was thus a fairly big Zemindar, and it is interesting to note that the pursuit of art was in those days looked upon as such an honourable and lucrative profession that an artist of exceptional genius could rise to the respectable position of a Zemindar. Freshness and originality of art was not the exclusive characteristic of the Sena period. From Tāranātha's "History of Buddhism in India," it appears that even in the time of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, that is, in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., there were two artists, father and son, called Dhīmān and Bitpālo, who established a new school not only in works of cast metal but also in sculpture and painting. It was known as the Eastern or Magadhan school and replaced the old West school not only in East India but also in Nepal. And here too Varendra has the honour of being the original home of these artists.

If the history of this country thus runs up to a very early period, it is natural to expect that it abounds with the ruins of old monuments. The Archaeological Department has been in existence for the last three quarters of a century, but no exhaustive inventory of its ancient remains has yet been published. What however the Archaeological

Department was not able to do for long was long ago undertaken by three sons of Bengal, two of whom you are aware are natives of Varendra itself. The foremost of these is Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray who belongs to a Zemindar family to which Rajshahi is indebted for almost all educational and charitable institutions and who has inherited from his illustrious father a passion for the antiquities and ancient history of India. It was he who first started the systematic exploration of Varendra land on his own elephant with a view to examine and collect objects of archaeological interest and was speedily joined and actively helped by Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, C.I.E., and Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda. Of the latter Maitra is a typically Varendra surname, and although his forefathers migrated away to Nuddea, he himself has now returned and found a home in Varendra land. Nobody can beat Akshay Babu in his pride and love for Varendra.

Kumar Bahadur, in the company of these scholars, visited a number of ancient sites including even that at Paharpur where we excavated. He also inspected a number of old images which, although they were priceless objects of art, were lying utterly neglected, and most enthusiastically bore all the expense of carrying them to Rajshahi. There was thus a big collection of sculptures and images here and consequently the next logical step was the foundation of a Museum and a Society at Rajshahi called Varendra Research Society. And at this stage the public-spirited and generous Varendra, Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, again came forward with a sufficiently big donation to construct a building that now serves the purpose of both the Museum and the Society. The Museum offers much scope for research work in the field of iconography at least, and as the creation of some Lecturerships out of the money bequeathed by another member of the Dighapatia House is in contemplation, let us hope that there will be at least one lectureship solely devoted to those courses which have been prescribed by the Calcutta University for the promotion of the Ancient History of India. The Museum and

the Rajshahi College are close beside each other, and it is only in this way that a healthy co-operation is possible between the two institutions that will conduce to real research work in this field.

It is thus sufficiently clear how ancient the history of this country is and what a glorious past it had. But it is also clear that much of this history has been lost. It is a grievous loss, indeed. But how are we to make it good? How, in other words, are we to reconstruct it? One way, of course, is to collect and critically study all the monuments of Varendra. These monuments are being critically examined by the members of the Varendra Research Society, and the result is that we have a number of publications, such as the *Gaṇḍa-lekha-mālā*, *Gaṇḍa-rāja-mālā*, *Indo-Arym Races*, and so forth, brought out at Kumar Bahadur's expense, which are all scholarly productions and have won the esteem of scholars in Europe also. Some of these have so much caught the people's imagination that almost all copies have been sold off. The monuments of Varendra have also been collected and well exhibited in your Museum. They also require a careful study. One instance ought to suffice here. I have already told you that in the time of Yuan Chwang the Digambara Jainas were more numerous than the followers of Hinduism. But at present Jainism has been completely wiped out of Varendra. Go however to the Museum, and you will see at least one Jaina image, that of naked Śāntinātha, brought from Mandoil in the Godāgarī Thana. And if the province of Varendra is more systematically explored, more such sites of Jaina importance will be forthcoming.

But there is a limit to everything. And unfortunately for Bengal very few monuments of the pre-Muhammadan period are on the surface now. Vandalism has been going on for centuries. One class of vandilists was, of course, the villagers, who invariably exploited ancient sites to secure bricks for their dwellings. Of course, the people of Rajshahi must have heard of the archaeological site at Paharpur from where we have just returned. Only two years ago, one of the mounds on

this site was broken open mercilessly by one Samir Sonar for securing bricks for his house. Out of evil sometimes cometh good, and this local vandalist in his diggings lighted upon an inscription which was brought to the notice of our friend, Akshay Babu, by Babu Sreeman Maitra of the Balihar raj. Spoliation of this kind has been going on for centuries. But perhaps the worst sinners in this respect are the railway contractors who find in ancient sites so many rich mines for bricks. If you read Cunningham's Report dealing with Bengal, you will find in his description of the Varendra sites how exceedingly he regrets the wholesale and wanton destruction that was being wrought by these contractors who carried away cartloads of bricks to serve as ballast. The result of all this vandalism is that very few monuments of the pre-Muhammadan age are to be found intact on the surface.

What can be our course of action under these circumstances? If very few vestiges of ancient structures have been preserved above ground, the only way open to us, is of course to excavate and go below ground. What important results have accrued from excavations is probably known to some here. At the outset, however, let me tell you that nowhere in India and especially in Bengal excavation will ever be so fruitful as in Egypt. In India it never rains but pours. Rain is a great destructive agent which never allows in India any monuments embedded in earth to remain without disintegration. In Egypt, on the other hand, it does not even rain but merely drizzles, and the soil there is all sandy which effectively preserves monuments buried therein. If we want to know a province nearer home which is as good for excavation as Egypt, it is Chinese Turkestan. Nevertheless excavations even in India have yielded interesting and sometimes even sensational results. It was excavation which told us the exact spot where Buddha was born. It was excavation which enabled us to identify the *stūpa* erected by the Kushana emperor, Kanishka, over the relics of Buddha. It was excavation which conclusively proved that the Indians could manufacture

fireproof bricks in the Gupta period, prepare genuine steel in the second century B.C. and grind chunam mortar, even earlier, which was superior to that known to the Romans. No sane man can doubt or has doubted the necessity of excavating ancient sites for the purpose of reconstructing the ancient history of India. It was with this object in view that the site at Paharpur was selected long long ago by the V. R. Society for excavations. It was at this place that Cunningham wanted to excavate 40 years ago but was prevented by the Zemindar of Balihar. But it is at this site that I excavated last month.

The Paharpur site consists of a central mound enclosed by four long boundary walls. To excavate such a big area is a costly affair. Thanks however to the generosity of Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray he has promised an annual gift of Rs. 2,500 for a period of five years. The Director General of Archaeology also supplemented Kumar Bahadur's gift last February by a sum of Rs. 2,000. The monetary difficulty was thus solved for this year at least. And I was asked by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, to take up this excavation as I had done such work at Besnagar, Nagari and so forth. There was thus a *tri-veṇi-saṅgama*, and the operations were started on the 3rd March. It was an extensive site that I was called upon to excavate, and the question arose at what spot exactly to commence the operations. Just a while ago I told you that one Samir Sonar dug here for bricks and found an inscription. The inscribed stone is in this Museum and is for inspection at any time. It clearly informs us that a pillar was set up by one Daśabalarāgha, because he took delight in *Tri-ratna*. The word *Tri-ratna* is important, and shows that it was a Buddhist site which we were going to tackle. When Cunningham came to the site, he found some terra-cotta sculptures apparently representing the skeleton goddess Kali, and was therefore under the impression that it was a Hindu temple. The new inscription however left no doubt as to the site being a Buddhist one. The inscription is not dated, but from the form of its letters it can safely be assigned to the 12th century A. D. Here was

therefore a distinct clue afforded to us, and lines for two trenches were laid, one inside and the other outside the enclosure. It was a marvel to see that Mr. Maitra worked inspite of his indifferent health and Kumar Bahadur inspite of his aristocratic mode of living toiled and moiled with us in the hot sun. On the very first day of our operations Kumar Bahadur, who was in charge of one gang of coolies, lighted upon the west rampart wall. Once the rampart wall was sighted, our path was quite clear, namely to extricate it from debris and proceed towards the south, as the south-west corner was not far off.

A popular account of this season's excavations has already appeared in the April number of the *Calcutta Review*, and a detailed report is in the course of preparation. They leave no doubt now as to the site being a Buddhist one as no less than two smaller *stūpas* have been laid bare. They also shew that the Indian knowledge of building materials and construction had very much advanced in Bengal up till the 12th century at least. The people of North Bengal, it now appears, had a definite conception of the utility of buttress, were well conversant with the methods of bonding that would do credit even to the present age, and knew how to furnish buildings with concrete floors paved with tiles. Many specimens of old pottery and terra-cottas were picked up, a careful study of which, we have no doubt, will throw a flood of light on the plastic art of old Varendra.

One interesting feature revealed by the excavations was the fillings that were extensively carried out with debris and pottery fragments, both outside and inside the rampart practically at one and the same period. This shows that the place was once abandoned and fell into disrepair but was afterwards renovated. * Who could have restored the site? Let us turn our attention to other Buddhist sites, sites outside Bengal. Take Sārnāth and Nālandā. We find that the name of Mahīpāla is associated with their renovation. Is it conceivable that Mahīpāla, king of old Bengal, renovated Buddhist sites outside Bengal and did nothing for those in Bengal? It is therefore

in every way plausible to hold that the Paharpur site too was restored by that king. Nay, this site itself is locally associated with his name. If we ask any man from a surrounding village, he will tell us that the Paharpur site is that of Mahidalan. Nay, they still point to a place near this site where according to tradition was existing a bathing ghat and where Mahidalan's daughter Sandhyābati used to take her bath every day. 'The legend is that one day Sandhyābati as she was having her bath caught hold of a flower which was floating by and which she smelt, and lo ! she was forthwith big with a child. The product of this immaculate conception was Satya-Pir, but Mahidalan refused to acknowledge it as a legitimate child and drove away the mother and the child who found shelter with the Muhammadans. The child grew up to be a saint and performed miracles, one of these being the visitation of Mahidalan's palace fort with floods. Mahidalan was therefore compelled not only to acknowledge the legitimacy of his grandson but also of his new creed which is to unite the Hindus and the Muhammadans together. This is just the reason why the Hindus of Bengal as well as the Muhammadans worship Satya-Pir to this day.

To test whether there was any bathing *ghat*, Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray cut one trench, and curiously enough signs of a *ghat* were at once visible. Almost the whole *ghat* was afterwards extricated from the debris and is there to be seen by anybody who visits Paharpur. Here were found some large slabs of limestone. Steps of this stone were also found in the rampart excavations. And the question arises from where did they get this limestone ? Limestone, I am told, is at present to be found in the Khasia hills. I leave it to you to draw the inference.

I now come practically to the close of my lecture. You have seen to what ancient period your history goes, and what a brilliant past your Varendra had. It is a matter of extreme regret that all this past history is well-nigh lost. The only

way now to reconstruct it is by studying monuments that still exist and by excavating ancient sites. Of these monuments very few have been preserved. The only recourse therefore left is to excavate. Your patriotic Varendra, Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, is always ready to help where the history of Bengal in general and of Varendra in particular is concerned. He has already announced his gift to the excavations of Varendra. The Archaeological Department under Sir John Marshall has joined hands. And for the actual carrying out of the excavations the University also has co-operated. Three different bodies are thus co-operating. And the only question now is: whether and how the Rajshahi District will join and co-operate. Excavation is no small matter. It has its monetary and other difficulties. So far as the monetary difficulty is concerned, Kumar Bahadur, Sir John Marshall and the University authorities will grapple with it. But excavation taxes all the mental and physical capacities of the party. The members of this party consisting of University and V. R. Society men have got brains enough, perhaps more than enough, to stand the mental strain. But there is the physical strain also to be taken into consideration. It is by no means an easy task to stand the rigours of both heat and cold when we are encamped for excavation. The party has to face also the north-western winds which may break out any day. It was the other day that our camp was infested by a north-wester, and at two after midnight we had to get out in that weather to look after our tents and things. That was a very trying thing, indeed. The Paharpur site again is a most extensive site. If you but walk round its boundary walls, you walk nearly a mile. The area we have excavated bears a very small proportion to the area we have yet to excavate, and if we make a rough estimate, it will take nearly ten years to excavate the whole site. And are we to face meekly the inclemencies of weather year after year for a period of these ten years without some body, public or private, taking measures to alleviate our sufferings and privations,

say, by raising a bungalow or a rest house there? We are not asking for something which is out of the way. Wherever excavation is being carried on, on an extensive scale, there you have some sort of bungalow to afford protection against the hot sun and rain storms. Take Taxila, Sarnāth, Nālandā, and so on. Every one of these places is provided with a bungalow. Why then not have one at Paharpur? The Collector of your District who is the President of this meeting this afternoon and who very kindly took the trouble of coming to our camp at Paharpur inspite of the day being sultry and scething hot has seen things with his own eyes, and he is of opinion that no enlightened District Board, however hard up, will refuse to help us with a bungalow. Swarms of respectable visitors will be pouring in at Paharpur in the course of two or three years as they have been doing at Taxila, Sarnāth and Nālandā, and the bungalow may soon prove to be a source of income. I refuse to consider whether the erection of such a bungalow would be in the interest of the Muhammadans who I am told form the bulk of the population of the Rajshahi District. The site we are excavating is a Buddhist site and has nothing to do with Hinduism or Muhammadanism. Fortunately for Bengal there is really no difference between Hindus and Muhammadans so far as the provincial interests are concerned. The home speech of the Muhammadans is Bengali and they themselves have made valuable contributions to Bengali literature. Who does not know Ismail Siraji and Kaikobad, two Muhammadan poets of Varendra? Did not a Muhammadan sub-registrar of Nator the other day translate the whole of the Koran into Bengali verse? It is all a question of Varendra. Will you or will you not help in the reconstruction of the old history of your country? Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, has credited the people of Varendra with respect for learning. Will you or will you not prove true to the high estimation in which your forefathers were rightly held by a foreigner?

Reviews

Bombay 1660-1677. By Shafaut Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. F.R. Hist.S., University Professor of History, Allahabad, pp 419-517. Published by Henry Milford. There are many important and interesting documents relating to Indian History in the Public Record Office, the India Office and the British Museum of London, awaiting publication. They are not as a rule easily accessible to students working in India. It is true that transcripts can be secured but there are very few scholars in India who can afford to bear the enormous expense. Dr. Khan had copied some of these unpublished documents while he was in England. Those bearing on the Anglo-Portuguese negotiations about Bombay have been published in the present volume. It is needless to say that Dr. Khan has rendered an inestimable service to his fellow workers in India and the present volume should find its way to the shelf of every serious student of Indian History. Harry Gary's letter about Shivaji's sack of Surat and another short letter giving a brief account of Jai Singh's military and diplomatic victory over Shivaji, the Maratha hero's journey to Delhi and his subsequent flight are of considerable interest. Dr. Khan and his colleagues in the Allahabad History Department are doing excellent work.

Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. IV. Fourth Meeting held at Delhi, January 1922. Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India. Price Re. 1 13 *as*. We frankly confess that we cannot find the utility of this publication. Articles good, bad and indifferent have been brought together and published. But they do not necessarily deal with historical documents of any kind. No one will for a moment hold that the old Persian *barikhhs* are documents. Some of these papers again were long ago published elsewhere. The public do not seem to take much interest in the meetings of the Record Commission, and we hope that they will not complain that some of the influential members find or create there an excellent opportunity of advertising their own work and that of their protégés.

Marathi Gadyacha Ingraji Avtar or History of Marathi Prose during the British period by Prof Datto Vaman Potdar, B.A. Published by A. P. Bapat and Brothers, Poona. Price Rs. 2. Prof. Potdar is well known to all students of Maratha History and Marathi Literature. He has rendered excellent service to the cause of

Maratha History as the Secretary of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal and the volume under review will remove a long-felt want. The book is particularly valuable as it gives not only a connected and critical account of the growth of Marathi Prose literature but also contains copious extracts from many rare and old works to illustrate the style of the authors. Prof. Potdar conjectures that an account of the Bhonslas of Nagpur printed at Serampore by Carey in *modi* types must have been published about 1820. He is right in his conjecture. There is a copy of this extremely rare book in the Post-Graduate Library of the Calcutta University and fortunately the title page is not missing. The book was published in 1818. In the Pre-British days the growth of Marathi prose literature was mainly due to a number of able and learned Prabhu writers and it is a pleasure to note that modern Marathi is equally indebted to the literary exertions of the Prabhus.

Maharashtra Itihas Manjari or Select Extracts relating to Maratha History, Vol. I, by D. V. Apte. Price Rs. 2. Though meant for the average reader, this handsome volume will be useful also to the serious students of Maratha History. Mr. Apte has not confined himself to easily accessible works but he has selected extracts from many rare published and unpublished works bearing on Maratha History. Some volumes of Rajwade's Sources of Maratha History and Parasnis's Itihas Sangraha or even Khare's Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha are not available in the market. Shiva Bharat has not yet been published and Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. The great advantage of the present volume is that the extracts have been chronologically arranged and it is the lack of any chronological treatment that proves a great difficulty to the novice when he takes up a volume of Rajwade for instance. Mr. Apte's volume will therefore be an excellent guide to the beginner. Here he will be familiar with most of the important documents of the earlier period and he will have no difficulty in understanding them as all the archaic and unfamiliar words have been explained. We wish that printing mistakes might have been avoided both by Mr. Apte and Prof. Potdar. The volume under review ends with the third battle of Panipat and we are eagerly awaiting the next volume.

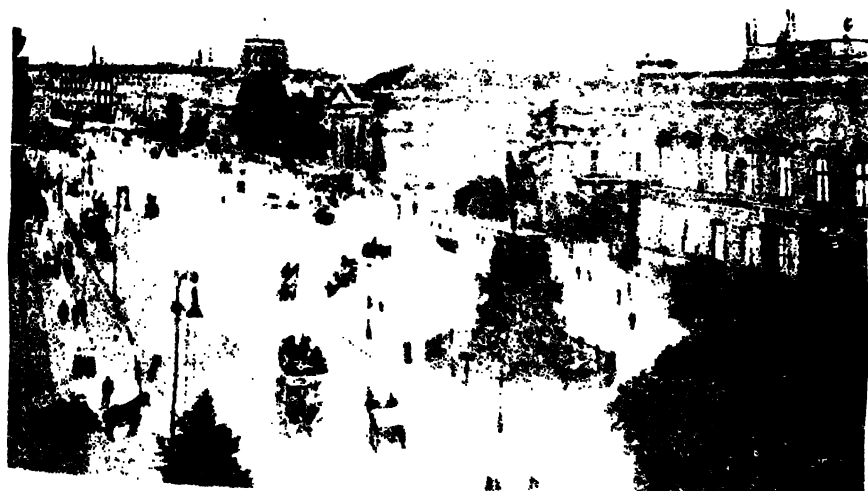
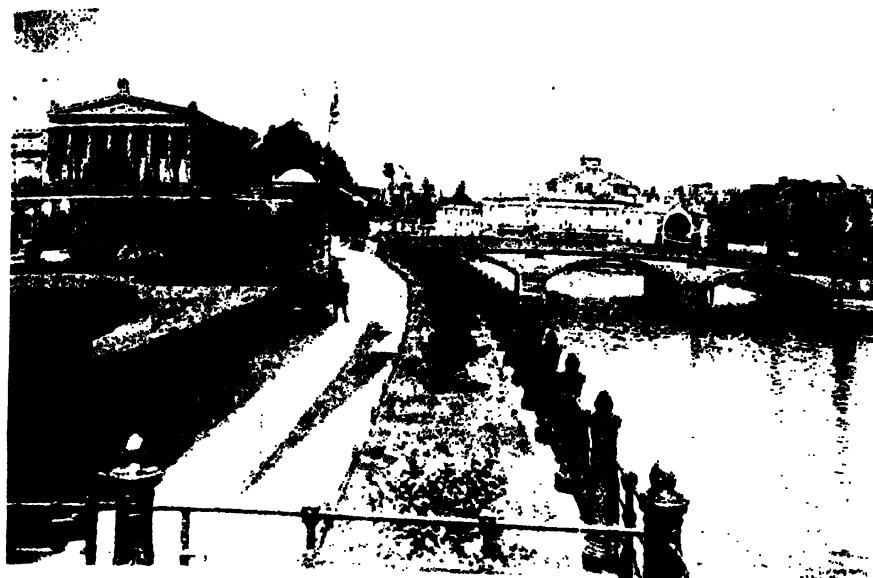
A Survey of Indian History, 1757-1858, by K. H. Kamdar, pp. 558. Price Rs. 3. The outside of the book is by no means attractive and there are many misprints but it will make an excellent text book and we have no hesitation in recommending it both to the University authorities and our undergraduates.

1923]

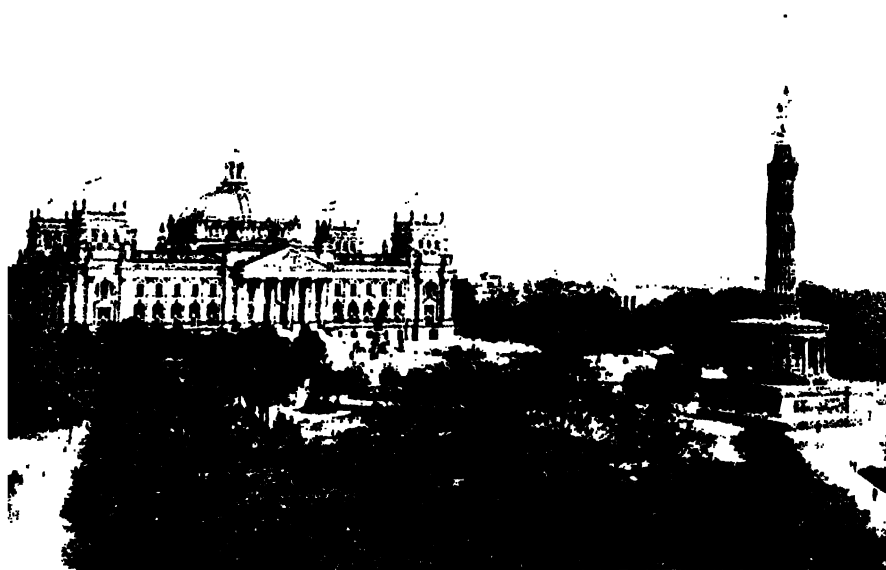
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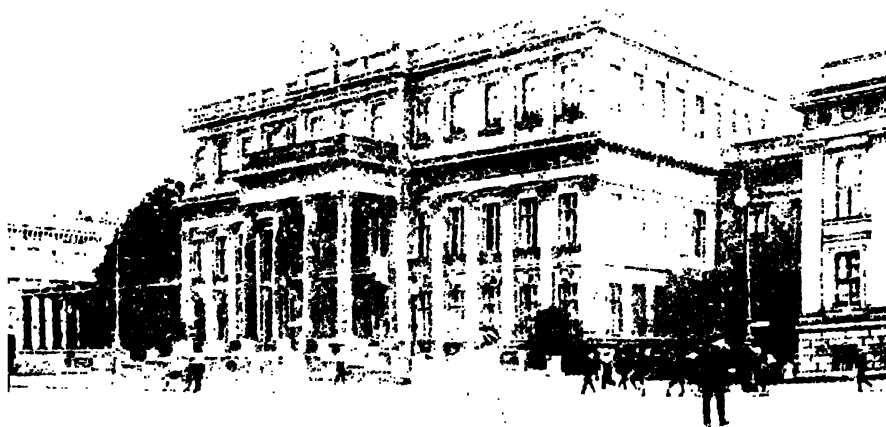
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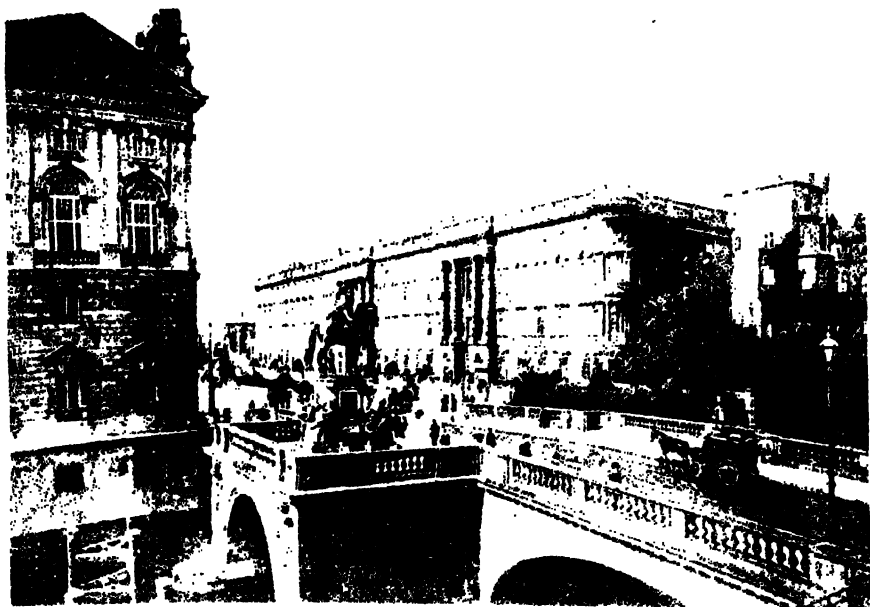
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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT



NEW NATIONAL GALLERY (formerly the Crown Prince's Palace)







BHUPENDRA NATH BASU, Esq.

Our Vice-Chancellor

Ourselves

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

It is well known that many of the important investigations in progress in the laboratories of the University College of Science have attracted attention in scientific circles. We desire to refer on the present occasion to the results obtained by Professor Bose on the Tracks of α -Particles in Helium.

In *Nature* of April 7, 1923, appeared a note from Dr. D. M. Bose, Ghose Professor of Physics, and Mr. S. K. Ghosh in which some photographs of the collision of α -particles with Helium and other atoms have been reproduced. Interesting evidences about the constitution of the Helium atom can be gathered from some of these photographs. One other photograph has been interpreted by the authors to represent the breaking up of the nucleus of a Nitrogen atom, with the expulsion of a constituent Hydrogen particle. It will be remembered that since 1919 Sir Ernest Rutherford and his co-workers in Cambridge have been engaged in trying to break up the nuclei of the lighter atoms like Nitrogen, Aluminium, etc., by bombarding them with α -particles. So far all evidences of such artificially-induced disintegration of atoms have been of an indirect nature depending upon the scintillations produced by the constituents of disintegrated nuclei on Zinc Sulphide screens. Efforts had been made in England (in Rutherford's laboratory), in France and America to directly photograph this disintegration of atomic nucleus, but up till now all such efforts have failed. The abovementioned note immediately attracted the attention of Prof. Rutherford, who has written the following letter to the authors :

NEWNHAM COITAGE,
QUEEN'S ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.

April 6, 1923.

DEAR SIRs,

Allow me to congratulate you on the beautiful Wilson photographs which appeared in *Nature* to-day. As you know Blackett in my laboratory has taken many thousands of photographs in helium and in air, but never observed the electron tracks or any evidence of disintegration which you have noted. It looks as if you are quite right in supposing it to be a disintegration of Nitrogen nucleus.

I am naturally very interested in evidence of such a very rare event and I would be greatly obliged if you could send me a proof of the photographs and of any other you find of special interest. With luck you might hope to catch another. The marked curvature of the track of the H-particle is very curious but may be connected with a deficiency of water vapour due to abstraction by the α -particle. Is the recoil H nucleus track less dense than the α -particle tracks? It ought to be; Chadwich has photographed a number of swift H nuclei recently here.

You probably know that Millikan found that two electrons were occasionally liberated by the α -particle from Helium. It is however of the greatest interest to get direct evidence as to how they come off and on their relative energy.

I wish you success in your further work.

Yours sincerely,
E. RUTHERFORD.

* * * *

DR. S. K. MITRA.

Dr. S. K. Mitra, University Lecturer in Physics is, our readers are no doubt aware, now in France, as Sir Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellow. He has been very successful in his researches on the measurement of wave lengths which he has carried out at the Institut de Physique at Nancy. His memoir on the subject has been published in the current issue of *Annales de Physique*, and the University of Paris has conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Science for this work. His public discourse on the scattering of light by transparent media (delivered in French) was highly appreciated, and naturally laid stress on the recent contributions from our University to this important and interesting subject. Dr. Mitra has further been engaged on the investigation of the demagnetising effect of electro-magnetic oscillation, and the results obtained by him will shortly be communicated to the French Academy.

MR. SAMADDAR.

Our readers may be aware of the fact that at the invitation of the University, Professor Samaddar of the Patna College delivered a course of lectures on *The Economic Condition of Ancient India*. True to his *Alma Mater* Mr. Samaddar did not accept any honorarium. The University has since then published his valuable lectures and Dr. Jolly the great Orientalist has addressed the following letter to the learned Professor. "It gave me great pleasure to receive your valuable sending. I have been making quite a study of your handsome volume of Lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India. As a veteran in the field of Indian History, I bid you welcome as a new-comer. What a charming chapter is your Lecture V on the contents of the Kautiliya Arthashastra.

Being engaged on a critical new edition of that work, I can testify to the correctness of the account you have given of it. In Lecture II on the code of Manu you have successfully treated very important questions, including the vexed question of the king's property in soil. Surely he must have been a sort of over-lord, as you say, though private property in land was in existence. Lecture VI presents a very vivid picture of trade and commerce in the Buddhist period of Indian history." We congratulate the author on the success of his maiden work which we hope to review at length in our next issue.

UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION.

The following correspondence, taken from the published Proceedings of the Syndicate, will interest our readers :

*Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate
dated 20th April, 1923.*

" Read the following letter from the Minister of Education addressed to the Vice-Chancellor :—

WRITERS' BUILDINGS,
CALCUTTA.

D. O. No. 118 Edn.

The 16th April, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. BASU,

Your social party was of some assistance in enabling me to understand and, to a certain extent, appreciate the view-point of some of the prominent members of the Senate who were present on the occasion. I trust it similarly helped them in understanding the difficulties of Government in the matter. I would like to probe the possibilities of mutual understanding further especially with regard to University legislation. The question of an informal Conference for the purpose was suggested in your party and I promised to let you know my decision after further consideration. I am sure your friends in the University as well as the Government are agreed in thinking that the educational interests of the Province require a better understanding between

Government and the University. To further this object, I shall be prepared to call a Conference. The principal object of the Conference will be to discuss the question of University legislation having regard to the present financial position of the Province. I would like you to consult the Syndicate formally in this matter. If you so desire, you may place my letter before the Syndicate. If you and your friends in the University approve the idea of holding a Conference for the purpose mentioned, you may choose 3 to 5 Fellows of the University to represent the University at this Conference. I would leave it to you and the Syndicate to decide whether these gentlemen who will attend the Conference in the interest of the University should be formally elected by the Senate or chosen by the Syndicate or that you should send up their names in consultation with some prominent members of the University. In that Conference I would like to call a few members of the Legislative Council. The Officers of the Department, such as, the Secretary and the Director of Public Instruction, should be present in the Conference. It is to be understood that the Conference will be an informal one to meet the Minister as the representative of Government. If you and your advisers in the University agree to the course I have proposed, I would like you to send me the names of these gentlemen at an early date so that I can make the necessary arrangements before I may be called away from town on public business.

Yours sincerely,

P. C. MITTER.

To

BHUPENDRANATH BASU, Esq.,

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Read also the following memorandum by Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L. :—

9, MALICK LANE, BHOWANIPORE,
CALCUTTA.

19th April, 1923.

Memorandum.

I desire to place on record the following points in connection with the letter addressed by the Minister of Education to the Vice-Chancellor :—

I. At the tea party given by the Vice-Chancellor on the 12th April, 1923, at his house, the opinion was expressed by more than one member of the Senate—

(i) that the Bill or Bills framed by the Government should be dropped,

(ii) that legislation should not be introduced in the July session of the Council,

(iii) that the question of legislation may, with advantage, be considered by a mixed committee. The Minister of Education did not favour this idea.

II. The proposal that there may be a conference came from the Minister himself. The following sentence in the letter addressed by the Minister to the Vice-Chancellor is likely to create an erroneous impression as to what took place at the tea party :—

“The question of an informal conference for the purpose was suggested in your party and I promised to let you know my decision after further consideration.”

There was nothing left for “decision after consideration” by the Minister.

I have deemed it my duty to place these facts on record. I did not anticipate that casual conversations at a tea party would develop into a letter of the type addressed by the Minister to the Vice-Chancellor. I refrain from expressing an opinion upon the proposals contained in the letter till I have an opportunity to ascertain the views of the other members of the Syndicate.

P. N. BANERJEE.

RESOLVED—

That the following Committee be appointed to draft a reply to the above letter, the reply to be considered by the Syndicate at the next meeting :—

The Vice-Chancellor.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.
Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.

Rev. G. Howells, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., B.D.

Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.”

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate dated 27th April, 1923.

“Read the Proceedings of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate to draft a reply to a letter (dated 16th April, 1923), from the Minister of Education, dated the 23rd April, 1923.

Read also the following memorandum by Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L.

Memorandum.

I regret I cannot associate myself with the action which the Syndicate proposes to take on the demi-official letter written by the Minister for Education to the Vice-Chancellor.

I deem it objectionable on principle that a matter of such momentous importance as University Legislation should form the subject of discussion between the Government and the University in an informal manner. Such a course may lead to mutual misunderstanding, resulting in serious complications. This is illustrated by what has already happened. I gather from such of the Members of the Syndicate as were present at the social party given by the Vice-Chancellor that the proposal for a Conference originated with the Minister himself, while our Members were in favour of a Committee. The Minister, on the other hand, writes to the Vice-Chancellor that a Conference was proposed by the Members who left the question to the Minister for decision.

I further consider the proposal for a Conference as unnecessary and inopportune in view of events which have happened and cannot be ignored. The Minister states that the social party was of assistance in enabling him to understand and to a certain extent appreciate the view-point of some of the prominent members of the Senate. It is undeniable, however, that the Minister has hitherto had ample opportunity to understand and appreciate our views. On receipt of the draft bills from the Chancellor, the Senate appointed a Committee to examine their provisions in detail. The Committee drew up a full and reasoned report in two parts which was sent to every member of the Senate including the Minister himself who is an ex-officio Fellow. The report was discussed by the Senate on two days, the 10th February and the 3rd March, 1923. If a perusal of the report left the Minister in doubt as to the view-point of prominent members of the Senate he might well have attended the meetings of the Senate and listened to the debates though he need not have participated therein. It is not as if Ministers do not attend meetings of the Senate—all the three Ministers were present at the annual meeting of Senate in January, 1922, on the occasion of election of Members of the Syndicate. It cannot further be overlooked that the report framed by a Committee of the Senate and unanimously approved by that body with reference to the Bills introduced by Mr. Mallik and Mr. J. N. Basu could not have failed to enable the Minister to appreciate the views of the Senate on the subject of University Reconstruction. I am not convinced that a tea party and an informal Conference are really needed to help the Minister to ascertain and appreciate our views.

I am glad to find that the Minister appreciates the value of a "better understanding" between the Government and the University. I cannot overlook however the treatment which has been accorded to the Senate by the Government. On the 11th November, 1922, the Senate requested the Government to state the exact position at that time and to place the Senate in possession of such plans for reconstruction as might have been made by the Government. No reply was vouchsafed for two months, and then on the 13th January, 1923, intimation was given in a letter which can hardly be regarded as a model of courtesy, that a Bill amending the Act of Incorporation and the Indian Universities Act was under discussion. The letter which thus refused all information did not even state that a Secondary Education Bill, as has subsequently transpired, had already been completed at that time. I trust I shall not be misunderstood when I maintain that to keep the Senate at arm's length in this manner is not the most appropriate

way to establish a "better understanding" between the Government and the Senate.

I find it stated that the principal object of the proposed Conference will be to discuss the question of University Legislation, having regard to the present financial position of the province. In this connection, I cannot overlook what has hitherto happened. On the 23rd September, 1921, the Senate invited the Government to co-operate with the Senate in an investigation of the financial aspect of University reconstruction. No reply was sent by the Government. The Reconstruction Committee in their report dated the 3rd November, 1922, drew attention to this matter and suggested that Government should be pressed to accept the recommendation of the University. This was unanimously approved by the Senate on the 11th November, 1922, and was communicated to the Government on the 15th November, 1922. No reply has yet been received.

On these and other grounds, which need not be elaborated, I feel it my unpleasant duty to record that the offer of the Minister has not filled me with hope that we are likely in future to receive better treatment than in the past.

MANMATHANATH RAY,

The 27th April, 1923.

Member of the Syndicate.

RESOLVED—

That the following reply be sent:—

SENATE HOUSE,

The 23rd April, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. MITTER,

I have placed before the Syndicate for their consideration your demi-official letter containing your suggestion that an informal conference should be held with regard to University legislation.

The Syndicate gather from such of their members as were present at the social party in my house that they expressed the opinion that it was not desirable to undertake such important legislation in a Council whose term was about to expire and that any legislation regarding the University would be of such a complex nature that it was not only desirable but necessary to have the whole question thoroughly investigated and considered by a representative committee and therefore the introduction of such legislation in the July Session was practically impossible; of course all this presupposes that the proposed Government Bills should be considered *de novo*. The Syndicate are generally in agreement with these views. The Syndicate further gather that the suggestion of an informal conference proceeded rather from you than from the members of the Syndicate present. The Syndicate desire to add that in their opinion notwithstanding such a conference a committee such as has already been suggested

by His Excellency, will be required to explore the various matters which must arise in connection with any scheme of legislation. With this reservation the Syndicate are prepared to accept the suggestion of an informal Conference; you will of course understand that the opinions expressed at such conference cannot be binding on the Senate. They are convinced at the same time that in order to make it possible for the University representatives to take part in the discussions with advantage, it is essential that the Syndicate should be placed in possession of information of the financial position of Government in relation to the University.

They consider also that the Government plans for reconstruction should be communicated to us as requested by the Senate in their letter, dated the 15th November, 1922, unless indeed Government is prepared to treat the whole subject as an open problem.

As the proposed Conference will be informal, the Syndicate assume that it is not intended to have a Chairman.

If it should be decided, however, to have a Chairman, the Syndicate are of opinion that the Chair should be taken by some person who has not recently identified himself with any particular line of policy. As regards the place, the Syndicate think that the Conference should meet either at the Senate House or in the Council Chamber.

On receipt of your reply, the Syndicate propose to place the matter before the Senate.

Yours sincerely,
BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER, C.I.E."

*Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate dated
16th and 17th May, 1923.*

"Read the following letter from the Minister of Education addressed to the Vice-Chancellor :

DARJEELING,
The 10th May, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. BASU,

Your D. O. No. G-75S, dated 28th April, 1923.

It does not much signify whether the suggestion of a conference proceeded from me or from some members of the Senate. My recollection is that it proceeded from some prominent members of the Senate. It is quite possible that our recollection of what took place in the course of a general conversation may vary. My main object being to bring about a

better understanding it is immaterial whether we should have a committee or a Conference. Before, however, I discuss the question of the appointment of a committee I desire to make the position of Government quite clear on two important points raised in your letter. These points are :—

- (1) That the Syndicate should be placed in possession of information of the financial position of Government in relation to the University and
- (2) Whether Government was prepared that their Bill should be considered *de novo*.

2. As regards information of the financial position of Government in relation to the University, you as also the members of the Syndicate are well aware of the general financial position of Government. The provincial Government of Bengal was started after the reforms with a deficit of about Rupees two crores and twelve lakhs, they retrenched to the extent of about Rupees one crore and fifty lakhs and passed three Taxation Bills. In spite of all this their financial position to-day is anything but satisfactory. In view of the general financial position it will be difficult for Government to give you and the Syndicate any definite assurance of financial assistance. Apart from the difficulties of the general situation you are no doubt familiar with the present constitutional position. Even if the finances of the Government were better neither the Minister nor His Excellency the Governor is in a position to assure the University of any definite financial assistance. The Ministry of Education and the Syndicate have, therefore, to proceed on the basis that it is not possible for the Government to hold out any definite assurance of financial assistance. It is needless however to assure you that circumstances permitting the Government will do its best to get a suitable grant for the Calcutta University, but we cannot build on this foundation.

3. As regards the second point you will readily appreciate the Government position. In inviting the Senate to a Conference, it was my intention to submit the various proposals about University Legislation to careful scrutiny and the position of the Government in regard to such proposals would depend largely on the attitude and the advice of the Syndicate and the University authorities. Till we have such advice it will not be possible for us to come to a decision in advance.

4. Before coming to the question of a Committee or a Conference, I think it is desirable to clear the ground a little. In our view legislation on the lines of the University Commission's recommendations without necessary financial backing will mean the breakdown not only of the Calcutta University but also of many private colleges. And so far as I am aware this was the view expressed by the Senate of the Calcutta University in their letter to the Government of India No. 624-G., dated 31st March, 1920. The same view was also expressed by the Calcutta University in their letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, No. G-54, dated the 23rd September, 1921. In the last mentioned letter they stated "The Senate was unanimously of opinion that reconstruction should not be undertaken unless the financial aspect of the scheme has been investigated and the requisite funds guaranteed." In the concluding paragraph of that letter, they observed, "It is necessary to reiterate the importance of a full enquiry into the financial aspect of the

financial reform outlined by the Commission. It is indisputable that requisite funds must be guaranteed before the scheme of reconstruction of such magnitude has been outlined by the Commission can be taken in hand *with or without modification*." In our reply, dated 22nd November, 1921, we agreed with the University that reconstruction should not be undertaken unless requisite funds were guaranteed. We further went on to say that our finances were in such a deplorable condition that we were not in a position to guarantee the necessary funds and therefore we saw no immediate prospects of legislation on the lines of the University Commission's Report. Both the University and the Government were therefore in agreement that without financial guarantee legislation on the lines of the recommendations of the University Commission should not be undertaken.

5. Such being the position as regards undertaking reconstruction of the University on the lines of the Sadler Commission I would invite your attention to the resolution passed by the Legislative Council in July, 1921, and to our letter on the subject, dated 9th August, 1922. I am sure you and the members of the Syndicate will appreciate that we cannot without very grave reasons ignore the recommendations of the Legislative Council. At the same time we are anxious to give every weight to the advice of the Calcutta University. The resolution, I may remind you, was passed against the advice and in spite of opposition of Government. The reply of the Calcutta University on the resolution above mentioned practically meant that we should legislate on the lines of the Calcutta University Commission's Report. This, as I have already pointed out, was not possible in view of the financial position of the Province.

6. I have placed before you frankly the position as I apprehend it with regard to the two important questions raised in your letter. I have also explained to you some of our difficulties, financial and otherwise. I am prepared to appoint at once a committee of 12 including 5 members recommended by the Syndicate, the Vice-Chancellor who will be the President, and seven other members. I will now proceed to state my views about the Committee.

7. Without going into details, it will be the function of the Committee to advise the Government on the following points :—

(a) Having regard to the report of the Sadler Commission the present financial position of the Government and the resolution of the Legislative Council already mentioned on what lines should the constitution of the University be framed for the present.

(b) What should be the relations between Government and the University and how best can co-operation between the University, the Ministry of Education and the Legislative Council be assured.

(c) What should be the nature of financial safeguards.

You will no doubt bear in mind that the Government is to a certain extent committed to introduce Legislation in the July session: already there are two private bills before the Council which it will be difficult, if

not impossible to resist, except by the introduction of a Government measure. For the recommendations of the Committee to be of any practical help, they must reach the Government in time for this to be possible.

Yours sincerely,
P. C. MITTER.

BHUPENDRANATH BASU, ESQ.,

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University,

Senate House, College Square, Calcutta.

RESOLVED—

That the correspondence be placed before the Senate with the recommendation that while agreeing to the appointment of a committee, the Vice-Chancellor be requested to intimate to the Minister of Education the views of the Senate as recorded below :

A. I. University legislation should not be introduced in the July session of the Legislative Council for the following reasons :

(a) there is not sufficient time for a proper consideration, by the proposed Committee and by the Senate, of any measure involving a comprehensive reconstruction of the University, or for the formation and expression of public opinion regarding it ;

(b) it is not desirable to undertake such important legislation in the last session of a Council whose term is about to expire, as there will not be adequate time for deliberate and detailed consideration of a measure of such complexity and importance at its different stages.

II. The Committee should be left free to consider the whole question of University reconstruction in its various aspects.

III. The recommendations of the Committee should be based on the Report of the Sadler Commission with such modifications as may be rendered necessary by financial or other considerations.

IV. To make any reconstruction of the University of any use, it is absolutely essential that the Government should grant the University financial assistance on a reasonable scale.

V. The Senate has already given its opinion against the two Private Bills and trusts that Government will exert its influence to stay them.

VI. Academic opinion and educational experience of Bengal and Assam should be adequately represented on the proposed Committee ; and it is suggested that the Committee should consist of the Vice-Chancellor as the President and twelve other members, half of whom the Senate may be allowed to nominate.

VII. The recommendations of the Committee should be formulated in such a way that they may be readily embodied in the form of a Bill or Bills and should be published for criticism, before the Government adopts any measure for introduction into Council.

B. That in addition to the Vice-Chancellor the Senate do nominate six members to serve on the Committee.

MR. ARCHBOLD AND SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Our readers will read with interest the following letter which appeared in *The Times* (London) on the 6th April, 1923 :

To

The Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,

I am sorry to see from your correspondent's cable that Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee have had a serious difference of opinion. Perhaps your readers will hardly realize at first blush what it means.

My old opponent, and I hope he will allow me now that our battles are over to call him so, my old friend, Sir Asutosh occupies a unique position in Bengal. He was, in my time at all events, the Bengali's hero, and "Ashu" was a household word in the Presidency. We know that when Calhoun took a pinch of snuff all South Carolina sneezed, and the same might, with suitable corrections, have been said of Sir Asutosh in Bengal. He was the one strong man, and a great gulf separated him from the timid few who dared to oppose him, and still more the timid, the still timider many whom he led wherever he chose. I have known a good many clever Indians in various parts of the country, but I never met any one to compare with Sir Asutosh for ability, force of character or courage.

Personally, I often thought that he was wrong, but I am not sure that in our stormy debates in the Calcutta University Senate we who differed from him were always right; we were always beaten, anyhow. But one thing was clear, and that was that Sir Asutosh was a genuine patriot. He hoped to lead the Bengalis into the green pastures of learning and research, but they were a contentious and troublesome people, and what seemed so simple a thing to us he knew to be a very difficult task indeed.

Sir Asutosh is a man of many parts. He is a successful lawyer and a mathematician of original mind. He has also an obvious interest in every form of intellectual attainment. For many years he devoted all the scanty leisure that a High Court Judge possesses to the interests of Calcutta University, and he dared to stand almost alone as a social reformer in the matter of the remarriage of Hindu widows. Only those who know India can realize what the last point implies. It seemed to some of us that, valuable as his services were in many directions, he would have seen his way more clearly had he made a short stay in the West. If one is concerned every day with Western ideas, one ought to see something of them in actual operation.

Obviously, the way to deal with such a man is either to fight him or to let him have his way. For compromises he would have—as he seems to have shown clearly enough in the present instance—the most profound contempt.

I am, etc.,

W. A. J. ARCHBOLD,

*Late Fellow of Calcutta University.
12A, Old Court Mansions, Kensington, W. S.*

ASSAM AND UNIVERSITY REFORM.

At the last session of the Assam Legislative Council Srijut Nilmani Phukan moved on the 2nd May, 1923 :

“This Council recommends to the Government of Assam to take such action as may be necessary to secure an adequate representation for this province on the Senate and on the Syndicate of the Calcutta University or on such Councils and Committees as may be formed for the government and administration of the University under the reconstitution which is in contemplation following on the report of the recent University Commission.”

He said : I move this resolution with a hope that our anomalous position regarding the Calcutta University should be settled once for all. I am one of those who believe that for some time to come there is no hope for a University in Assam and, at the same time, I am not prepared to sit with folded arms showing apathy or inaction regarding University matters. To speak the truth, the Calcutta University was constituted at a time when Assam and other territories were also included in the Act of Incorporation. To-day we stand on that ground. There might have been other territorial changes regarding other matters in different provinces, but as regards university education there has been no change at all in the case of our province. I feel it my duty to urge this question before the House and upon the Government at this moment knowing, as I do, that at this time the Calcutta University has become a field for a tug-of-war. We must know our position at this moment. Recently, we found that certain Bills have been introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council to make reforms in university matters, but I find Assam is nowhere in these Bills, and the object of these Bills is undoubtedly far-reaching. As far as I could gather from the preambles of the Bills, they are now intent upon making changes regarding the funds of the University and to obtain a wider constitution for the University and also to revive the position of the Rector. Those are the three things, the chief points for which these Bills are introduced. If that be the case, if they want a wider constitution for the University, for whom is it? If they want greater financial control,—for whom? And if they want to revive the position and status of the Rector, for whom? The natural answer would be that it is for all those territories which even now form part of the Calcutta University. If that be the case, if that is the legal right which all these territories constituted under the Calcutta University have, then may we not claim at this moment that Assam should be properly represented in the Calcutta University :

But we are sorry to find that in the introduction of these Bills Assam was quite ignored. Regarding this there is at the present moment a great controversy—a great fight between the Vice-Chancellor and the Government of Bengal. We have nothing to do with this fight, but one thing that strikes me is that even the Governor of Bengal His Excellency Lord Lytton, is suspicious that our Government has been won over by the Vice-Chancellor to his side. I respectfully protest against such uncharitable remarks from a man of the position of his Excellency the Governor of Bengal. It is the business of our Government and the Government of Bengal to say whether these remarks are at all deserved by our Government. I am not in the know of the correspondence between the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and our Provincial Government. But, apparently, I say it cannot be said that a Government like ours might be won over to the side of the Vice-Chancellor without rhyme or reason. I protest we do not deserve this insinuation. My main point is thus, now that the University is being reconstituted this is the proper time for us also to establish our rights and claims which have been so systematically ignored from the very beginning. We have no proper representation on the University. That is an undeniable fact. We are not properly represented on the Senate and Syndicate of the Calcutta University, and I do not think the Government of Bengal have any right to legislate for us in that University now. The most that they can do is that they can get away from the Calcutta University, but they cannot dislodge us from the constitutional position we hold under the Calcutta University Act.

So I understand now there will be wider power exercised by the Calcutta University as an independent body. • So if it at all comes under the control of the Government of Bengal then it is all the more reasonable that we should have a place in it. We should have more reason to press this resolution at this time, because so long our interests have not suffered,

we may take it, at the hands of the Government of India, but now we cannot leave our interests in the hands of the Government of Bengal to that extent. Apart from the question of legality or otherwise of these Bills—I am not a great lawyer nor a jurist to decide that—but apart from that question, I simply press this question and say that if we are to be under the Calcutta University we must have proper representation which we have not at this moment and with this end in view let us press with all the emphasis at our command that at this time if there be any reconstitution, Assam must be properly represented. I am really sorry to find that Assam is not taken into consideration by the Government of Bengal. If the position of the Rector is revived then where will be our Governor? This very question was very pertinently raised in the discussion of the Senate regarding these Bills, and I am glad to find that our renowned countryman, Mr. K. K. Chanda has argued this question at length. He said:—"In 1915, Sir Surendra, then Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the transfer of control over the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal. At that time the representatives of Assam in the Council opposed the motion on the ground that Assam was subject to the Calcutta University. So long as the Governor General was the Chancellor, the Government and people of Assam could approach him easily and place their grievances before him which they could not very well do if the Provincial Government of another province was in charge of the University. Assam was at present under the Calcutta University and what was the position of Assam in this matter? Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri said 'absolutely none.' And actually that is the fact. If these Bills are passed and if the Bengal Government becomes the sole authority we shall be nowhere." Mr. Chanda continuing said "that the framers of the Bill forgot that

Assam was under the Calcutta University at all. How did Assam stand with regard to election or nomination? He did not wish to say anything about communal representation. There was nothing in the Bills about territorial administration. There was no chance of any one of Assam getting elected. He endorsed everything that Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had said with reference to nomination. If the Bill was passed into law Assam had no chance of getting nomination in the University. The Bills illustrated the maxim 'Charity begins at home.' It was inevitable. As Assam was also under the Calcutta University why should it not be granted that privilege? What position would Government take up with regard to the matter? They were going to make the Minister of Education the Rector. Supposing they from Assam claimed a similar right that their Minister also should be made Rector, could they resist it?" And should we not make a similar demand? If the Government of Bengal claim that their Governor should be the Chancellor of the university, we with equal propriety can also claim that our Governor should be Rector at least, or we may claim that our Minister also should have a good position there.

Mr. Chanda continued "He might tell them that it was not in the power of the Bengal Legislative Council to legislate in the way contemplated." Then he entered into a discussion of the subject in detail. I need not go through all that. But I may say that our cause has actually been so ably pleaded before the Senate by Mr. Chanda, that I need not dwell on the subject any more. In any case we should have proper representation whether the University we must is controlled by the Government of Bengal or the Government of India. It is most important that so long as we are under the Calcutta University we must have some voice there. It is with that end in view that I move this resolution, not that we may have larger powers in the Senate or the Syndicate or any other body that will be constituted

for the administration and academical purposes of the University.

In conclusion, the speaker said that if the Government of Bengal claimed that their Governor should be the Chancellor of the University, Assam might with equal propriety also claim that their Governor should be the Rector, or they might claim that their Minister should have a good position.

Mr. J. R. Cunningham :—I may take it that the purpose of the resolution has in view is approved by the Council as a whole. In that case I am to inform the Council, that the Government of Assam has been in correspondence on the subject with the Government of India and that they hope that arrangements will be made in connection with the impending legislation, to which the hon. member has referred, and other Bills to which he has not referred, to give effect to the wishes of this Council as expressed in the resolution. The Government, therefore, gladly welcome the resolution as strengthening their hands in the matter.

Mr. A. J. G. Cresswell :—May I ask if I correctly understood the speaker to say that the Bengal Government or rather His Excellency Lord Lytton, had insinuated that the Vice-Chancellor had been, or was intriguing, or had intrigued, with the Government of Assam in order to work against the wishes of the Government of Bengal?

Srijut Nilmani Phukan :—Yes, it appears from a letter of Lord Lytton himself. He has accused the Vice-Chancellor of asking the Government of Assam to oppose the Bills. I may quote at length the very letter :—

Mr. J. R. Cunningham :—I do not know if this letter which has been referred to was not supposed to have been a confidential letter and I seem to remember that objection has been raised to the publication of the letter. I venture further to suggest that it is inadvisable that we should as a Council intervene or appear to intervene in any way in a matter affecting the relations between His Excellency

the Governor of Bengal and the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Mr. A. J. G. Cresswell :—Well, may I ask that the first speaker will withdraw his remarks. They are insinuating.

Srijut Nilmani Phukan :—I have already said that I am not a competent person to discuss the matter which is now looming so large in the public eye. The correspondence between His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and the Vice-Chancellor is already before the public. We have got the letter of His Excellency to the Vice-Chancellor in the press in clear language : “ You have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill.” I do not know whether it was confidential or not. I have got it in the paper. I do not for one moment want to judge whether His Excellency was right or wrong. I am not going into the merits of the question. I am simply telling what is in the paper. As I have said, I do not know whether it is confidential or not. I have made no insinuating remarks in any way. I have simply stated the facts. I am not prepared to withdraw my remarks.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Here is an interesting extract from the “ *Statesman* ” :—

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS EXAMINATION.

VERY LARGE ENTRIES.

During the past few weeks in Calcutta over 15,000 students drawn from all parts of Bengal, have sat for examinations held under the auspices of the University. The number of students sitting for University examinations in Bengal has been steadily increasing during the past few years, and this despite the fact that the territorial jurisdiction of the Calcutta University has been curtailed by the establishment of Universities at Patna, Burma and Dacca.

The following table shows the number of students sitting for examinations under the Calcutta University during the past three years :—

	1920.	1921	1922.
Matriculation ..	17,563	19,125	19,153
Inter. Arts ...	5,132	4,858	3,747
Inter. Science ...	1,748	1,851	1,911
B.A. ...	8,827	3,927	2,799
B.Sc. ...	936	608	505
M.A. (About) ...	500	549	522
B.L. (One term only) ...	535	756	720
Total ...	29,711	31,674	29,357
Total for three years	90,722		

To arrange for the examination of such a large number of students naturally entails much labour and thought on the part of the University authorities. Not only the numbers, but the variety and extent of the subjects in which examinations are held, present a bewildering problem. An idea of the latter can be gathered from the fact that the Calcutta University undertakes examinations in such difficult languages as Syriac, Tibetan, Classical Armenian and Hebrew. Competent examiners and paper-setters have to be found and these, as is obvious, are not easily obtainable. In fact, the problem became so complicated and difficult that in 1917 the University authorities appointed a Controller of Examinations at a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000, following upon a serious leakage of question papers.

The approach of the examination season is a period of feverish activity on the part of the students. "Burning the midnight oil" is no unusual thing with students, some of whom put in as many as eighteen hours' work per day prior to the examination. Interesting stories are told of the manner in which they "sweat" for their studies.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

In December, 1922, a letter was received from the President and Governors of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the Priory Church, London, inviting the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor to appoint a delegate to be present at the Celebration of the 800th Anniversary of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the Church to be held in London on the 5th, 6th and 7th June, 1923.

Arrangements have since been made to send the following Congratulatory Address in Sanskrit for presentation to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales who is the President of the Hospital :

॥ श्रीरक्षु ॥

अभिनन्दनम्

महदिदमानन्दासदमस्माकम्—यत् कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयसभाध्यक्ष-
भावमवलम्ब्य श्रीमतामत्युदारचरितानां विश्वप्रसिद्धवर्तुलोमियामहाचिकित्सालय-
कार्यसंपादकानां भवतामष्टमहेन्रिमहोदयसंरक्षितस्वोक्तमहाचिकित्सालयस्याष्टम-
शतकाब्दपूर्तिमहोत्सवस्नावसरमनु वयमस्माकमामन्त्रणस्य कृते नितान्तमेव सानन्दं
सान्तःकरणं च प्रबलं कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः ।

निश्चप्रचमिदं विपश्चिदपश्चिमानाम्—यत् वर्तुलोमियामहाचिकित्सालयोऽयं
महात्मनः परोपकारचिन्तासर्वस्वस्य रोमपत्तने रुग्णावस्थायामवस्थितस्य प्रथम-
हेन्रिमहोदयस्य प्रतिष्ठापूरणार्थं तदन्तरङ्गभक्तेन रेहियर महोदयेन
त्रयोविंशत्युत्तरद्विंशतोत्तरसहस्रतमे वक्त्रे प्रतिष्ठापितोऽयं यावत् विनेवान्ध्या-
भावं बहूनामकिंचनानामाहारावसथादिप्रदानपुरःसरमत्युत्तमेन सदयेन च
चिकित्सनेनोत्तरोत्तरमभिवृद्धिं प्रपन्नः ईश्वरान्द्राजधान्यामेक एव प्राचीनतमः
सर्वादरक्षीयश्च वरीवर्तीति ।

तदत्र भवताम्—

आस्ते रुग्णक्षितावहं वसुशतान्देऽभ्योपि नार्वाक्षतम् ।
 शुद्धप्रज्ञजनैर्नृतं प्रथितवर्तोलिमियाहं क्षितौ ॥
 तोषस्वास्वदमाङ्गभूमितिलकं विस्मापयत् सर्वथा ।
 षष्ठांशानुपभुञ्जतामपि भृशं यद्वास्मितालं महत् ॥१॥
 मुग्धविघ्नसदृशोपकारकस्यास्य भाव्यचिरमुत्सवो महान् ॥
 खलोपशुम्बितयशोमहोरुद्वाऽनेन नृत्नपरिवर्तने यतः ॥२॥
 प्रादविन्धसनमिष्यते मुदा कर्तुमिच्छित्वखिलपण्डिता भृशम्
 ध्यानसन्निहितमेक्षरं वपुः संप्रणम्य निरता महोत्सवे ॥३॥
 यः सर्वेषां सुदमनुपमां प्राप्तकालो विधातुम्
 वन्द्ये तस्मिन्विपुलविभवे कालिकातानगर्याः ॥
 गोर्वाणीनां प्रसरणकृतो विश्वविद्यालयस्य
 यन्तारो भो वयमिह महे शास्त्रहे मङ्गलं वः ॥४॥

चिकित्सालयो हि न केवलमाधिभौतिकरोगनिर्हरणोपायप्रधानः, अपितु
 आग्निदेविकाध्यात्मिकरोगनिरासस्तमप्यप्रधानोऽपीत्युर्वेदाचार्याणां श्रीभेलचरक-
 सुश्रुतवाग्भटादीनां परमो हि राहान्तः, तदा तदा देवताराधननियमनव्यवस्थापनेन
 वर्तलोमियामहाचिकित्सालये, यत्र तदेकदेश एव कश्चन स्वल्पदेवायतनत्वेन
 परिकल्पितः, तत्रैकत्रैव परिपास्यत इति संघात सर्वादृशौ महाचिकित्सालयो
 भवतामयमेक एवेत्यत्र न वयमणुमात्रमपि संशेमहे ।

अत्र हि चिकित्सालये चिकित्साचक्षुः शरीरतत्त्वविज्ञानचक्षाः तत्तादृश-
 नूतननूतनचिकित्साप्रणालीगवेषणाविज्ञासु बहवः किल चिकित्सकमहोदयाः
 अध्यापनादिभिर्बहुभिरुपायैर्बहून् किल विद्यार्थिनः प्रतिस्वत्सरं समुत्तिमान-
 यन्तीति यूरोपखण्डस्य भारतवर्षस्य किं बहुना सर्वस्यापि लोकस्य नितान्तमेवोप-
 कुर्वत इति नेयमतिशयोक्तिरिति नितरामेव वयं विश्वसिमः ।

भारतवर्षे ज्ञानदीये सुगतादिसन्नय ऋग्वेदादिसमये वा यादृशी चिकित्सालय
 प्रणाली परमाचार्यैर्व्यवस्थापिता समासीत्, सैव पुराऽपि शतकाष्टकादिङ्गान्द
 राजधान्यामपि संपादितेति सत्यामदम्—यदेकेन भगवता सर्वान्तर्यामिन

सर्वेषामपि जीवराशीनामेकमेव तत्त्वगवेषणपाठं समर्पितमिति वैषम्यनैर्घृष्टादि-
दोषमेकमपि न वयं परमात्मनि सावसरं पश्यामः । नहि देशविशेषो जाति-
विशेषः कालविशेषो वा तत्त्वगवेषणानिमित्तम्, किन्तु यथायोगं भगवदर्पितानां
स्वस्वीयबुद्धिविशेषाणां तत्तत्कार्येषु विनियोजनमेवेति तदा तदा कार्यविशेषेषु
स्वीयबुद्धिविनियोजनेन महान्तमुपकारं लोकस्वादधानानां भवतां कोऽनु नाम
नामिनन्दनार्थं प्रवर्तताम् ।

अत्र चान्ते वयमिदमेव निवेदयामः—यत् बर्तुलोमियाचिकित्सालयोऽय-
मुत्तरोत्तरमभिवृद्धिं गतोऽप्यप्रतिमां समुन्नतिं नियतमेव समापक्यति, यदि
श्रीमेलचक्रसमुत्पादिसंप्रदायोऽपि यथायोगं तत्राध्यापनाचरणादिना पर्यालोच्यत
इत्युक्तमहाचिकित्सालयप्रवर्तकाः सर्वेऽपीतः परं तत्रापि स्वीयं कृपाकटाक्षं
विनिशुद्धतामिति ।

परमात्मा हि भगवान् यो हि नाम नामभेदमात्रेण शैवेः शिव इति वैष्णवे-
र्विष्णुरिति गणपतेर्गणपतिरिति सौरैः सूर्य इति शाक्तैः शक्तिरिति मीमांसकैर्धर्म
इति वेदान्तिभिः ब्रह्मेति बौद्धैर्बुद्ध इति जैनैर्जिन इति भवाद्दृष्टेः ख्रिष्ट इति च
संगीर्यते, नहि वयमत्र कमपि स्वरूपभेदं पश्याम इति चिकित्सालयेऽत्र प्रतिष्ठापितं
देवतायतनमपि परमात्माराधनपर्यवसाय्येव भवतीति सर्वेषु दृष्टफलोत्प-
कर्मसु भगवदाराधानमाशङ्क्यं सूचयन्त उक्तचिकित्सालयप्रवर्तका अपि सर्वादृशां
एवेत्यत्र न वयं लेशमात्रमपि विशेषमङ्ग इति विस्तरभयादुपमंहरन्तो वयमिदमेव
सूचयामः—यदुक्तमहाचिकित्सालयस्य सर्वथा समुन्नत्यर्थं सर्वेऽपि वयं भगवन्तं
परमात्मानमेव शरणं गन्तुमर्हामः । तदत्र वयमिदमेव सान्तःकरणमाशास्महे—

यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनः ।

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नेयायिकाः ॥

अर्हन्निवृत्त्यर्थं जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः ।

सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं ख्रिष्टः स वो देवतम् ॥

इति .

कलिकाता,
दोसपूर्णिमा, १३२८ । }

श्रीयुक्ताशुतोषमुखोपाध्यायः,
कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयसभाध्यक्षः ।

MAY THERE BE PROSPERITY

CONGRATULATION

It is a matter of great pleasure to me that I am offering my hearty first gratitude as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for the invitation sent by you, the noble managers of the BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL of world-wide fame on the occasion of its eighth centenary, a Hospital maintained by Henry VIII.

It is well known to the learned that this BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL, founded in 1223 A. D. by the noble-hearted RAHERE, the devoted follower of large-hearted Henry I who was intent on the good of others, to give effect to his resolution when he was lying ill in the city of Rome, is supporting even up to this time without any change, many helpless persons by giving them food and shelter and by treating them with sympathy and thus steadily progressing, now holds the foremost place as the oldest and the most esteemed institution of the kind in the capital of England.

1

There is on earth the famous BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL conferring blessings on the sick, not less than eight centuries old and praised by all people of refined intelligence; a great Hospital that is a source of happiness, is an ornament of England and that has filled with surprise even the kings.

2

Of this hospital that has done good equally to the ignorant and the wise the great centenary festival will be celebrated; when its heaven-kissing tree of fame

3

is merrily going to step into a new year, all the savants making obeisance to the Divine shape realised in meditation join the festival.

4

In that adorable and pompous festival which has arrived to give unprecedented joy to all, I as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University invoke blessings on you. •

A hospital is a means of not only curing bodily ailments but supernatural and mental disorders as well; such is the view of Bhela, Charaka, Susruta, Vagbhata and other teachers of Ayurveda. Enjoining divine worship at stated times in the BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL and setting apart a particular place there as a chapel, I have not the slightest doubt, the great BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL has now become a model for all such institutions.

In this hospital great physiologists skilled in the healing art, and great physicians noted for their research in new methods of treatment, by lectures and various other means are improving the students every year and are thereby conferring a great benefit on Europe and India and, I believe it can be said without any exaggeration, on the whole world.

The system of hospital management enjoined by eminent Professors in India in the Rigvedic or Buddhistic age was indeed the same as has been in practice in the capital of England from the eighth century. From this the truth is established that one Lord, the eternal ruler of all, has endowed all beings with the same skill in search for truth and thus we see there is no ground for imputing to the Supreme Soul any such fault as partiality and cruelty. No particular country, no particular race, no particular age, has any special fitness for search after truth which depends entirely on the application of our divinely bestowed talents to congenial work. Thus who would not

congratulate you on your conferring so great a boon on mankind by applying your talents to the most congenial work ?

At last, I beg to make only this remark that though this BARTHOLOMEW HOSPITAL has steadily developed, it will rise to unparalleled greatness if the systems of Bhela, Charaka, Susruta, and others are thoroughly discussed there both by teaching and practice, and so you all, the managers of the great Hospital, will henceforth turn your merciful eyes to this matter.

The supreme soul is the Lord, though under various names he is called Shiva by the Shaivas, Vishnu by the Vaishnavas, Ganapati by the Ganapatas, Sakti by the Saktas, Dharma by Mimansakas, Brahma by Vedantists, the Buddha by the Buddhists, Jina by the Jainas, and Christ by yourself ; and as I do not see any essential difference in these, the House of God, erected in your Hospital, serves the purpose of worshipping the Supreme Soul ; hence, I have no doubt, that you, the managers of this Hospital, thus indicating that in all affairs bearing fruit in this life divine worship is necessary, have become the models for all. Now concluding this to avoid prolixity I beg to suggest, that for the improvement of the great Hospital we should all take refuge in the Supreme Soul.

Thus I heartily pray that

He whom the Shaivas worship as Shiva, the Vedantists as Brahma, the Buddhists as the Buddha, the Naiyayikas skilled in the science of Logic, as the Agent, those who follow the Jaina canons as "Arhat," the Mimansakas as "Karma" and who is called Christ, your Divinity, may bestow the desired fruit on you.

THE END.

CALCUTTA,
The full moon day of the
Dola festival, 1329.

} SRI ASUTOSH MUKHOPADHYAY,
Vice-Chancellor,
Calcutta University.

OUR PICTURE GALLERY.

The Varan-dālā.—The frontispiece in this number may puzzle such of our readers as have no intimate knowledge of social life in Bengal. It illustrates a ceremony in vogue in Bengal and also in other parts of India. The word, literally translated, would mean *the basket of welcoming*; it is a basket-work tray, or a large copper-plate, which is filled with a number of things regarded as auspicious in Hindu ritual—*e.g.*, a lamp with five wicks, flowers, fruits of the earth (bananas and areca-nuts), betel-leaves, some earth, turmeric, vermilion, cowrie shells, a conch shell, incense, sandal-paste, a *chowry*, etc. This tray is held by women with husbands living, and presented before the image or symbol of the gods. Among the ceremonials connected with the wedding or with investiture with the Brahmanical sacred thread (*upanayana*), the *varan-dālā* plays an important part—the bride and bridegroom and the young initiate having their foreheads touched with the tray by their mothers in token of blessing.



A CORRECTION

The article on the Precious Stones of India, Ceylon and Burma appearing in our April-May number was written by Mr. A. Miller, M.A., Principal of the Government College, Ajmer, and not by A. Mitter. We regret this error on our part.—Ep., C. R.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

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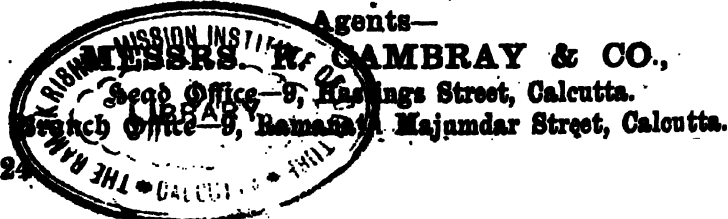
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